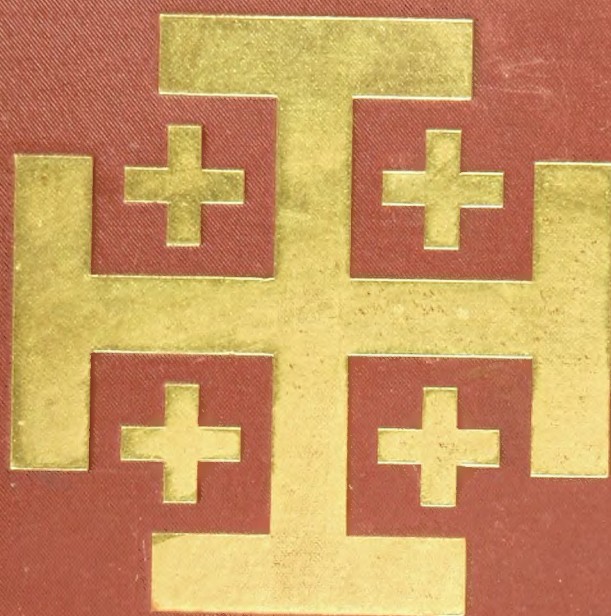




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ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

IN

PALESTINE

DURING THE YEARS 1873 - 1874.

BY

CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, LL.D.,

Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France.

Vol. II.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS FROM DRAWINGS MADE ON THE SPOT BY

A. LECOMTE DU NOÛY, ARCHITECT.

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN MACFARLANE,

Assistant in the British Museum Library.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

By reason of certain circumstances which it would take too long to explain, it has been thought advisable to publish the second volume of this work before the first. The Author wishes to apologize for the adoption of this unusual order, which he decided upon with a view to avoiding further delays. He hopes that no serious inconvenience will be caused, as the present volume forms an independent whole, devoted to Palestine, but excluding Jerusalem and its environs, which will form the subject matter of Volume I. The only difficulty is that the reader will have to refer to the first volume for the *fac-similes* of the numerous masons' marks mentioned in the second volume, as well as for those in the first. It was thought that it would be best to bring together the main types of these marks, classified and numbered, into a single comprehensive table, followed by a list containing all the necessary references, and the scheme of the work made the first volume the natural place for this table.

The Author thinks it incumbent on him to expressly remind the reader that in this work he in no sense claims to treat *ex professo* of the archæology of Palestine, or even to communicate the general results of the researches which he has been pursuing in that field for more than seven and twenty years.

He has endeavoured, as far as possible, to confine his remarks to the points that he had special opportunity of studying during the period from 1873 to 1874—that is to say, in the course of the researches which the Committee kindly entrusted him with—only drawing upon the data gathered by him before and after that period in so far as they may help to throw light on those points.

C. C.-G.

February, 1896.

NOTE.

IN the transcription of Arabic words and names, endeavours have been made to conform as far as possible to the system adopted by the Survey Party. In order, however, to represent certain shades of pronunciation to which the author attaches importance, it has been found necessary to introduce certain slight modifications. The chief of these are as follows: the *âin* is represented by the sign ' instead of ' , the latter being kept to denote vowels elided in the popular speech; the vowels with the sign ∪ over them, except in *Khûrbet*, are short, furtive, *epenthetic* or *prosthetic* vowels, which find their way in either at the middle or beginning of words, and have to be figured in order to give the latter their proper appearance; the combination *eu* is occasionally employed to represent a sound analogous to that which it has in French (akin to *o*, *û*, but more mute and very short). The diphthong ے has been rendered sometimes by *au* and sometimes by *ô*. In several cases the long vowels have not been marked as such in certain words currently used (thus *sheikh*, *beit*, *fellahin*, *etc.*, for *sheîkh*, *beît*, *fellahîn*). Occasionally discrepancies will be noticed in the transcriptions of the same words and names. These mostly correspond to local and individual peculiarities of pronunciation, which were noted for what they were worth, and which it was thought better to reproduce in their original shape, instead of arbitrarily reducing them to more usual forms.

CONTENTS.

PREFATORY NOTE	PAGE iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
CHAPTER I.—FROM JAFFA TO JERUSALEM	i
„ II.—FIRST EXCURSION TO JERICHO	9
„ III.—SECOND EXCURSION TO JERICHO	36
„ IV.—TOUR FROM JERUSALEM TO JAFFA AND THE COUNTRY OF SAMSON	54
„ V.—GEZER	224
„ VI.—EXCURSION FROM JERUSALEM TO SEBASTE (SAMARIA), AND FROM SEBASTE TO GAZA	276
APPENDIX I.—IN SEARCH OF ADULLAM, GEZER, MODIN, ETC.	457
„ II.—LIST OF ANTIQUITIES COLLECTED IN PALESTINE IN 1873-4	484
ADDENDA	489
GENERAL INDEX	493

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

A

	PAGE
Abu Ghôsh, Latin inscription in the Mediæval Church at	60
— Crusaders' Tool-Marks	60
— Horeîra, The wely of	167, 169
— Shûsheh, Terra-Cotta figure found at	242
'Ain Dûk. Lid of sarcophagus	22
'Ain Sinîa, Rock-cut tomb with inscription at	285
'Akrabâ, Greek inscription at	303
'Amwâs, Sketch plan and sections of rock-cut tomb with stone door near	94, 95, 96
— Profile of cornice of mortar	97
— Greek inscription found in the rock tomb at	97
Ancient sarcophagus in an Arab sebîl	157
— Wine or oil press, views and sections of	453
'Asâyet Mûsa ("Moses' Rod")	50
Ascalon. Carved doves on marble slab	190
'Awerta, Cenotaph at	309
— Fragment of column at	310
el 'Azhek, Position of	456

B

Balâta, Sarcophagus lid at	324
Beit Jibrîn, Plan and section of rock-hewn tomb near	445
— Inscription on tomb	446
— View of Church of Sandahanna at	447
— Plan, section, and details of Church at Sandahanna	448—51
— Imperial statue found near	441
— Jewish capital	442
Beit Nûba, Plan of Crusading Church at	72
— View and section of holy-water stoup found at	73

List of Illustrations.

vii

	PAGE
Beit Thûl, Capital at	65
Bîr el Ma'in, Capital in the Wely at	81
Bethany, Sculptured stone built in wall	52
el Burj, Lintel in a house at	98
B'weireh, Lintels at	74, 75

C

Cæsarea, Ancient mask from	2
———— Marble statue from	156

D

Deir el Kelt, Greek and Arabic inscription at	31
Deir Serûr, Rock-hewn tomb at	337

E

Ė'râk el Kheil. Transverse section of the gallery	443
———— Patterns of the friezes	444
Eriha (Jericho), Architectural details from Tell el Matlab	17, 18, 19

G

Gaza, Courtyard of Greek Convent at	379
—— Plan and sections of Mediæval Church	381—3
—— General plan of the Great Mosque	384
—— View of the façade of the Great Mosque	385
—— Elevation of the façade of the Great Mosque	386
—— Profile of the rose window of the Great Mosque	387
—— Plan and elevation of the entrance door of the Great Mosque	388
—— Springing point of the archivolt of the Great Mosque	389
—— Longitudinal section of the Great Mosque	389
—— Transverse sections of the Great Mosque	390
—— Details of string course of the Great Mosque	391
—— Elevation of pier with Hebrew and Greek inscriptions	392
—— The bas-relief on pier	393
—— Inscriptions discovered at	398—417
—— Sculptured gryphon in white marble	430
—— Bas-relief of white marble (doe or stag)	430
—— A fish carved on green schist	431
—— A small figurine of massive gold	431
—— A small lion of massive gold	432
—— Sarcophagus found near	432
—— Bronze figures found at	432, 433
Gezer, Inscriptions at	225, 226, 228, 229, 232, 233, 234

H

	PAGE
Hajar el Asbah (Stone of Bohan)	10—12
Hamâmeh, Sculptured marble head from	188
———— Ivory figure and sculptured marble fragment from	189
Hirsha, Birkeh at	70

J

Jaffa, Rock-cut tombs in the Necropolis	132
—— Inscriptions from the Necropolis	133, 137, 141—7
—— Stamped amphora handles found in a cave south of	148, 149
—— Various inscriptions found at	149—51
—— Slab of the tomb of a Bishop of the Crusaders	152
—— Crusading inscriptions from	155
—— Carved stone in the wall of a house at	158
Jâlûd, Rock tomb at	304
—— Stone door <i>in situ</i> at	304
Jâme' el Arba'in	299
———— Carved lintel at	300
Jericho, Plain of, showing site of Hajar el Asbah	12
—— Roman inscription found near	28, 29
—— Sculptured fragments of the Græco-Roman period found near	38, 39
Jerusalem. Base of column at the Ecce Homo Arch	336
Jôrah, Greek inscriptions from	378

K

Kabêr Bint Nûh. Plan and sections	455
K'bûr Beni Isrâîn. Section and doorway	279
—— el Yahûd, near el Midieh	374
———— Rock-hewn tombs at	375, 376
Khûrbet Dabbeh, Greek inscription from	163
—— Deir es S'aideh, Lintels at	221
—— el Habis, Inscribed rock tomb at	356
—— el Kelkh, Inscribed baptismal font at	357
—— Jeba', Reservoir at	58
—— Niâteh, Views and section of ancient wine or oil press at	453
—— Zakariyeh, Rock-hewn tomb at	353—5
el Kôk'a, Mound of	91
K'reîn Sartabâ	47
Kubâb, Plan, sketch, and section of ancient sepulchre near	85, 86
—— Roman inscriptions found at	84
Kumrân, Cemetery of	15

L

Lydda, Details and bases of pillars of the Mediæval Church	105—8
—— Plan of the Church	to face 104
—— Greek inscription on one of the twin columns	107
—— Fragments of Byzantine carving built in the wall of the Mosque	108

List of Illustrations.

ix

	PAGE
Lydda, Iron pick found in a sarcophagus at	100
——— Carved stone, base of pillar, and ornamentation at	101
——— Minaret and ancient Church at	103
——— Front and side view of the minaret	104
——— Bridge of Beibars at	110, 111
——— Arabic inscription on the bridge	111
——— Sculptured lions on the bridge	113
——— Cornice over the inscription, and lions on the bridge at	115
——— The middle arch, masonry of	116
——— Jewish masonry tomb at	342
——— Inscribed ossuary at	343, 344

M

Mejdel Yâbâ, Lintel with Greek inscription at	340
el Midieh, Plan, views, sections, and mosaic of el Gherbâwy at	362-70
——— Bronze figure from	370
——— Sketch of the N.W. angle of el Gherbâwy	371
Mount Gerizim, Double peak on	326
el Mûghâr, Greek inscription from	193
Mukhmâs, Sculptured stone from	283

N

Nâblus, Capital with inscription in Mosque at	311
——— Plan of Jâme' en Nasër	312
——— Section of Jâme' en Nasër	313
——— Plan and elevation of Habs ed Dam	314
——— Plan and sections of the building over 'Ain Kariûn	315
——— Sculptured stones at	316
——— Greek inscription at	318
——— Greek inscription at (seen in the 16th century)	319
——— Intaglio from	320
——— Crusading relic from	321
——— Limestone vase from	330
——— Tessera of Egyptian style from	331
Nahr Rûbîn, Plan and sketch of tombs near	161, 162
——— View near	163
Neby Danian, Tomb cover at	350
——— Mûsa, Looking towards the north-west	48
——— Looking towards the north-east	48
——— Sculptured base of a pilaster in the north wall of	49

R

Ramleh, Details of the Mosque at	119
——— Sculptured marble lintel in the Mosque	120
——— Carved tessera from	122
——— Plan showing the direction of places and roads leading from	130

S

PAGE

Sebaste (Samaria), Stone door at Neby Yahyâ	332
——— Details of funerary remains at	334, 335
——— One of the columns at	235
Seîlûn, Sarcophagus lid at	300
——— Rock-cut tombs at	301
——— Jâme' el Arba'in	299
——— Carved lintel at	300
Sûr'ah, View from 'Artûf looking towards.	204

T

Taiyibeh, Roman milestones near	296
Tell el Kôk'a	91
—— el Matlab, Architectural fragments from	17, 18, 19

U

Umm el 'Eumdân, Plan of Church at	82
——— Wine or oil press at	83

Y

Yâlô. Plan and sketch of spring in Wâdy Kubbeh at	92
Yebnâ, View, plans, sections, and details of Mediæval Church at	169—172, 179, 180
——— The bridge at	181

ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM JAFFA TO JERUSALEM.

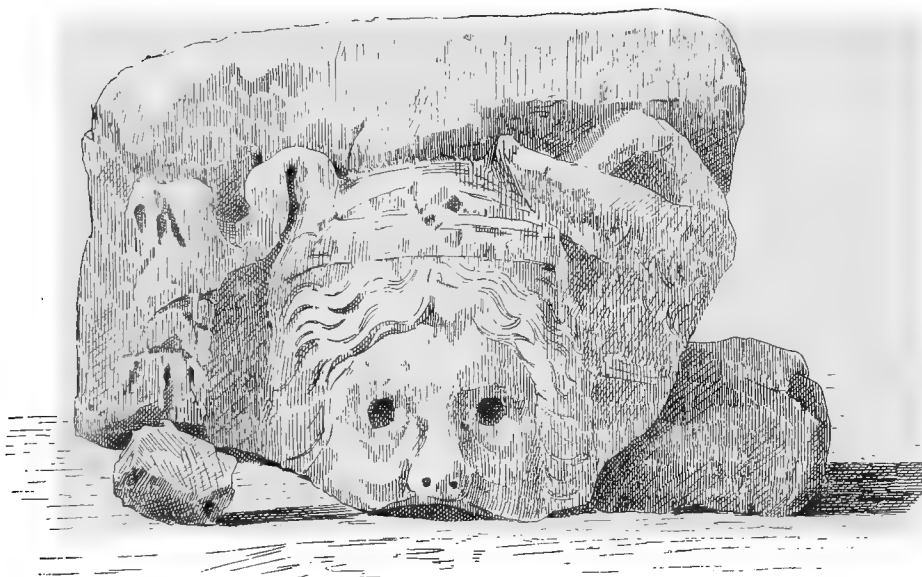
Jaffa.—We landed at Jaffa on Monday, November 3rd, 1873, after a pretty fair passage and three days' quarantine at Alexandria. There we remained from the 3rd to the 6th, when we left for Jerusalem. I took advantage of this short stay to gain some more knowledge of the city and its surroundings, and a brief account of my observations is here appended.

Marble Bas-relief.—Some years before, on my first visit to Palestine, I had noticed a large piece of a marble bas-relief, forming part of the flagstone pavement in a house belonging to M. Damiány, French consular agent at Ramleh. I took the earliest opportunity after my arrival of going to look at the fragment that had attracted my attention, in order to examine it more closely, and to get a good drawing of it made by M. Lecomte. This bas-relief, like so much of the old stone-work used in the construction of the houses at Jaffa, came from Cæsarea, the ruins of which town have been, and still are, worked by the inhabitants of Jaffa in the same way as a quarry.

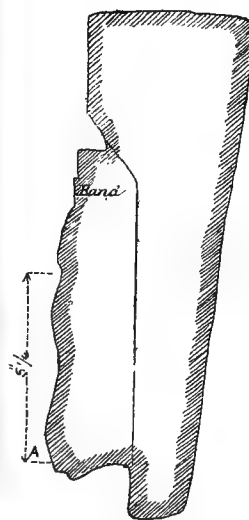
Of this bas-relief, which is of fine white marble, there only remains a fragment, measuring 20 inches by 15 inches. It represents a large tragic mask, much mutilated and broken from the nose downwards. The head, viewed from the front, is rather finely done, and may belong to a good period of Græco-Roman art. To judge by the dressing of the hair, which is wavy, by the arrangement of the fillet which encircles it, and by the general appearance of the physiognomy, this mask probably belonged to a female head—perhaps a Gorgon's. The eyes are deeply sunken, and the mouth, which is to a great extent wanting, was doubtless open, with the conventional

grin of the classical scenic mask. A fragment of cable-moulding on the left side of the head, and the top of a wing on the right, seem to point to its having formed part of some decorative scheme.

Other details again would lead one to suppose that this decoration was arranged with a view to being looked at from below, so that it is more likely to have belonged to the upper frieze of some large architectural monument than to have formed part of the ornamentation of a sarcophagus. May not this be a fragment of the magnificent theatre or of the amphitheatre built at Cæsarea by Herod?



ANCIENT MASK FROM CÆSAREA.



SECTION OF MASK.

We made a circuit round the town, carefully examining the wall of circumvallation to detect traces of ancient work or material. I noticed, especially on the north side, towards the sea, a considerable number of fine blocks with *bossages*; the natives assured me that these had been brought from Cæsarea and Acre.

— Here and there along the wall there are distinctly traceable old foundations, now partly under water. I went in a boat along the southern portion of the wall that separates the town from the sea. On the further side of the projecting bastion, on which stand the light-house and the legendary House of St. Peter, there stretches a regular harbour of slight depth where the boats continually touch the bottom. This harbour is surrounded by a belt of rocks, and goes by the name of *Birket el Kamar*,

the "Pool of the Moon." All this part of the place, and the coast that borders it, would well repay minute exploration—the beach is covered with ruins apparently ancient.

— There is now living in Jaffa a certain Mussulman named 'Aly Sîdo, a retired master mason. This man, now of an advanced age, directed all the works that were set on foot at the beginning of the century (?) by the legendary Abu Nabbût, Governor of Jaffa, the same that gave his name to the pretty fountain, or Sebîl Abu Nabbût, which is to be seen near his tomb, some ten minutes' journey from the town as you go to Jerusalem. It would be most interesting to gather from his mouth, on the spot, precise information, in technical terms, of the extensive alterations that Jaffa underwent at that period.

— A very intelligent young Arab living in Jaffa, by name Jibrâîl 'Akkâwy, told me of a handle of an amphora of terra-cotta, which had been found in the gardens surrounding the town, "in a cave," and he showed me a rough copy made by himself of the inscriptions on it. As far as I could judge from this artless but well meaning reproduction, the inscription is in Greek, and probably gives the name of the potter or of a magistrate. I shall endeavour to get a look at the original or to purchase it, when I next visit Jaffa.*

— Two items of information from native sources:—To the north of the town near the sea-shore, there exist, hidden under the sand, numbers of "presses" built of masonry. Near the Nahr el 'Aûjâ, to the north of Jaffa, there is a Tell belonging to Ismâ'îl Aghâ, where numbers of "bronze idols" were found; one of them was bought by one Dimô.

The Jewish necropolis of Joppa. — On our departure from Jaffa on November 6th, I desired to verify an important point which had long engaged my attention, and was up to this time undetermined, namely, the position of the burying-ground of ancient Joppa. I have now, I think, settled it for certain.

With this view, instead of following the usual route, when we left the city gates, our small caravan kept to the left, that is to say, to the north, through the extensive gardens that close in Jaffa on every side. We soon reached a small hamlet called *Saknet Abu K'bîr*, where I enquired of some fellahîn. One of them took us a few yards further on into the middle of some poorly tilled gardens, where I noticed that numerous excavations had been newly made for building stone. The digging and removals had laid

* See further, p. 148.

bare in several places numbers of sepulchral chambers hollowed out in the calcareous tufa. Similar graves have been discovered, it appears, all the way from the hamlet of *Abu K'bîr* to the Jewish Agricultural College, "Mikveh Israel," on the other side of the road, and as far as the present Catholic cemetery. Other fellahin said, "between *Saknet Abu K'bîr* and *Saknet el 'Abîd*," on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

The part of the burying-ground where we now were went by the name, I was told, of *Ardh Dhabîta*, or *Jebel Dhabîta*, "the ground" or "mountain" of *Dhabîta*. The frequent mention of this name *Dhabîta* struck me, for it seems identical with that of the woman of Joppa, *Tabitha*, who was restored to life by St. Peter. The Semitic meaning of this name is given in the actual text of St. Luke (Acts ix, 36), Δορκάς, "a doe," and some commentators have rightly enough seen in this the Aramaic טביתה *Tabitha*, "female gazelle."* The Arabic name *Dhabîta* ظبیتا, though preserving the Aramaic form, shows the accuracy of this identification, for it is connected with the word ظبية *dhabia*, which has exactly the same meaning in Arabic. Evidently the memory of the resurrection of *Tabitha* helped to shape the name given by local tradition to the burying-ground where that pious woman, though her journey thither was on the first occasion postponed, must finally have found a resting-place.†

This is doubtless the explanation of the legend whereby, even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the ruins of "Tabitha's house" were pointed out, not far from Jaffa, on the way to Jerusalem. It was probably some misunderstanding that led the worthy Quaresmius to apply the traditional name of the burying-ground to some ruin or other that was visible there at that period,‡ and which he calls "the house" of *Tabitha*.

* In this connection I may draw attention to a curious legend in the Talmud, according to which all the male slaves of the household of Gamaliel bore the name of *Tabi*, טבי, and all the female slaves that of *Tabitha*, טביתה, (Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.*, II, pp. 134, 538). It would appear to follow that this name was especially given to slaves, and this would perhaps imply servile origin in the *Tabitha* of the Scriptures. This holds good at any rate of the Greek equivalent *Dorcas*, which we find borne by a female slave and an hetaera (Pape, *Wörterb. der Gr. Eig.*, I, p. 319).

† During my stay at Jaffa in 1881, I remarked the existence of a great yearly festival in honour of *Dhabîta* on May 15th. All the inhabitants go in procession to the Sebîl of *Abu Nabbût*, singing a kind of hymn, the words of which I was not able to note. The whole population of Jaffa, without distinction of creed, take part in the solemnity, and make it a pretext for all sorts of festivities.

‡ Quaresmius, *Eluc. Terr. S.*, II, 6: "Non longe a ruinis Joppes, versus Jerusalem eundo monstrantur fundamenta et residuum domus *Tabithae*."

With the aid of a compass we took the bearings of the part of the burying-ground where we stood, so as to find it again later on and carry out some excavations and explorations. It is however easy to identify, as a large garden bought by the Russians lies quite near it on the south.

The fellahin declared they had found in the graves we had just noted lamps and vases of terra-cotta, and some stones with inscriptions on them, and at my request one of them* went to look for a stone that he had put aside. In a few minutes he did bring me a small marble titulus with a Greek inscription of four lines and the characteristic seven-branched candlestick of Jewish symbolism. I saw at a glance that it was the epitaph of a certain Hezekiah, *phrontistes* of Alexandria. I hastened to acquire this precious specimen of Helleno-Jewish funerary epigraphy,† which settled once for all the nature of the burying-ground that I had just discovered, and gleefully dropped this first small victim into my game bag, that is to say, into the *khurdj* that hung at my saddle bow.

Yâzûr.—After this short but fruitful *diverticulum*, we quitted this archæologists' hunting-ground, whither I promised myself to return, and wended our way towards the picturesque fountain of *Abu Nabbût*, so as to resume the usual route to Jerusalem, which we followed without noteworthy incident to the little village of *Yâzûr*. Here I again deserted the high road to go through the village, which lies to the left on slightly rising ground, and to examine more closely an old building there—a church,‡ or small castle flanked by buttresses. The only information of any interest that I could gather there, was about the name of the locality. A fellâh, less shy than his companions, was good enough to inform me that *Yâzûr* was in the olden time called *Adâlia*,§ and that it was only later on that the town being taken by an ancient king by main force, “*bez zôr*,” received in consequence the name of *Yâzûr*. Without attaching undue importance to this etymology, founded on an attempt at a pun, I nevertheless thought well to note it. It is, moreover,

* Mohammed A'nâny, the owner of a small *karēm* (a non-irrigated garden) in the neighbourhood.

† See on p. 133 a fac-simile and explanation of this inscription.

‡ At the end of the 15th century there used to be shown at *Yâzûr* the remains of a fine church, built in honour of St. Mary (*Journal de Voyage de Louis de Rochechouart*, p. 71). It is possible that these remains are those of the church in question; and this church perhaps is none other than the undiscoverable *St. Mary of the Three Shades* (*trium umbrarum*), which, according to certain documents of the Crusades, belonged to the diocese of Lydda.

§ The origin of this name I do not see, but perhaps it should be connected with the Arabic *dâlia*, “grape,” “vine-stalk,” which is akin to the Hebrew דלית *dalit*.

remarkable that in these parts, as far as the mountains,* local tradition often ascribes to the same place two names, one regarded as ancient, the other modern. This peculiarity, which I was repeatedly struck with in my earlier researches, deserves attention from anyone who may devote himself to investigations into onomastic topography.

Gezer.—I had no time to do anything at Ramleh, where we put up for the night; so that remains for another occasion. We set out at early morning so as to be able to go by way of *Tell el Jezery*, or *Tell el Jezer*, the site of ancient *Gezer*. I discovered this by researches on the spot nearly three years before, after having fixed on it *à priori* on the map simply by theoretical and historical considerations. We took a direct course for this place, crossing ground deeply fissured by the drought, in which our horses had the greatest difficulty in making progress.

On reaching the summit of the Tell, we found a large house in course of erection, and came across the sons of Mr. Bergheim, who were having it built. They told us they had bought the whole hill and a certain portion of land round it; and I only hoped that this acquisition—which had been made after the discovery I made public, and probably in consequence of it—might facilitate for us the exploration of the site of the old Canaanite city.

The operations undertaken by MM. Bergheim have led to the discovery of some worked flints, of which they showed me some specimens. These seemed to me extremely curious. There was likewise discovered there about the same time a very interesting little terra-cotta figure, of which we made a photograph and a squeeze in plaster. My report, written in 1874, contained a detailed description of it, which I reproduce here, as, for reasons with which I am not acquainted, it was not published at the time:† “The authenticity of this object cannot possibly be doubtful; a mere glance suffices to show the gulf that separates it from the specimens of the Shapira collection (I mean, of course, those that I have seen); to say nothing of the style, the material alone, which is hard, sonorous, and compact, in nowise resembles the hollow and badly baked pottery of the latter. This statuette represents a miniature figure of a woman in semi-relief, having on her head a sort of diadem (in the shape of an embattled crown), with her two arms crossed

* This custom is not peculiar to the plains. I have noticed it in mountainous country likewise. See, for instance, my remarks on *Shāfāt* (Vol. I).

† The *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 75, contains a note on this object by the late Mr. Charles Tyrwhitt Drake.

under her breasts, in an attitude habitual with the divinities of the Cypriot Pantheon ; the attributes of her sex are represented with a naïve exaggeration which lends further support to this comparison. It may very well be that we have here a sample of the current Canaanitish art applied to religious needs, for it appears quite probable that this little figure represents a goddess analogous in appearance and symbolic nature to those found in the environs of Tyre and Sidon. It might perhaps be regarded as a representation of the goddess Atergatis, or the goddess Astarte.* The engraving of it will be given further on in Chapter V, § VIII.

In passing I gave a glance at the great birkeh, of which I made a plan on my first visit here in March, 1871 (see the Appendix). This had now been cleared out almost to the bottom.

Taking our leave of the new lords of Gezer, we crossed the whole length of the Tell, and came down it in the direction of 'Ain Yardeh and Kubâb. As we went along I examined afresh the presses, the graves, and threshing-floors cut out in the solid rock which had so impressed me on the previous occasion. I believe I have succeeded in determining the character and object of certain level spaces made in the rock, which then greatly puzzled me—they are the sites of ancient houses. Thus, one sees here and there four or five steps terminating in a quadrangular platform cut horizontally in the sloping rock, and these cuttings are the tracks or footprints, so to speak, of rude dwellings that are no longer existent. In other places it is perfectly easy to make out a vertical cutting deep into the rock, where the back part of the dwelling rested. It would be desirable, I think, to make careful surveys of the most characteristic of these incisions and excisions, they might throw much light on the construction of the primitive dwellings of Palestine. Nothing but drawings and detailed plans would suffice to explain these curious arrangements, and to give an exact notion of what a Canaanite city was like. I meant to return and make these plans along with M. Lecomte.

Another observation that I made during this second and hurried visit to the site of Gezer concerns the way in which the different quarters of Gezer were arranged. In the middle of the Tell and at its highest point, which was of considerable strategic importance, there certainly was built the fortified town, the city properly so called. Around and about the Tell, at the foot of it, were scattered small disconnected nuclei of houses, like satellites. The position of

* The passage in the *Statement* quoted in the *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 439, and mistakenly attributed to me, ought in reality to be restored to Mr. C. T. Drake ; the engraving accompanying it was done from his sketch, which conveys but an imperfect idea of the nature of the object.

these is marked by the workings in the rock that I mentioned above. This straggling arrangement that I noticed at Gezer, but which Gezer is certainly not the only place to exemplify, explains in a striking way, it seems to me, that common expression in the Bible, "the town and its daughters." It is probably these isolated groups, which nevertheless formed an integral part of the mother-city, that are so ingeniously alluded to as its "daughters."

The fullest details concerning Gezer and the discoveries that I made there a few months after will be found in Chapter V of the present volume. Cf. also the Appendix I.

Abu Ghôsh.—On leaving Kubâb,* we quickened our speed so as to make up for the time lost at Gezer. We merely halted a few moments at *Kuryet el 'Enab*, or the village of Abu Ghôsh, to visit the so-called Church of St. Jeremias, of which a concession had been quite recently made to the French Government. A few excavations, made since the concession, had partly brought to light the crypt, which forms a regular subterranean church, and contains a kind of vault with a spring full of water. We again noticed on the stones of the upper part of the church those mason's marks† that I had observed a few years before. These establish beyond doubt the Latin mediæval origin of the building; the W in particular is decisive in this respect. Numbers of hewn blocks with *bossages* can be seen in the inner walls, bearing a striking similarity to those used in the construction of the church at Neby Shamwîl, which also dates from the period of the Crusaders, and of the ruined building at Kûlônîeh.

A fellâh told me of an inscription he had found, and promised to bring it to me at Jerusalem.‡

In my conversation with the peasants of Abu Ghôsh I noticed the rather curious fact that Abu Ghôsh and 'Amwâs have almost identical populations, so to speak. The inhabitants move from one village to the other according to the time of year, and make the two places in turn their winter and summer abode. This fact points to a close connection between the two localities that dispute with one another the honour of representing the Emmaus of the Gospel.§

* With regard to Bâb el Wâd, between Kubâb and Abu Ghôsh, where we did not stop, I extract the following entry from an old note-book (1871, VI, p. 10a): "near the café is *Khûrbet Harsîs*." I consider it desirable to mention in passing the name of this locality, which does not appear on the Map.

† See Vol. I, the special *Masons' Marks' Table*.

‡ It proved to be merely a fragment of an ancient Arabic epitaph.

§ It also explains certain incidents that will concern us later on.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST EXCURSION TO JERICHO.

ON Friday, November 28th, we left Jerusalem for Jericho, where I had various points to settle. I availed myself of the presence of Lieut. Conder and Mr. Drake, who were then camping at 'Ain es Sultân, to join their party and make myself better acquainted with them. We spent five days in the camp of these gentlemen, and met with the warmest welcome. On December 3rd we went back to Jerusalem.

To omit matters of inferior moment, there were two main objects that led me to this short excursion in the neighbourhood of Jericho. The first was to examine the site of the *Hajar el Asbah*, which for various reasons, both etymological and topographical,* I had for some time past proposed to identify with the *Stone of Bohan*; the second was a plan for excavating a burying-ground near Kumrân, mentioned as curious by MM. Rey and de Saulcy. In this place the latter gentleman thought, mistakenly in my opinion, that he detected the name and consequently the site also of *Gomorrhah*.

In view of my projected excavations I had taken with me two fellahîn from Selwân, who had worked for Captain Warren, and I procured from the store-house of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem a quantity of tools, such as pickaxes, spades, levers and baskets. The natives of Jericho are quite unreliable for this sort of work, as they themselves have recourse to the fellahîn of the mountain to till the ground for them, though this is done in such a rudimentary way as to require no great exertion.

Our journey out was uneventful enough, except that, as we started somewhat late from Jerusalem, it was pitch dark when we got to the plain. Being badly led by our two Selwâw'nés,† we wandered about some two hours among the thorn thickets before we lit upon the encampment, which was hidden from view by the Tell el 'Ain, at the foot of which it had been pitched.

* I have set forth the chief of these in the *Revue Archéologique*, August, 1870, p. 116 *et seqq.*

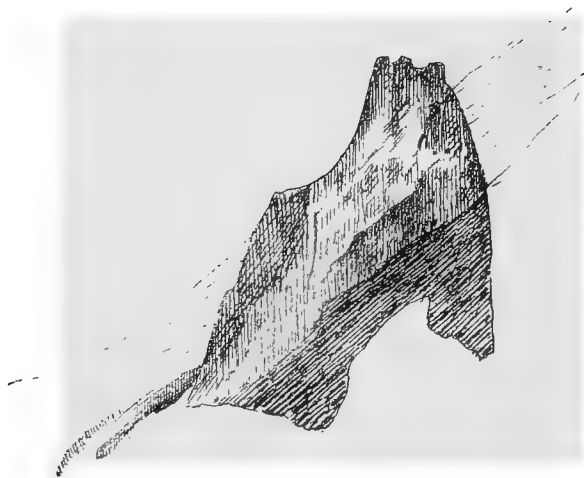
† Inhabitants of Selwân. Plural form of the ethnic *Selwâny*.

Next day we left for Hajar el Asbah and Khûrbet Kumrân, accompanied by Messrs. Conder and Drake. I had already explained to them the double object I had in view.

Hajar el Asbah.—After crossing in turn a number of valleys, among them Wâd el Kelt, Wâdy Daber, and the small Wâd el Āsalâ, we reached the territory (*ardh*) of Hajar el Asbah. This is a small plain stretching between the base of the mountains and the Dead Sea as far as a jutting tongue of land of conspicuous appearance, which one of our Bedouin guides called, I think, *Edh dh 'neîb Ē'yeîr* (?).

In the northern part of this plain well-nigh at the foot of the perpendicular rock, lie four or five large masses of rock, doubtless fallen from the top or sides of the mountain. One of these blocks, the most northerly of them, almost cubical in shape, and measuring about 8 feet in height, was pointed out to us as being the Hajar el Asbah ; it is cracked across the middle.

These small dimensions are in striking contrast with the importance assigned to this mere mass of unhewn stone, with nothing striking in its appearance, which has nevertheless given its name to the whole of a considerable region. Moreover, the shape of this stone by no means appeared to me to justify the meaning that my theory has led me to assign to the Hebrew *Bohan*, "thumb," and the Arabic *Asbah* (for *Asba'*), "finger."

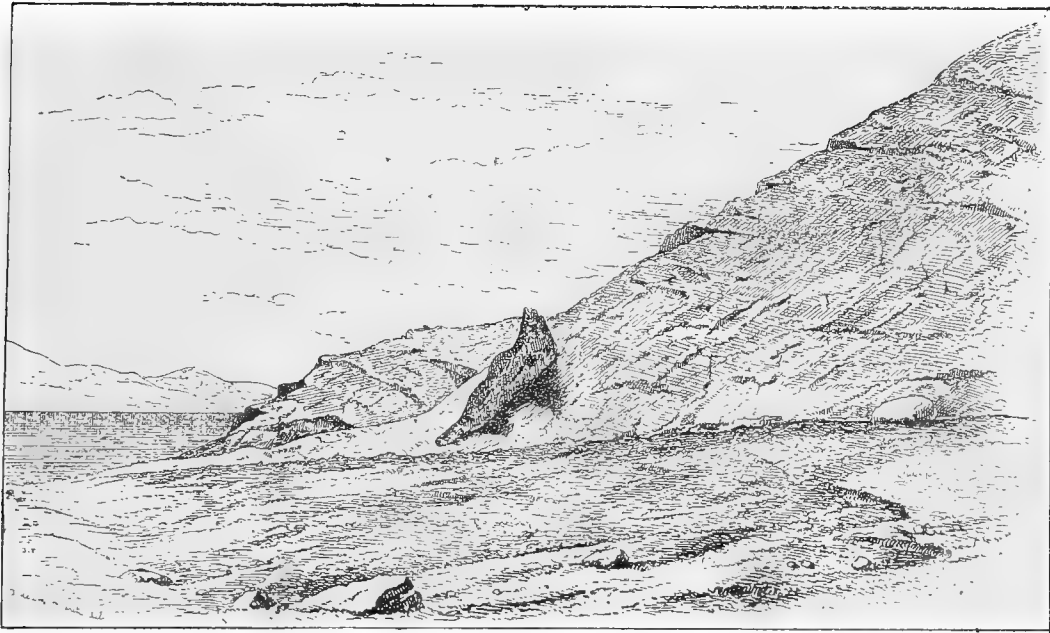


ROCK NEAR THE HAJAR EL ASBAH.

On the other hand, I noticed close by, rising from the side of the mountain, a solitary and conspicuous peak, with the appearance of which I and my travelling companions were instantly struck. This portion of rock

stands out vertically against the sky, and has very much the appearance of a closed fist with the thumb raised, as may be seen from the two scrupulously exact drawings that M. Lecomte made at my request.

Nothing could be more natural than to give to this finger-shaped rock the characteristic appellations mentioned above; but unfortunately our guides assured us that the real Hajar el Asbah was the fallen block we had just seen. The curious peak they called by the name of *Sahsûl H'méid*, or *Gournet Sahsûl H'méid*. It appears to me difficult to connect this name in any way with the Biblical *Eben Bohan*, since it is evidently nothing but a



ROCK NEAR THE HAJAR EL ASBAH (STONE OF BOHAN).

circumstantial name given to the peak in consequence perhaps of some accident that happened to a certain H'méid (*Sahsûl*, "tumble").

What are we to conclude from these facts? It is quite possible that the Arabic translation of the Hebrew name, after being originally applied to the peak which it would so well suit, has been transferred to one of the blocks that have fallen from the mountain not far away. This conjecture is supported to a certain extent by the fact that the name *Asbah* has been extended to the whole of a district (*ardh*), as I mentioned earlier. It would therefore not be unreasonable to suppose that the name, after being spread abroad in this way,

may have returned and fixed itself to a block in this same district, and that lying in the quarter where it is usual to enter the district, namely, the north. We might also, in the last resort, make the shifting of the name date back to the unknown period when the block was detached from the mountain. This occurrence must have attracted attention enough at the time to attach to the new arrival the ancient name which had been already extended to the whole region.

I picked up from the Bedouin who accompanied us a variant on the name of this stone: *Hajar es Sobēh*. Not only had the peak itself, which I was inclined to identify with the Stone of Bohan, a most characteristic shape, but even the shadow which it threw on the mountain-side at the time we



VIEW OF THE PLAIN OF JERICO, SHOWING SITE OF HAJAR EL ASBAH.

passed by formed a curious outline which reminded one of the etymological meaning of the name.

To these various arguments I will add another that seems of some weight in this important question of biblical topography. This peak marks the precise point where the mountains that skirt the western coast of the Dead Sea change their direction, or at least appear to do so to the spectator who views their whole extent: it is at the end of the promontory, which as you look from north to south closes the terrestrial horizon on that side, apparently sinking sheer into the sea. Thus the point forms a natural boundary, so that it would not be surprising to find it designated as one of the landmarks on the line separating the territories of Benjamin and Judah. This last consideration appeared to me so weighty, that I requested M. Lecomte, when we got back to camp, to make a comprehensive sketch from

the summit of the Tell 'Ain es Sultân, of the whole plain of Jericho and its horizon of mountains, from the Tawâhîn es Sukkar to the Dead Sea.

The point which was the object of the observations is marked on the horizon by a dotted vertical line.*

In the foreground to the left is seen one of the Tells of the plain of Jericho, its surface disturbed by excavations ; on the right, in the extreme background, are remains of ancient aqueducts, a Tell, and the ancient road to Jerusalem, which descends obliquely down the mountain into the plain.

It is to be noted that this peak only shows its outline in strong relief when looked at from the north. When viewed from the south, as we saw it later on our way back from Kumrân, of which I shall speak shortly, it had lost its first appearance, owing in part to the change in the light. To make up for this it now represented, with a well-nigh deceptive fidelity that struck us all, a colossal seated statue in the Egyptian style. Thus, under all conditions this peak assumes shapes well adapted to attract attention, and this property alone would mark it out for the function of frontier landmark, which the Stone of Bohan in the Book of Joshua is represented as fulfilling.

This topographical problem is one of the most difficult that the Bible presents, and I do not conceal the objections that may be and indeed have been raised to the connection I have endeavoured to establish. The discussion of the question would be too far out of my way, but I propose to return to it elsewhere ; I may, however, answer at once two of the criticisms passed on it. One is founded on an error of fact, and relates to a radical difference said to exist between the name *Asbah* and the Arabic word *Asbâ*, "finger;" the latter word is correctly written with the *sâd*, and not, as has been alleged, with the *sîn*. The other is based on the fact that Hajar el Asbah is six miles south-west of 'Ain Hajleh, and as the Stone of Bohan was situated between Beth Hoglah and the neighbourhood of Gilgal, the boundary, on which it was a landmark, could not lie so far to the south. To this I reply that, in my opinion, the mouth of the Jordan, at the time when the Book of Joshua was written, must have been much more to the north, about as high up as 'Ain Hajleh, the Dead Sea extending thus far and forming a marshy lagoon, called in the Bible the *Lashon*, or "tongue" of the Dead Sea. The western side of this lagoon must have followed pretty closely the line of the

* The Hajar el Asbah itself was not visible from where we were, but the position of it was exactly taken by means of the compass by Lieut. Conder.

Zôr, and of the district called *el Jeheiyir*.^{*} A curious legend gathered by the Igumen Daniel, and certainly based on a sagacious examination of the ground, appears to allude to this ancient state of affairs, which was perhaps more apparent in his time than now: "Of old time the Sea of Sodom went right up to the *place of baptism*, but it is now four versts distant from it."[†]

There is no need for me to insist on the importance and the results of this primitive configuration of the ground, according to my restoration of it from its present aspect. This restoration throws a flood of light on those two verses of Joshua xv, 5, and xviii, 19, and does away with that sudden and unaccountable bend which had to be made in the boundary line, following the system hitherto universally adopted, from the present mouth of the Jordan northwards to Beth Hoglah.

It also introduces into the problem of the Stone of Bohan a new element, which I reserve for consideration later on. In the meanwhile I will leave the question an open one.

Kumrân.—After a short halt at the Hajar el Asbah we continued on our way towards the south, in order to go and examine the site of the Khûrbet Kumrân (pronounced *Gumrân*), and especially the burying-ground noted at this spot by MM. Rey and de Saulcy.

The ruins are insignificant in themselves, consisting of some dilapidated walls of low stones and a small *birkeh* with steps leading to it. The ground is strewn with numerous fragments of pottery of all descriptions.

If ever there existed there a town properly so called, it must have been a very small one. The idea of identifying it, as M. Saulcy does, with the Gomorrah of the Five Cities, is one which will not bear discussion from the point of view of either toponymy or topography, as I have formerly

^{*} M. de Saulcy (in the *Atlas* to his *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*) marks in this neighbourhood a "morass like that of the *Sabbka* of the south," and "another morass" as far up as Hajleh. In the *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 168, "a dead level of grey mud . . . a muddy tract . . . a mile wide." I recognized here traces of the bottom of the ancient lagoon of the *Lashon*.

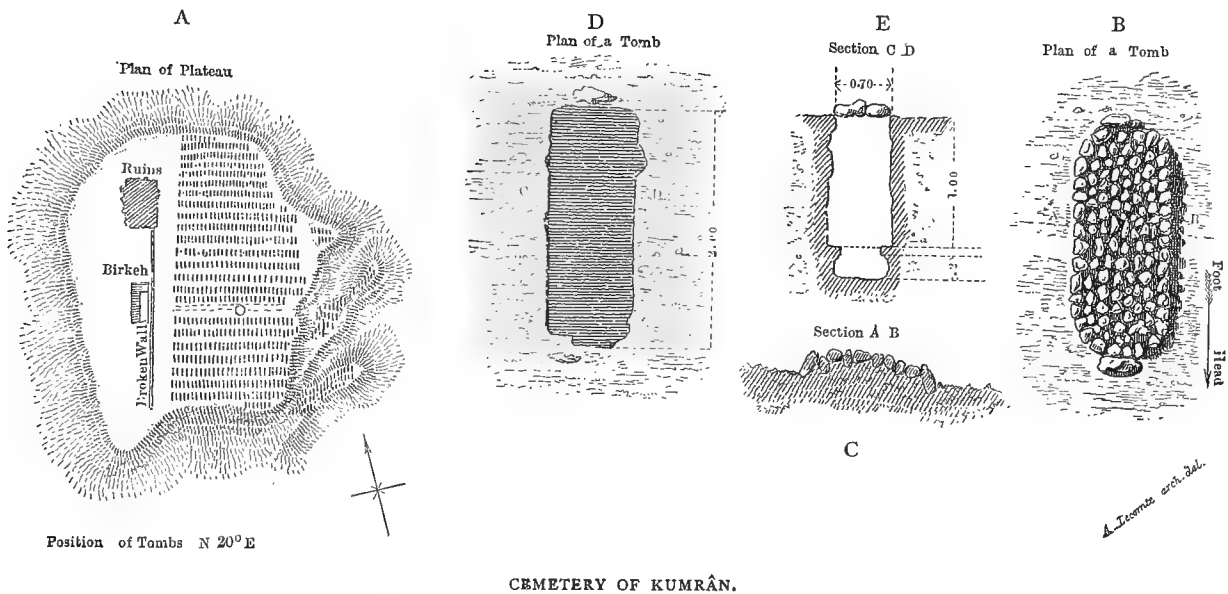
[†] The sea is supposed to have fled at the sight of the Lord, and the Igumen quotes Ps. cxiv, 5, *à propos* of this miraculous retreat.

In the time of the Hasmonæans this district of the Jordan was still a *marsh* (ἐλος), as appears from various testimonies of Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xiii, 1, 2, 5), and from the Book of Maccabees (i, 9). I have treated this question as a whole on several occasions at the *Collège de France*, and before the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*; it will form the subject of a special memoir, which I expect to publish shortly.

proved.* It is a great pity that the notion has quite lately been taken seriously by capable writers.†

The most interesting feature of Kumrân is the tombs, which, to the number of a thousand or so, cover the main plateau and the adjacent mounds.

Judging merely by their outward appearance, you would take them to be ordinary Arab tombs, composed of a small oblong tumulus, with its sides straight and its ends rounded off, surrounded by a row of unhewn stones,



CEMETERY OF KUMRÂN.

- A. General plan of the burying-ground. (The straight line running parallel to the tombs and alongside the birkeh represents a ruined wall; the general direction of the tombs is N. by 20° E.)
- B. Plan of a tomb. (The arrow shows where the head lay.)
- C. Cross section of the above tomb, from A to B.
- D. Plan of a tomb after excavation.
- E. Cross section of the above tomb from C to D.

with one of larger size standing upright at either end. They are clearly distinguished, however, from the modern Mussulman graves by their orientation, the longer axis in every case pointing *north and south*, and not east and west. This very unusual circumstance had already been noticed by the

* *Gomorrhah, Segor et les filles de Lot*; later (*Revue Critique*, September 7th, 1885) I have suggested that the name Gomorrhah should perhaps be looked for in that of *Wâdy Ghamr*, 'Ain Ghamr, to the south of the Dead Sea.

† Trelawney Saunders, *Map of Western Palestine*.

Mussulman guides of M. Rey, who made the same remark as our men, that these were tombs of *Kuffâr*, that is to say unbelievers, non-Mussulmans.

I made up my mind to have one of them opened. Our two men from Selwân set to work before our eyes, and we attentively followed the progress of this small excavation, which presented, I may remark, no difficulty whatever. After going down about a metre, our workmen came upon a layer of bricks of unbaked clay, measuring $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 8 inches by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and resting on a sort of ledge formed in the soil itself. On removing these bricks we found in the grave proper that they covered the half decayed bones of the body that had been buried there. We managed to secure a fragment of a jaw with some teeth still adhering to it, which will perhaps enable us to arrive at some conclusions of an anthropological nature.

There was nothing else whatever to afford any indications. The head was towards the south, the feet towards the north.

The accompanying sketches give an exact notion of the dimensions and arrangement of the tomb that I opened up, as also of the general appearance of this puzzling cemetery. The main plateau, which contains the greater number of the tombs, is crossed from east to west by a sort of path, separating these tombs, which are arranged with considerable regularity into two unequal groups.

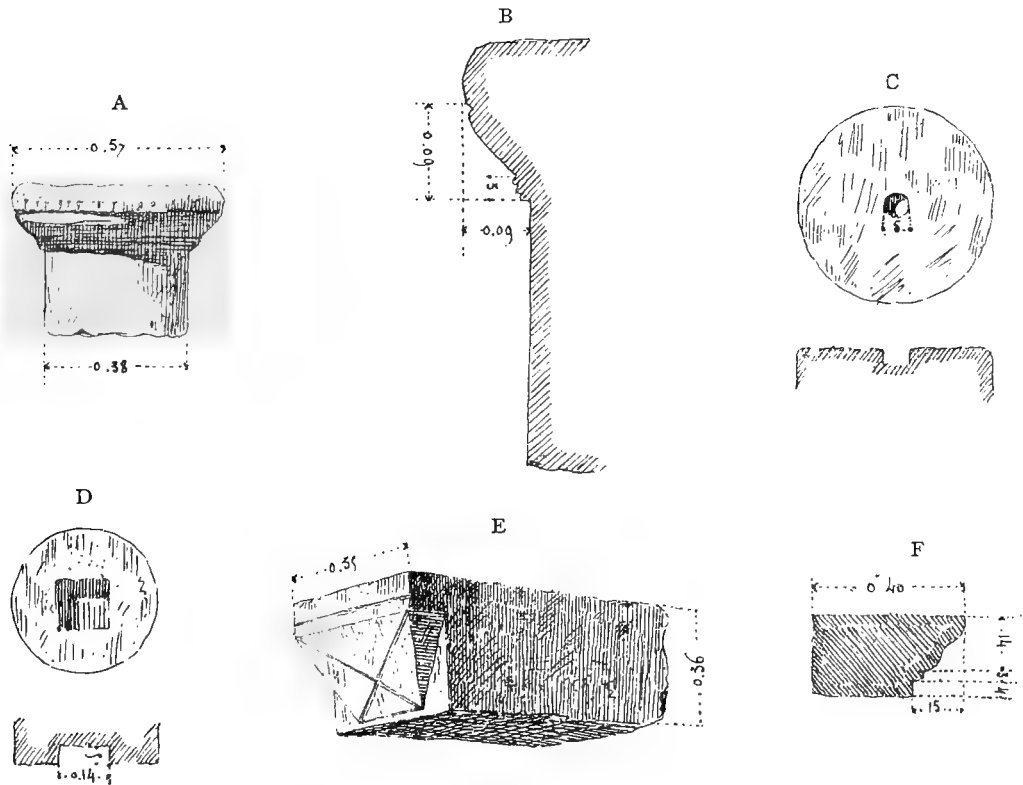
It is hard to form an opinion as to the origin of these graves, chiefly on account of their unusual orientation. They may very well have belonged to some pagan Arab tribe of the period which the Mussulmen call *Jâhilîyeh*, that is to say before the time of Mahomet. Indeed, if they had been Christian tombs, they would probably have exhibited some characteristic mark or emblem of a religious nature, for the use of unbaked bricks to cover and protect the bodies, the considerable depth of the cavities, the regularity that pervades the arrangement, and so on, show that these graves were constructed with a certain amount of care and with evident respect for their intended occupants.

Rîha (Erîha).—I took advantage of the Sabbath to take a short walk to Rîha and the neighbourhood, in company with M. Lecomte. We paid a visit to the *Mutesellim* of modern Jericho, who lives in the wretched Arab Burj, in hope to get some information from him. I met with an inhabitant of Rîha who claimed to have discovered three stones with inscriptions on them a few days before. These were probably nothing but fragments of sculpture, such as we had already found at Tawâhîn es Sukkar, pieces of capitals or friezes, on which the Arabs insisted on our finding inscriptions.

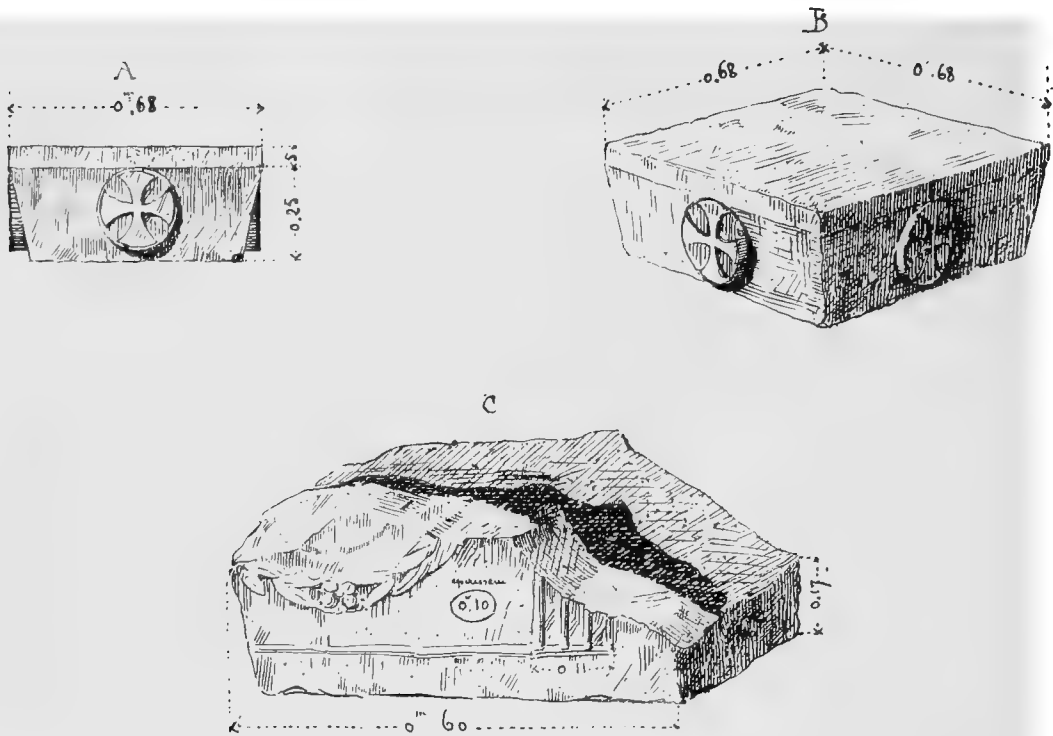
We next entered an enclosed ground belonging, we were told, to the

Russians, where there was accumulated a quantity of ancient hewn stones, procured by excavation in the neighbouring *Tells*, for use in the construction of a building projected by the Russians. We examined this building-yard, so to call it, with the greatest care, and heard that it was chiefly supplied from excavations made at *Tell el Matlab*.

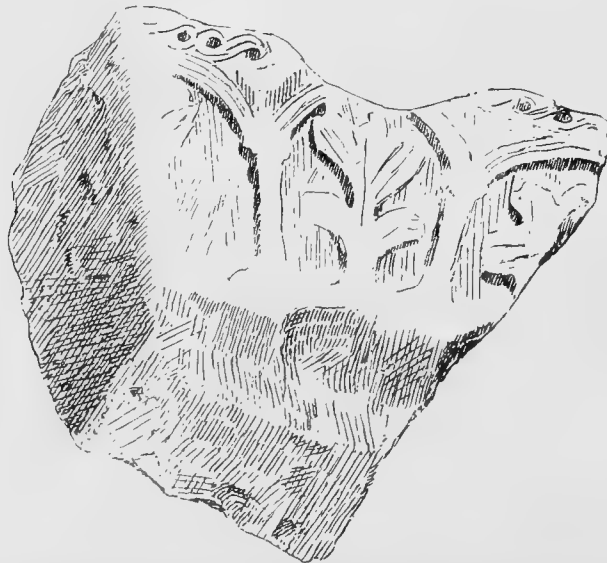
We noticed a number of architectural fragments, such as mouldings, carvings, bases, capitals and shafts of columns, pieces of entablature or friezes, a piece of the side of a sarcophagus with garlands, etc. Some of the stones bore a cross. A little further on, in the garden, we noticed a huge block of pink granite quite sunk into the ground. It would be highly desirable to ascertain the exact origin of these fragments. They doubtless belong to ancient buildings of some importance and of various periods, and might afford the basis of a conjecture as to the site of ancient Jericho, or at any rate of



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|----|---|--|
| A. | Fragment of stone column (of coarse limestone). | Elevation (traces of dentils visible on one side). |
| B. | " " " " | Profile. |
| C. | " " " " | Plan looking down and section. |
| D. | " " " " | Plan looking up and section. |
| E. | Stone corbel (of coarse limestone). | |
| F. | Profile of a stone cornice (of coarse limestone). | |

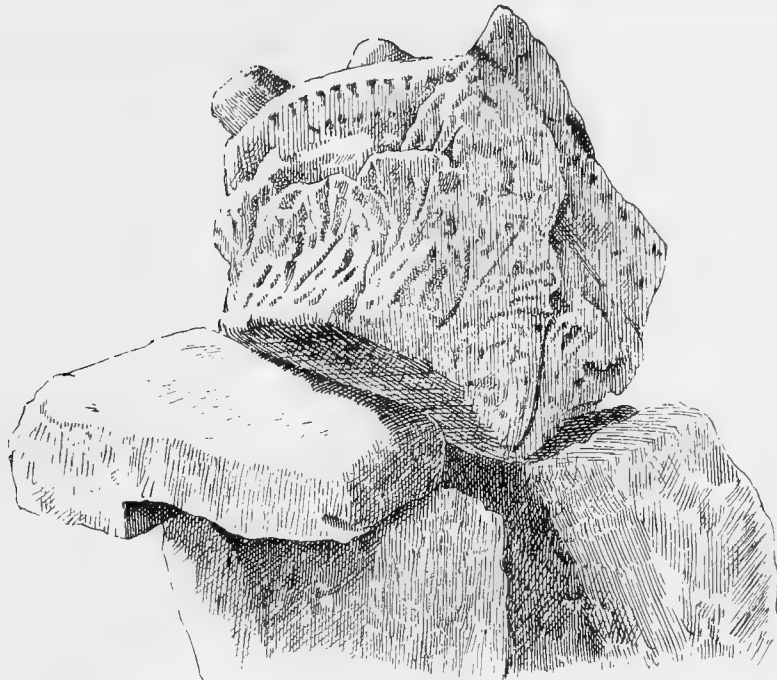


- A. Elevation of an abacus (coarse limestone with pebbles), ornamented with Greek cross.
 B. Perspective of the same.
 C. Fragment of the side of a sarcophagus (10 cm. thick, hard *mizze* limestone). The lower part of a garland carved in relief.

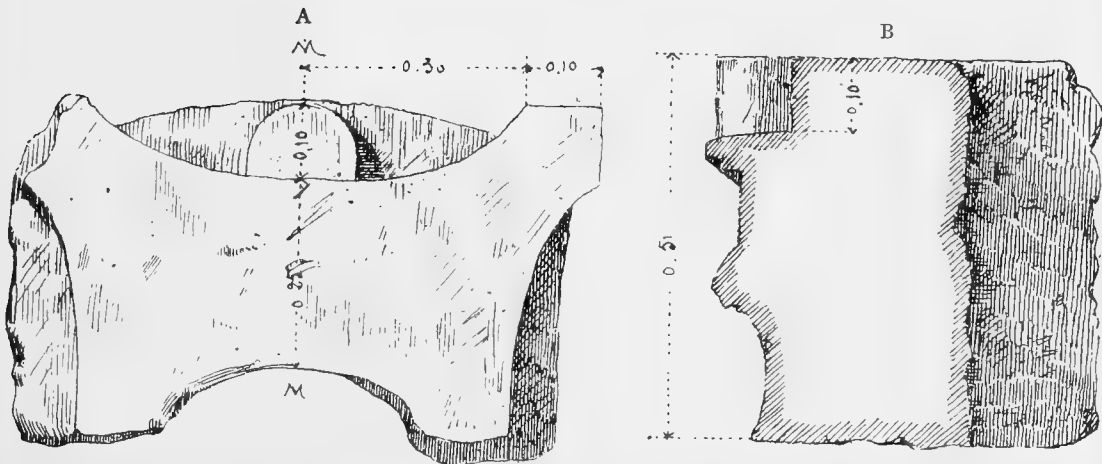


AN ARCH-STONE.

Jericho in the time of Herod. Unfortunately one cannot place unlimited confidence in the assertions of the Arabs on this point. I must admit,



A. CAPITAL (OF COARSE LIMESTONE).



Details of the Capital.—A. Plan of the part above the abacus.
B. Section on line M-M.

however, that they were almost unanimous in mentioning Tell el Matlab as the chief source of these stones; and this is in harmony with the tradition of which I shall speak later on, which locates the site of ancient Jericho at

Tell el Matlab. M. Lecomte employed the next day in drawing the most interesting of these fragments.

We came back to the camp by way of this Tell el Matlab, which had thus been brought to our notice, and observed, as a matter of fact, traces of tolerably recent excavations, and also found there some blocks of hewn stone that had been recently got out.

Environs of Jericho.—In the afternoon I went out by myself for a short excursion to the north of Rîha. I took for my guide a fellâh from el 'Azerîyeh (Bethany), who was in the habit of coming to Rîha for the field-work, and knew the neighbourhood better perhaps than the inhabitants themselves, the latter being in such a state of degradation that it is difficult to get from them any information whatever.

I first visited the *Khûrbet el Mufjir*, to the north of W. Nûei'ameh (*Wâdy N'wê'meh*), not far from the aqueduct which crosses the valley, and which I was told goes by the name of *Jisr Abu Ghabbûsh*. The ruins of Mufjir consist of small rounded heaps, extending over a considerable space of ground. Some of them were excavated a few years before by Captain Warren. These researches brought to light, among other things, a portion of an apse with its convex side looking south. This may be the extremity of the transept of a church with regular orientation. The same name *Khûrbet* or *Tawâhîn* ("mills") *el Mufjir* is applied to some considerable ruins lying about a quarter of an hour's journey farther west, at the end of an aqueduct carried on nearly semicircular arches. I noticed not far away a small wâdy, a lateral tributary of the Wâdy N'wê'meh. My guide called it Wâdy Mufjir, but afterwards some Bedouin of the neighbourhood assured me there was no such name, and that this wâdy was called *Seurhân*. Others, however, asserted that it was not a wâdy at all, but merely a place called "the *Zakkûms* of *Seurhân*" (z'gûmât *Seurhân*), after a certain *Seurhân* who had been killed there by the 'Adwân Bedouin.

Ed-Dûk.—From here we directed our way towards 'Ain ed Dûk, across the region of the sanctuary "of the Imâm 'Aly," *Ardh makâm el Imâm 'Aly*. This sanctuary is held in the greatest veneration in the country round about, and is often called the *Makâm* for short, as being the sanctuary *par excellence*. We shall soon hear of the curious legend that I picked up relating to this Mussulman shrine. To get to the Makâm, we went by way of the *Tell el Bureikeh* (*Āḇ'raikeh*).

The Makâm in itself presents no striking features. I first noticed a Mussulman tomb protected by a low dry stone wall, and surrounded by a

quantity of implements and miscellaneous articles, left there by their owners under the protection of the holiness of the place. A little further on are erected two large shafts of columns, intended to mark the precise site of the Makâm. A rising ground of small extent that lies in front is full of pits dug in the ground, and similarly entrusted to the protection of the Saint.

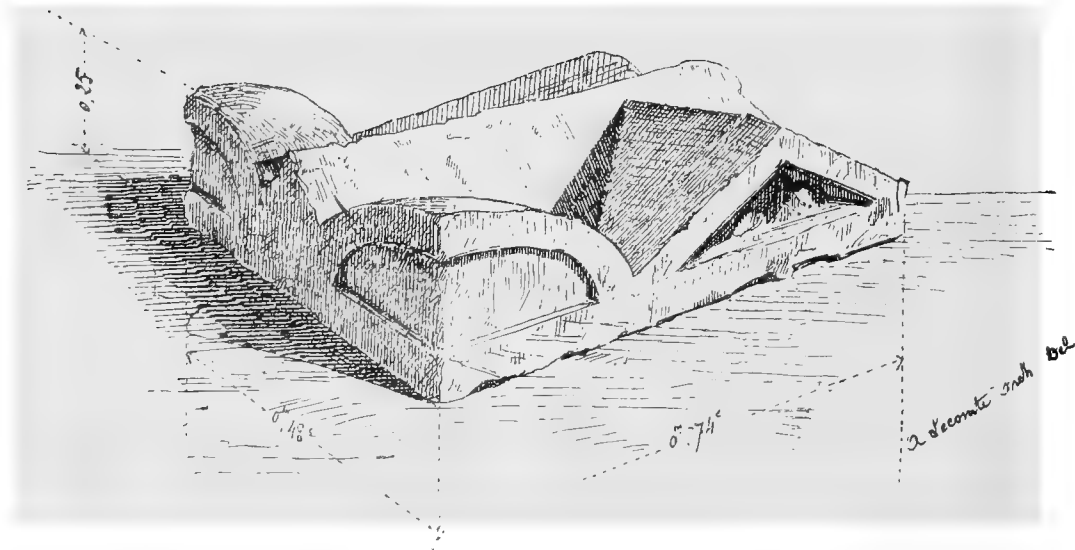
The Makâm lies at the foot of mountains bearing the name, founded on legend, as we shall shortly see, of *Muèdhden Ėb'lâl*, "the place where Ėb'lâl summoned to prayer." This mountain commands all the country round, and looks over the Wâdy N'wê'meh. This point being of great strategical value, we should perhaps locate here the fortress of *Dûk* or *Dagôn*, spoken of in the Book of Maccabees and in Josephus. The same name is found again in that of the spring called '*Ain ed Dûk*, not far away, and a little higher up the wâdy I was told—how truly I was not able to ascertain—that there were traces of ruins on a plateau at the top.

This same name *Dûk* would also appear to have been anciently applied to the mountain called from the time of the Crusaders the *Mountain of the Quarantania*. This is indubitably proved by an ancient Christian Arabic MS., still unpublished, which contains a very curious description of the Holy Places. It is there expressly stated that the Mountain of the Quarantania is called *Jebel ed Dûk* (جبل الدوق), and that this is the mountain from under which the spring of Elisha issued. The real native name, therefore, of the mountain christened by the Franks "the Mountain of the Quarantania" is *Jebel ed Dûk*, and hence it becomes very probable that this is in fact the mountain spoken of in the *Life of St. Chariton* (*Bollandists*, September 28th, pp. 618 and 622), under the mutilated name of *Luke's Mountain*, in the neighbourhood of Jericho (Λουκᾶ to be altered to Δουκᾶ). This fact has its importance, proving as it does that the name *Dûk* is earlier than the Arab conquest. The author of the *Life of St. Chariton* explains the origin of the name in this way: Elpidius, having established a religious foundation in this place, he (Elpidius) was called Δούκα (*dux*, "duke"), because he commanded the laura like a kind of *duke*, repelling the attacks of the Jews who inhabited a place (χωρίον) in the neighbourhood called Νοερόν. We may believe that the author is here playing upon a more ancient name, an old Hebrew or Aramaic name of the spot, namely, that *Dûk* which we encounter in Jewish history. I will remark, in passing, that the *Noeron* in question here is simply the *Naorath* which the *Onomasticon* speaks of as being a "Villula Judæorum" five miles from Jericho, and regards, rightly or wrongly, as identical with the *Naarah* in the tribe of Ephraim. It is interesting to note that this name,

now vanished from the native toponymy,* was still in existence when the *Life of St. Chariton* was compiled, and that the place had remained an important Jewish centre. It is the *Neara* of Josephus, whence an aqueduct brought water to the plantations of Jericho, and the Naaran (נערן) of the Talmud, a neighbour and an enemy of Jericho. It has been proposed to locate it at Khûrbet el 'Aujah, but the distance does not exactly agree. In this latter respect, if the Jericho of the *Onomasticon* be represented by the Riha of to-day, the actual neighbourhood of 'Ain ed Dûk would be preferable.

I continued to ascend the Wâdy N'wê'meh, which grows wider just here, keeping along the base of the hills that skirt the northern side of it. When I had got up about as high as the springs of 'Ain ed Dûk and 'Ain N'wê'meh, I went to see a tomb which was dug out in the rocky side of a hill, the opening of which is visible from the bottom of the valley. It consists of a chamber with 21 loculi at right angles to the walls (*kôkêm*), and arranged in two rows, one above the other.†

This number 21 (7 and 3) has a symbolical import in the arrangement of tombs. I noticed there also two stone sarcophagi, one longer and wider than the other. On the ground in the middle of a heap of chopped straw



LID OF A SARCOPHAGUS, FRAGMENT OF.

* It is met with again on the other side of Jordan, in the name of a homonymous locality, to the north of Hesbân: *Nâ'âr* (khûrbet, 'ain, and wâdy, ناعور).

† I did not make a plan of it, but Mr. Drake, whom I took there the next day, doubtless did so.

(*tibēn*) there lay a fragment of the lid of a sarcophagus, carved and ornamented with acroteria or *fastigia*, rounded at the corners and triangular at the sides, along with some more fragments, plainly of sarcophagi and lids. This chamber had been recently opened, my guide declared, by a Bedawy who had found it convenient for a granary; in fact, I noticed at the door of the tomb the earth that had been removed from it, mixed with bones, potsherds, and bits of glass, etc., and it did not appear to have lain there long.

By the side of this tomb I noticed another of the same sort, almost wholly filled up with earth. I came back next day and excavated it, but without any results of interest. This second tomb struck me as having never been entirely finished, but it must in any case have been rifled long before. We found mingled with the earth in one of the corners of the chamber some bones, apparently belonging to a body, an Arab's possibly, which had been buried there at a later period.

Probably the presence of these tombs, and the discovery of these sarcophagi, accounts for the origin of a legend that my guide related to me. Pointing from where we stood to the bottom of the valley, he said, "At the back of the level country (*fy ka' khaur*) of *Abu Lahēm*, in the Wâdy N'wê'meh, not far from the spring, they say there is a great long stone with an inscription. By the side of it is a leaden chest which contains another chest all of gold, which again contains the body of a man." The same guide told me that the "old men of Rîha" said that the site of ancient Jericho was at *Tell el Matlab*.

He also mentioned a large upright rock (*wâkef*) called *Chahmûn* or *Chahmûm*, which is like a solitary mountain, and is situated about two hours' journey to the south of Hajar el Asbah. This must be the *Jebel el Kahmûm* of the Map (to the S.W. near Neby Mûsa). Only the pronunciation as I noted it would imply the spelling كهمون, كهموم, rather than that used in the Name Lists, كهموم.

Legends of Joshua.—All Monday was taken up with the fruitless excavation of the tomb last mentioned.

In the evening, in the course of conversation with one of the 'Abid employed as guides by the Survey Party, I gathered from his lips a number of traditions which appear worth relating in detail, as they refer confusedly but still unequivocally to the name and history of Joshua. I attach a certain value to these legends, though strangely modified indeed from the Bible stories, because they were related to me by a simple-minded and rather shy

man, before an audience of Arabs who could check his assertions, and because alterations they have undergone are too curious and too local not to be original. I mean by this (and will presently give proof of it) that it would be a mistake to regard them as recent adaptations of Christian traditions; they must belong to an old mass of Arabic folk-lore which has for centuries been current among the natives of the plain of Jericho.

I reproduce faithfully my Bedawy's story.

"Not far from *Tell el Ithleh*"* (a locality that I shall have occasion to speak of again later on, and which is situated something over a mile to the east of Rîha) "there are," said he, "some ruins with *dawâres*.† Here once rose the ancient Jericho, 'the city of brass' (*Medînet en nahâs*), surrounded with seven walls of brass. The city was in the power of the *kuffâr* (infidels), and the Imâm 'Aly, son of Abu Tâleb (Imâm of the makâm described above), warred against them. 'Aly, mounted on his horse *Meîmûn*,‡ rode round the city, and overthrew the walls by blowing on them (*ben-nefes*); the ramparts fell of themselves, stone by stone."

It is superfluous to point out to the reader that this legend closely agrees with the capture of Jericho by Joshua. Here is another detail showing conclusively the personality of Joshua hidden under that of the Imâm 'Aly.

When he was doing battle with the *kuffâr* of the Town of Brass, the day began to draw to a close, and the infidels were about to escape under cover of the darkness, when the Imâm 'Aly cried out and addressed the sun, "*Erja'y, yâ mubâraka*," Return, O Blessed One, and "*Inthiny, yâ mubâraka*," Turn back, O Blessed One. Immediately, by God's grace, the sun, which was in the west, and was about to disappear behind the mountain, came back and stationed itself in the east, at the place of its rising. Since this time the mountain above which the sun stood at the moment of the miracle has been called *Dhahrat eth Thiniyeh*, literally, "the ridge of the turning back." This mountain is the low chain which skirts the base of Mount Quarantania, above the Tawâhîn es Sukkar, and is crossed as one goes from 'Ain es Sultân to the Makâm. It is covered with little heaps of stones

* Another Bedawy from among the 'Abîd said "a little to the north of the Tell."

† Plural form of *dâriseh*, "traces of ancient things, remains."

‡ The horse *Meîmûn* is celebrated in Mussulman legend. It was a winged horse, a kind of Pegasus, and was brought to Adam by Ridhwân, the guardian angel of Paradise. It is a rather striking coincidence that the name *Ridhwân* happens to be that given to Joshua in Arabo-Samaritan tradition.

(*shawâhed*, "testimonia") set up by the Mussulmans, who can descry thence, directly to the south, the no less sacred *Makâm* of Neby Mûsa.

But to go on with our story. As soon as the Imâm 'Aly saw the sun in the east again, he called out to his servant Ėb'lâl,* who happened at the moment to be on the mountain now called Muedhdhen Ėb'lâl, to give the signal (*edhân*) for morning prayer, whence the mountain was afterwards called the "Place of the Call to Prayer by Ėb'lâl."† This miracle secured the victory of the Imâm 'Aly; he exterminated the unbelievers, whose remains were eaten up by wasps (*d'bâur*), and destroyed the city root and branch.

It is easy to distinguish in this native legend, though in a state of quaint confusion and amalgamation, all the distinctive features of the Bible narrative relating to the taking of Jericho and the final victory of Joshua over the Amorites at the battle of Beth-horon. In consequence, however, of the utter lack of historical perspective that characterises popular accounts, facts and persons totally distinct and furthest apart in time, appear here all on the same plan. A strong tendency is also visible to localize striking details by connecting them with names of places involving attempts at etymology of the most rudimentary kind. Still, I think it is not uninteresting to have gathered these popular accounts at the spot where the events are represented in the Bible as taking place, for they hand down a tradition, and whatever their origin may be, are not the creations of yesterday, as I shall now proceed to show.

As early as Mujîr ed Dîn we find the capture of Jericho and the staying of the sun fused into one episode. This writer says that the two-fold miracle occurred on a Friday, and this feature is further developed by the appearance in the Bedouin legend of the *Muezzin* Ėb'lâl. Mujîr ed Dîn himself merely borrows this account with its characteristic peculiarities from older Mussulman writers.‡

But this is not all. A testimony which, being that of a Christian, is quite independent, namely, that of the Russian Igumen (Abbot) Daniel, shows

* Bilâl, the famous Muezzin, a slave of Abyssinian origin, who was the first among Mussulmans to be appointed to this office, and by Mahomet himself.

† I am inclined to believe that this name Ėb'lâl (= *Bilâl*) gave rise to that of a group of the *Abîd* tribe called the *Belâlât*.

‡ P. 94 of the Bulak Arabic text. The legend in question is again met with, for instance, in the *Tarikhi Montekheb*. (Cf. d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s. v. *Joschova*.)

that the transference by legend of the miracle of Gabaon to the vicinity of Jericho was already an accomplished fact in the 12th century. In the description of Jericho, after speaking of the convent and church of St. Michael that rose on the site of Gilgal to hallow the memory of the vision of Joshua, to whom the Sar Saba of Jehovah appeared,* he adds: "West of this place there is a mountain† called Gabaon, which is very large and high. It was over this mountain that the sun stood still for half a day, so that Joshua, the son of Nun, might triumph over his enemies when he fought against Og (!), King of Bashan, and all the kingdoms of Canaan. And when Joshua had completely vanquished them, the sun set."‡ Thus the localization of the legend at Jericho, in the shape in which I found it, and with the complication of a new confusion (the victory over the Amorites), was already current in this quarter.

Deviations and displacements of this sort in the story of Joshua are very ancient; we find in early times this tendency to group around Jericho the places and deeds which stand out most prominently in the history of the successor of Moses. Thus it is, for instance, that we find Procopius of Gaza, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, saying that Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, which at a later time are pointed out by the Samaritans *at Sichem, are in reality not far from Gilgal, near Jericho*. It looks as if this evolution were earlier than the Christian authors I have just quoted, and as if they had borrowed this singular theory from Jews, who held it perhaps out of hostility to the Samaritans. The transference of the miracle from Gabaon may belong to the same period, even if it was not determined by the same motive. Moreover, Ebal, Gerizim, and Gabaon are not the only names that have become connected with Jericho; Hermon also has shared this fate. The *Onomasticon*, Antoninus, St. John of Damascus, and after them a number of pilgrims, agree in locating the hill of Hermon near the Jordan, not far from Jericho. Hence one sees that the Bedouin legend has respectable and ancient precedents.

One detail of the Bedouin legend strikes me as having a very curious Biblical character, namely the *wasps* sent by God to complete the extermination of the infidels of Jericho. It vividly recalls a passage in the Wisdom of Solomon (xii, 8), where the writer, after mentioning the Canaanitish peoples that lived in the land before the Israelites, and after alluding to their

* See further on my remarks on this tradition.

† He is speaking, as the sequel of the description shows, of the Mountain of the Quarantania.

‡ *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's Trans.*, p. 32.

sanguinary rites, says, "And thou hast sent as scouts of thy army, wasps (*σφῆκας*) to destroy them."

This passage may be compared with Deuteronomy i, 44, where Jehovah says that the Amorites, coming down from the mountains, pursued the disobedient Israelites as *wasps* do, or *bees* (*הדברים*). Not only is this distinctly local simile found alike in the Hebrew text and the Bedouin legend, but the very words are identical, *debôrim* = *d'bûr*, (*دبور*) "wasps." We find the same comparison used in speaking of the "Assyrian hornet" to which Jehovah calls (Isaiah vii, 18), and of the strange nations that surround the Psalmist like "bees" (Ps. cxviii, 12). It may not be out of place to remark in this connection that the Hebrew word *deber*, derived from the same root, signifies "extermination," and especially denotes "pestilence," that scourge which singles out armies for its prey. In Arabic the word *dabra* is particularly used of "the flight of a routed army." It is likely enough that these various meanings of forms sprung from the same root are connected by a bond of metaphor of which we find a trace in our Bedouin legend.

In the morning of Tuesday, while M. Lecomte was engaged in making a sketch of the plain of Jericho near Tell el 'Ain, we went with Lieut. Conder to Tell el Ithleh, to which our attention had been attracted by the foregoing account, but discovered nothing noteworthy. Lieut. Conder then left me in order to examine the region of Tell el Mufjir. I now wanted to make a careful examination of the neighbourhood of Tell el Ithleh, but as ill luck would have it, my guide, a man from Rîha, was so unintelligent that I could get no information from him, and I had to abandon the idea. I keenly regretted this when I got back to Jerusalem, for on reading the Guide of Brother Liévin and Zschokke's monograph, I saw that the place could not be far distant from the traditional site of Gilgal, even now called *Tell el Jiljâl*. The point would have been an important one to clear up, for it might have established incidentally the exact site of the different Jerichos; but I heard of it too late. I immediately notified Lieut. Conder of the fact, and he wrote back to say how exact the information was.

From Tell el Ithleh I proceeded towards Rîha, as my guide declared he had at his house there an inscribed stone found at Tell el Kôs. It was nothing but a mere piece of marble with some scratches on it caused by the pickaxe.

I spent nearly an hour in examining stone by stone all the ruined dwellings of the inhabitants of Jericho. This minute and laborious inspection was without result. I only saw the spot whence a fragment of a fine Roman

monumental inscription, of which I had previously taken an impression,* had been taken away to Jerusalem about three years before.

It is a thick block of hard limestone measuring $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 14 inches, containing the ends of four lines enclosed in a cartouche with ears. In that on the right, which is preserved, is represented a thunderbolt.



I sent a copy to Prof. Mommsen for the *Additamenta* to Vol. III of the *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*† He proposes the following restoration:—

imp. cæs. diui ANTO(N)
f. l. aurelio u ERO AVG
leg f ECIT
sub com MODO COS.

The inscription belongs to the period of the Emperor Lucius Verus. Possibly the name of Marcus Aurelius, with whom he was associated in the Government, ought to be restored

by the side of the latter; the two appear together on several milestones discovered in Palestine. The thickness of the fragment shows it to have belonged to a block of large size, with lines much longer than those supposed by Prof. Mommsen in his restoration. In this way there would be plenty of space for the double imperial protocol: *Impp. Caess. M. Aurelio Antonino et L. Aurelio Vero Augg., etc.*, or for some other such formulæ, more or less abridged.‡

The inscription was dedicated under the consularis Commodus, whose name is also to be met with, as my colleague M. Héron de Villefosse has pointed out to me, on some Syrian coins,§ probably by the Legion, or a

* April 22nd, 1871, Note-book IV, p. 23b: "Brought from Jericho by the Sheikh of Selwân." I copied it and took an impression of it at his house, but he would not let me have it. I came across it again afterwards, in 1881, at the Armenian convent in Jerusalem, and took a good photograph of it. (See my *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie*, 1884, p. 112.)

† *Ephemer. Epigr.*, p. 618: *Corpus Inscr. Latin*, III Suppl., No. 6645. Cf. P. von Rohden, *de Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 42, No. 28.

‡ Cf. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, No. 1875.

§ There is a dissertation on them by Borghesi (*Œuvres*, Vol. IV, p. 170). On the other hand, De Vit (*Onomasticon*, II, p. 391, *verso*, Commodus, IV) says that coins of this same legate are in existence struck in Thrace, with the name of the gens, *Julius Commodus*.

detachment (*Vexillatio*) of the legio that was at that time in garrison at Jericho. Unfortunately the name and number of this legion, which should be on the third line, have disappeared. I thought for the moment, from the thunderbolts carved in the auricles, that it might be the Twelfth Legion, the *Fulminata*, but that is not much to go by; besides, we know that this legion was no longer in Syria in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but in Cappadocia.

In any case, the Jericho fragment has a great historical importance, since it teaches us the name of the legatus Augusti, pro prætore consularis, who governed the province of Palestine between the years 161 and 169 of our era. Lucius Verus died, as we know, in 169; on the other hand, we are aware that, in 167, the government of Palestine was entrusted to Flavius Boethus, who died shortly after reaching his post, as we are told by the physician Galenus.*

Here follows a reproduction of another small fragment (of marble) with Latin (probably Roman) characters. This likewise came from Jericho; I got it when I first stayed there.



It is difficult to make anything out of these remains, which only contain a part of a line and a few traces of another line underneath. The first mutilated letter is more probably a Q than an O. I am also at a loss how to divide the words in the obscure group of letters: . . . *que t(or i)uvent su (per?) . . . ??*

Deir el Kelt.—We spent the afternoon in going with Mr. Drake and M. Lecomte to see the convent of *Deir el Kelt*. Lieut. Conder had a few days before made a plan of this convent, which lies in the wildest part of the wâdy of the same name. I went there chiefly to take a squeeze of a Greek and Arabic Inscription which Lieut. Conder had discovered and copied. To get there we had to go on foot along the aqueduct that traverses the Wâd

* See von Rohden, *op. cit.*, p. 43. He makes our Commodus the immediate predecessor of Boethus; he might conceivably have been his successor (167–169).

el Kelt half way up the northern side of that deep ravine. The road was rugged and the heat overpowering.

The convent appeared to me to present no interesting features. The frescoes that adorn the interior of the church and the ruined chapel seem to belong to various late periods. They are covered with inscriptions in cursive character, some done with paint, some in *graffite*.

The only detail that struck me about the church was that it could not be regularly orientated, on account of the direction of the steep rock to which it clings; this serious breach of the principle of religious architecture had been compensated for by putting in the window of the apse obliquely. The sides of the window are at such angles with one another, and with the apse itself, that the medial axis of the window points exactly to the east, so that a ray of the rising sun can pass into the nave through the opening. The requirements of symmetry have been sacrificed without hesitation to ritual necessities.*

The inscription is built in over the entrance, which is a door quite in Arab style; it is in two languages, Greek and Arabic, probably of late date. The Greek portion is most incorrect in orthography and syntax, and is moreover carved in slovenly fashion and difficult to decipher. I have given in the *Quarterly Statement* (1874, pp. 89, 90) two provisional attempts at an interpretation of it. A fresh squeeze has been recently taken of it by Father Lagrange, and a transcription of it has been published by Father Germer-Durand, with some good observations attached. The latter reads it on the whole pretty much as I do, though he was unacquainted with my report.† On the opposite page is a reproduction from my squeeze.

(*Greek*) "The monastery has been restored . . . by the hand of Ibrahim and his brothers. . . ."

(*Arabic*) "This work Ibrahim and his brothers, the sons of Mûsa, of Jifna,‡ have done. May God have mercy on them, as on him who shall read it and say: Amen."

Ἀνεκένισθη is for ἀνεκακίσθη. The qualifying word before μονή is

* We took, together with M. Lecomte, a detailed plan of this interesting architectural anomaly, but unfortunately the original plate has been lost by the engraver. It was numbered 44, and showed, (1) a plan of the apse of the chapel, (2) a section of the bay with the easterly orientation, (3) a picturesque view of the monastery.

† *Revue Biblique*, July, 1892, p. 442.

‡ A village lying to the north of Jerusalem, on the road to Nâblus.

doubtful. Father Germer-Durand reads it *παρ(οῦσα)*, "the present monastery," but one feels inclined to restore *πα(λαιά)*, "ancient," or even *πᾶ(σα)*, "the whole." I can make no satisfactory meaning out of the last line. Father Germer-Durand reads: *ἐ(τει) Β(ασιλείας) Χ(ριστοῦ) π(αντακράτορος) νιβ Μ(αρ)τ(ιου) τ(ῶν) ἡγουμέ(νου) Γερασ(ί)μου*: "in the 950th year of the reign of Almighty the 12th of March under the Igumen Gerasimus." This reading however is mere guesswork, and seems to me more than doubtful.



GREEK AND ARABIC INSCRIPTION ON THE CONVENT IN DEIR EL KELT.

Ἀνεκενίσθη ἡ πα? / μο(νῇ) διὰ χ(ε)ιρὸς
 Ἰβραχίμ (καὶ) τοῦ? ἀδελφὸν? αὐτοῦ. Ε?
 χπ? νιβ π (οῦ γι) ιτῆνο υ? γε ρα

هذا الشغل عمله ابراهيم وخوته صبيان
 موسى الجفناوى رحمهم الله ورحم من قرا
 وقال امين

I gathered from the lips of a Mussulman of Jerusalem a rather curious legend about Wâd el Kelt and its aqueducts, and although this man's story lacks topographical precision, I think its interest warrants me in giving it here.

A Christian woman was having an aqueduct made in the Wâd el Kelt to irrigate the plain of Jericho. To her came Moses (*Sîdna Mûsa*), who had a similar intention. The Christian woman refused to help Moses by making her aqueduct pass a certain way; it resulted in each defying the other to get the work done first. Then Moses took his rod and marked with the tip of it a channel on the ground, which the water at once filled, and flowed to *Birket Mûsa* at the foot of Beit Jabër.

The most noteworthy thing about this legend is that it gives us what is perhaps the real origin of the name *Wâd el Kelt*. To "irrigate" the plain (*min shân yikallit*) was in fact the object of the rival aqueduct builders. Now the word *yikallit* is the second form of a verb *kalat* قَلَّت, which has no connection with irrigating; it is the verb *kalad* قَلَد that has this meaning. The substitution of *t* for *d* must therefore be the result of vulgar pronunciation,* and as *yikallit* evidently stands for *yikallid*, so *kelt* must represent *keld*. Consequently the name should properly be spelt قَلَد *keld*, and the real meaning of *wâd el Kelt* (*keld*) is "valley of irrigation." This name is justified by the presence of the three aqueducts which the valley contains, and which descend into the plain. This leads us far away from the connection that used to be set up between the name of this valley and that of the famous valley, or rather brook, of Cherith, for it leaves the two names without even one letter in common (قَلَد and כְּרִית).

The same man told me that in the *Wâd el Kelt* there was a spring, of which he could not give the name, but which was "bewitched with the white man and the negro" (*marsûd 'ala' l-'abêd u' l-horr†*). The water of the spring at one time flows copiously, at another entirely disappears, so that it is often quite impossible to drink at it. This alternation arises from a perpetual combat between the black man and the white man; when the negro gets the upper hand the water rises, but when the white man wins, the water goes down. Evidently this is a case of an intermittent spring. I do not know whether the two springs noted there by the Survey present this peculiarity, but perhaps there is a third still to be found in the *wâdy*.

'Ain es Sultân.—On returning from *Deir el Kelt*, I took advantage of the presence of my two workmen from *Selwân* to get them to lay bare part of the small ruined edifice which surrounds the spring at *Tell es Sultân* called "Elisha's spring." I plainly distinguished an apse with a niche. Is this part of a small pagan temple dedicated, as was usual, to the god or goddess of the spring, or merely of the church which, according to *Theodosius*, was built over the spring itself?‡

* For the interchange of *t* and *d* at the end of words, in vulgar Arabic, cf. the Arabic name of Goliath, *Jâlût*, which becomes *Jâlûd*.

† *Horr* properly signifies "free man" and *'abêd*, "black slave." My translation is based on further clues which my informant gave me.

‡ *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, I, p. 68: "Memoria sancti Helisaei ibi est, ubi fontem illum benedixit, et super ipsa memoria ecclesia ædificata est."

Unfortunately I had to stop the excavation in view of the remonstrances of the inhabitants of Riha, who were afraid it would dry up the water of the spring.

Sundries from my note-books.—The mountain above Beit Jabër to the south of Wâd el Kelt is called *Hosöb Madbah 'Ayid*.*

I made the following notes of the various ways in which the Abu N'seir Bedouin pronounce the ك and the ق. This is a very important consideration in fixing the exact form of a series of place-names of this region.

كلب *chelb*, "dog."

كتف *chetf*, "shoulder."

قلب *galb*, "heart."

ناقة *nâga*, "she-camel" (never *nâja*).

رفيق *rafîj*, "companion" (never *rafîg*).

قلت *gelt* and *jelt* (in the name of Wâd el Kelt).

قهقور *kahkûr*, "pile of heaped stones;" is pronounced in the plural *jehâjîr* (قهاقير).

At *Tell es Asmar*,† on the bank of the rivulet that issues from 'Ain es Sultân, I noticed in the midst of a few other roughly hewn stones, a corner-stone with *bossage*.

From Jericho to Jerusalem.—On the morning of Wednesday, December 3rd, we started on our way back to Jerusalem. Messrs. Conder and Drake went with us, but the latter left us at *Khân el Hathrûr*, or *Hathrûrah*, in order to visit the ruins of *Khân el Ahmar*, two miles to the south-west.

Khân el Hathrûr.—Shortly before arriving at the fortress of *Khân el Hathrûr*, which we thoroughly explored, I had examined the remains of a milestone which stood upright on a quadrangular base to the left of the road. It is called *Dabbûs el 'Abêd*, "the Negro's Club." M. de Saulcy

* On the *Survey Map* the name *Madbah 'Ayîd* is applied merely to the little valley lying to the south of this mountain.

† I do not find this name on the Map, but doubt its being *Tell es Samarât*.

mentions it, in his first journey, under the slightly different name of *Dabbûs esh Sheitân*, "the Devil's Club." It belongs, no doubt, to the Roman road uniting Jerusalem and Jericho, which is the one still in use. Soon after passing the Khân, I noticed on the right, built into the wall that carries the road over a narrow ravine, a fragment of a shaft of a column of coarse red-tinted limestone, which also appeared to me to belong to a milestone. This fragment, which was only 15 inches in height, is $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Now the *Dabbûs el 'Abêd*, which Lieut. Conder measured at my request on his way back to Jericho, is 22 inches in diameter, which differs only by a small fraction of an inch from the fragment I noted. This similarity in the two diameters cannot be accidental, and is the more significant as there were never any buildings at Khân el Hathrûr, so far as one can judge, likely to contain such a column. If this view be admitted, we shall have here one more landmark fixed in this ancient Roman way. Unfortunately these two mutilated milestones bear no signs of any number. Still they were not the only ones, and I think that some more might be found on the road, perhaps in good condition, which would throw much light on the position of Roman Jericho. For this purpose it would be advisable to explore the bottom of the Wâd el Kelt for the whole distance where it is parallel to the road, for the milestones have doubtless rolled down into it, and it is not likely to have occurred to anyone to get them out of the chasm and make use of them.

I ought to mention that Lieut. Conder did not share my views on this point. He objected, to begin with, that the interval between *Dabbûs el 'Abêd* and the other fragment of a column was considerably greater than a Roman mile. This objection is easily met by saying that they are perhaps not exactly *in situ* and may have been displaced, especially the second one, which has been utilised, as I have said, in building a sustaining wall to support the road. The second and more weighty objection is that the direction of the modern road through Khân el Hathrûr ceases to coincide with the Roman way at a point lying to the west of *Dabbûs el 'Abêd*, and as far up as Tal'at es Sumra. Here the Roman way, it is said, takes a turn to the south by Khân el Ahmar, leaving the modern road, which it joins again at '*Arak Abu 'l Kar'a*. I am by no means persuaded of this. This southerly direction may be ancient, but that does not preclude the antiquity of the section that goes through Khân el Hathrûr, where there are regular artificial cuttings made in the solid rock, and not the work of yesterday. One might, it is true, attribute these, as well as the construction of this section of the road, to the Crusaders, who held a strong post at Khân el Hathrûr, and probably had a

hand in building the neighbouring fortress which commands the pass.* Besides, if we agree with the "Memoirs" (III, 172) in accepting the opinion generally received, that *Tal'at ed Dumm* and *Khân Hathrûra* with its fortress represent the *Maledomim* of the *Onomasticon* and the *Castellum Militum*, we are forced to admit that the Roman way passed through *Khân el Hathrûr*, for St. Jerome expressly says that the fort was erected to secure the safety of the road from Jerusalem to Jericho.

Evidently, therefore, there is no reason why this portion of a column should not have belonged to one of the milestones on this Roman road.

Arab Milestone.—Ten years later a curious discovery was made at this very spot that has some bearing on this problem. It consisted of an *Arab* milestone of the 1st century A.H., which served to mark out the road from Damascus to Jerusalem, a road that went through Jericho and *Khân el Hathrûr*. It bears an inscription of the Caliph 'Abd el Melik, who constructed the *Kubbet es Sakhra* at Jerusalem. This inscription is interesting in more than one respect, it being the first of its kind, but as I have published and explained it in a special memoir,† I will not revert to it here, only

* This is the *Maledomim* of the Templars (Radulph de Coggeshale, 234). The name shows that in the time of the Crusades the place was identified with the *Maaleh Adummim* of the Bible. The identity of *Khân el Hathrûr* and the *Cisterna Rubea*, or the *Red Tower* (?) is another question. Meanwhile we must not forget *Khân el Ahmar*, which is not far distant on the other branch of the road, and by its name (the red *khân*) calls for consideration. This name, it is true, is sometimes applied to *Khân el Hathrûr* itself. The oldest instance I can find of the occurrence of this latter name is in an ancient Slavonic text dating back at least to the 14th century, which has been translated by Father Martinov. The unknown author says there is to be seen on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho "a red mountain called *Havrouta*, where Cain killed his brother Abel." Evidently this name, which appears to have greatly puzzled the translator, is nothing but *Hathrûra*, wrongly copied or wrongly read.

† *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I, p. 201, plate XII. The inscription runs as follows:— ". has ordered the construction or repairing of this road, and the *making up* of the milestones, 'Abd Allah 'Abd el Melik, Prince of the Believers, God's mercy be upon him. From Damascus to this milestone is one hundred and nine miles." According to subsequent information kindly furnished me at my request by H.E. Hamdy Bey, the Director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, the stone, which has been conveyed to that place, consists of a quadrangular *stele* "of white marble," without a base, and measuring in its present condition (it is broken at the top) 14 inches high by 16½ inches long by 4¾ inches thick. To judge from the very careful sketch, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Hamdy Bey, the hinder face is of undressed stone, which would appear to show that this inscription was intended to be looked at from the front only, and that it must have been built in.

Since then, another milestone of the same caliph has been discovered at *Bâb el Wâd*, on the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa (*Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, 1894, p. 27; *Revue*

remarking that 'Abd el Melik most certainly did nothing but follow and restore the track of an ancient road that already existed. This would be quite in accordance with Arab custom. Probably also the existence of ancient milestones gave him the idea of having imitations of them made under his own name. He imitated the *milliaria* as he did the coinage of the *Rûms*.

Biblîque, 1894, p. 136). It is identical in tenour with the one that I have described, and marks the eighth mile after starting from *Ilya* (Jerusalem). The Arab mile (*mîl*) had borrowed its name from the Roman mile, but, as I shall show elsewhere, it represented a different measure of distance, which under the early caliphs was to the Roman measure as 5 is to 3 or thereabouts; it was in reality a measure of Persian origin, corresponding to the Pehlevi *hâthra* or *hâser* (one-third of a parasang), and might be reckoned at about 2,466 metres. The length of the Arab mile must have been modified under the Abbaside caliphs, at the time when the measurement of the terrestrial degree was ordered by El Mâmûn.

CHAPTER III.

SECOND EXCURSION TO JERICHO.

I RETURNED to Jericho on April 24th, 1874, wishing to make fresh investigations there before the heat became too oppressive. We took the shortest road there, and did not stop by the way. I did not have the camp pitched at 'Ain es Sultân, as is usual, but on a small mound as you go into Rîha (Eriha) near the cemetery, and not far from the Burj.

Gilgal.—Next morning we went to the supposed site of Gilgal. As explained above, I had not had an opportunity of visiting the spot when I was here before, but had merely been able to inform Lieut. Conder of its existence, and indicate to him its whereabouts.

The place lies not far from *Tell el Ithleh*, and has been pointed out to several travellers, as Zschokke and Brother Liévin, by the name of *Jiljûlieh*, which answers closely, it must be admitted, to the Hebrew *Gilgal*.

The people of Rîha assured us that this name (*Jiljûlieh*) was "only used by the Franks," which distinctly lessens the value of this identification.

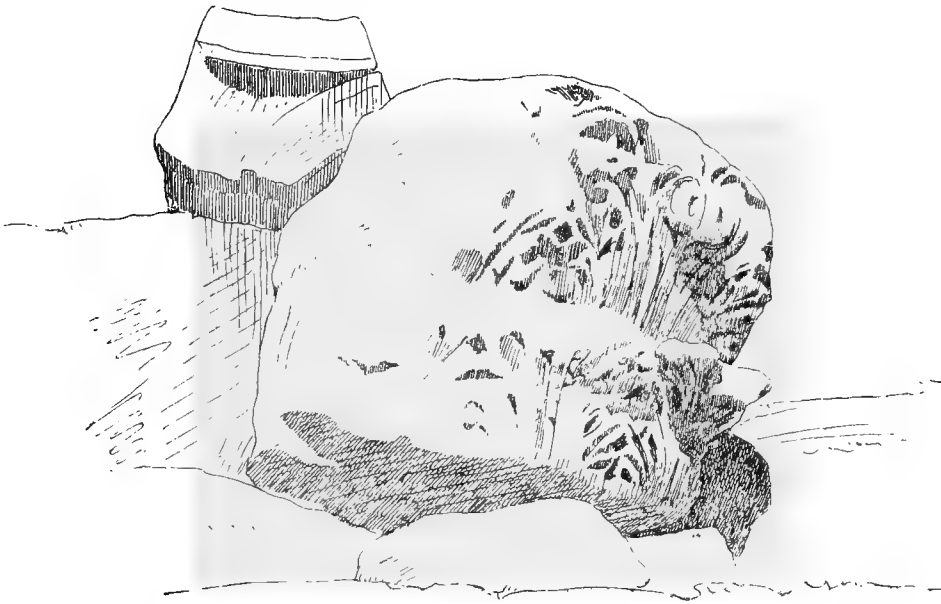
Moreover, the following instance shows how prudently one has to question the fellahîn, and how cautiously their statements have to be utilised. A short time before the Archimandrite of the Russian Establishment at Jerusalem asked to be shown Jiljûlieh, which he had heard of from me, and the peasants took him to Tell el Mufjir, to which they gave the name required.

Notwithstanding this, I ventured on some small excavations in the mounds of 'el Ithleh and Jiljûlieh, but we did not get down very deep, and no great results were obtained. In the former place were a quantity of potsherds, mosaic cubes and bits of glass; in the second sand. It is certain that a building of some importance existed on the former spot, to judge by the abundance of the mosaics, but there is nothing in that to testify for or against its identity with Gilgal, and the matter still seems to me extremely doubtful.

Next day we went to inspect again the *Tawâhîn es Sukkar*, and particularly an aqueduct, where I noticed on the previous occasion that some of the materials had an ancient appearance. I made my people turn over all the blocks that were scattered about, and complete the demolition of a few

portions of this ruined aqueduct. This brought to light some sculptured fragments, evidently belonging to important monuments of the Græco-Roman period.





I am convinced that if all these ruined aqueducts that traverse the plain of Jericho were to be demolished, a quantity of antique fragments would be found to have been used in building them, some among them of great value, and perhaps bearing inscriptions. The sacrifice would not be great, and the archæological interest would atone for the comparative vandalism of the proceeding. A perfect mine of antiquities is there waiting to be worked, and I commend it to the attention of future explorers.

Tell el M'gheîfer.—In the afternoon we went to the *Tell el M'gheîfer*, also called sometimes *Tell el Kursy*, "the Tell of the throne, or of the chair," which is regarded by some writers as the real Gilgal. It lies to the south-east of Riha. The Russians were making excavations there just at this time to get out building materials, and already a considerable number of stone blocks had been taken out and placed, along with others from other sources, in a plot of ground close to the Burj (*cf. supra*, p. 16). Several of the blocks were still covered with fresco paintings in the Byzantine style. I was very desirous—my motive will be shortly apparent—to have a correct drawing of the mountain *K'reîn Sartaba* (Kurn Sûrtâbeh) taken from this spot, and while M. Lecomte was working at this, my two men made some slight excavations in the Tell under my directions, but without success.

Legend of Imâm 'Aly.—During this second stay at Jericho I took down from the mouth of the Bedouin some fresh details about the Imâm 'Aly, who, as I have shown above, is merely a Mussulman travesty of the legendary figure of Joshua. The boundary between the *Ghaur es Seîsabân* and the Ghaur of Beisân was marked out by the Imâm 'Aly with a sword-stroke. At a single blow he clove through an enemy, a *jîsër* ("bridge" or "aqueduct") on which he stood, and into the soil beneath. I could not get them to point out the spot called *jîsër* that is indicated in the legend. Can it be one of the many aqueducts that traverse the plain between the mountain and the Jordan? Or is it, on the contrary, one of the bridges that unite or did unite the two banks of that river, such as the bridge of Dâmieh, built by Beîbars, opposite Sartaba, or that of el Mejâme' (Mujâmia')* between Beîsân and the Lake of Tiberias? I cannot tell. At any rate this legend seems to indicate that the name Seîsabân ought not to be confined to the southern part of the eastern Ghaur, which lies opposite Jericho, but ought to be extended to the northern part, as far as the region of Beîsân at least. According to another Bedouin legend that I noted on another occasion, the blood shed by the Imâm 'Aly flowed into the Ghaur es Seîsabân, which ever after was impure ground (*nedjîs*), and that is why in order to pray there one has to spread one's cloak on the ground and kneel on it.

The Imâm 'Aly, who has also another Makâm on the other side of the Jordan, between the river and the town of Salt, is said to have waged a great

* According to an Arabic MS. chronicle in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Ancien fonds*, No. 786), entitled *Nuzhat en-nâzerîn*, the bridge of el Mejâme' was constructed by Sultan Barkûk (784-801 A.H.); two Arabic verses have been preserved which allude to this construction,

war against Emir Abu 'Obeideh "before Mahomet."* It is to be noted that the Bedouin who gave me this information, so quaint in its confusion, pronounced the name *Abu 'Obweideh*. The intercalation of a vowel sound *w* between the *b* and the *eî*, is, as I have frequently observed, of common occurrence in the Bedouin dialect: thus one finds in it, *bweîno* for *beîno*, "between him." The *b* coming in contact with a vowel, and especially with one in a diphthong, tends to disengage the semi-vowel of the same group of labials. This fact has to be taken into account in the comparison of Hebrew and Arabic place-names. For similar reasons it comes about that in Palestine the name *Dâûd* (=David) is commonly pronounced *Dâhûd*, as if it were written *داهود*. This is the reverse of the other, for the *â* coming next to the *û* and making a hiatus has developed the aspirate which is virtually inherent in itself. Among the Turks this name has been treated in a different but still analogous fashion: here the *û* has developed its semi-vowel *w* or *v*, producing *Dâvûd*.

The two workmen engaged on my little excavation at Tell el M'gheifer were two worthy peasants from *Beit Iksâ*, a village lying nearly four miles to the north-west of Jerusalem, near Neby Shamwîl, who had been for some weeks past helping to repair the wretched *lokanda* at Jericho. While they were digging they gave me a remarkable variant of the story of 'Aly-Joshua and the staying of the sun. I reproduce it exactly, not knowing whether it was of home growth, or, as is more probable, borrowed from the folk-lore of the inhabitants of Jericho.

The Imâm 'Aly had taken in some guests just when a great dearth prevailed in the land, and having nothing to set before them, he sought out a Jew and begged him to let him have a *sâ*† or a measure of corn, offering in return a measure of gold. The Jew would have none of the bargain, and said he would only give him corn on the condition that he should have it back again before sunset, and in default, the Imâm 'Aly should deliver up his son to him. The Imâm 'Aly took the corn and made a meal for his guests. The sun was about to set, and the Imâm 'Aly was vainly seeking the means of repaying the borrowed corn, when God said to the sun, "Turn back, O Blessed One." Thus time was given him to pay back the measure of corn, and he was not obliged to render up his child. One is tempted to find in this

* Abu 'Obeideh is an historical personage, one of the chief generals who won Eastern Palestine for Islam. His tomb still exists east of the Jordan, as I have noted in my *Recueil d'Arch. Or.* (I, p. 349).

† Cf. the Hebrew *seah*.

new complication of the myth of the Imâm 'Aly, a confused echo of the story of Elisha and the widow of the prophet (2 Kings, iv).

Beit Iksâ—These men from Beit Iksa told me that their own village also bore the name of *Umm el 'Elâ* (أم العلاء). Here is another of those double names that I have so often had occasion to notice in Arab toponymy. The present inhabitants belong to the Beni Zeid, and come from the north; they took possession of Umm el 'Elâ and then gave it its new name Beit Iksâ. This fact, till now unknown, and the other examples that I have found, show how one ought to be on one's guard, in dealing with the topography of Palestine, against the *possible migration of place-names*, which have been transported along with a whole population from one spot to another. This is a matter of the highest importance in exegesis, for the neglect of it involves the risk either of running into serious error, or passing by the truth unrecognized.

The ethnic of *Beit Iksâ* is *Keswâny*, plural *Kesâw'neh* (كساونه, كسوانى), which seems to point to two conclusions: (1) that in Iksâ (اكسا) the initial *i* is prosthetic, *ik'sâ* for *k'sâ*, *kesâ* (كسا); (2) that there was probably in the old name a final nunation, *Beit Kesân* or *Beit Keswân* (?).

The K'reîn Sartabâ (*Kûrn Sûrtûbêh*).—My chief object in visiting Jericho for the second time was to study on the spot an important question, the extent of which I foresaw at my first visit, I mean that of the K'reîn Sartabâ, and an interesting Biblical tradition which seems to me to connect itself closely with this well-known mountain by the peculiar character for holiness that it attributes to it.*

The traveller in the plain of Jericho on raising his eyes in a northerly direction, will notice the distant horizon to be partly closed in by a long chain of bluish mountains, from which rises a conical peak that goes by the name of *K'reîn Sartabâ*.

This peak, which is visible a long way off, and seems to command all the low-lying lands at its foot, attracts the eye by its bold projection, and arrests attention by the singular exactness of its shape; and Robinson is quite correct in saying that its commanding summit, as seen from Jericho, looks like a bastion of the western chain.

* Since my attempt to find a basis for the holy character that belongs to the K'reîn Sartabâ, Lieut. Conder has proposed another theory, one that it does not concern me here to pronounce upon, which likewise tends to assign to this mountain a part in religious history but of a totally different description. He would make it the site of the altar of Ed of the Reubenites,

The first part of the name *K'reîn*, a diminutive of *Kurn*, "horn," is frequently applied by the Arabs to prominent peaks. Doubtless the meaning of the word is responsible for the curious error of Lynch, who says that *K'reîn Sartabâ* means "the horn of the rhinoceros." The signification of *Sartabâ* is absolutely unknown, probably some ancient name should be looked for in it. In the first place it is essential to make sure of the spelling. I noted carefully the pronunciation of the Arabs round Jericho, and observed that the first letter was a soft *s* (*sîn*), and not a hard *s* (*sâd*), as would appear from the form adopted by Robinson, and followed hitherto by other travellers and geographers.

The word should accordingly be written سرطبا, and not صرطبا. In this corrected form may be easily recognized the name of the mountain mentioned in the Talmud and written סרטבה and סרטבא.*

This result at once enables us to settle one claim which has been advanced for identifying the *Sartabâ* with a Biblical spot. It was quite natural to suppose that the Bible had not failed to mention the name of such an important mountain, and starting with this idea, several writers thought fit to identify *Sartabâ* with the name of the town of *Sartan*, צרתן, which the Bible places in this Jordan region. This identification is inadmissible, being merely based on an entirely incorrect derivation. The external similarity that appears to exist between the two names vanishes when they are compared letter by letter. The final *nun* might conceivably correspond to the *ô*, but neither the *s* nor the *t* can be assimilated, they are radically different in each name.

Mr. Grove had already objected, and rightly so, to this identification, and rather inclined to trace in the first syllable of *Sartabâ* the Hebrew word *Sur*.

But the spelling of the name, which is *certain*, is equally opposed to this explanation.

Does this mean that we must give up all hopes of ever finding the mountain *Sartabâ* mentioned in the Bible? I think not; and not only so, but I believe I have found a trace of it in a passage of the greatest interest, though the form is mythical rather than geographical. In Joshua v, 13-15, we read of a strange occurrence which seems to bear on the consecration of Gilgal. Here is a literal rendering :—

* I have not thought it necessary to reproduce here the well-known passage proving that fire-signals were exchanged between the Mount of Olives and the *Sartabâ* to announce the new moon.

“And Joshua was at Jericho: and he raised his eyes and saw; and “behold there was a man standing before him, his drawn sword in his hand. “Joshua walked towards him and said to him, ‘Art thou for us or for our “enemies?’ He said to him: ‘No; for I am the *Sar-saba* of Jehovah, and “now I am going to thee.’ Joshua fell with his face to the earth and “worshipped him, and said to him: ‘What is it that my Master has to “command his servant?’

“And the *Sar-saba* of Jehovah said to Joshua: ‘Take the shoes from off “thy feet, for the place (*makom*) on which thou standest is holy.’ And Joshua did so.”

The Hebrew word *Sar-saba* signifies literally “the chief of the army,” and is rendered in the Septuagint ἀρχιστράτηγος; the different versions of the Old Testament render it as “the Captain of the Lord’s Hosts.” *Sartabâ* presents a striking likeness to *Sar-saba*, שר צבא. The only difference lies in the Hebrew *tsadi* being replaced in the Talmudic and Arabic forms by a *tet* or a *ta*. This substitution of *t* for *s* in the same emphatic series is one of the most frequent changes that attend the passage of words from Hebrew to Aramaic: the best known case is that of *Tyre*, which answers to *Sur* צר.

Such a complete etymological coincidence cannot be accidental. It leads us to inquire whether it does not reveal a close connection between the mountain *Sartabâ* and the appearance to Joshua.

In order to grasp fully the connection between the two, we should remember how often mountains are associated with visions like that of Joshua. The important part played by mountains in Semitic worship, and the sanctity which the Hebrews themselves attached to them, are well known, so it is easy to understand that they formed a sort of natural theatre for the manifestations of divinity. I could quote numerous examples, but will content myself with mentioning a few that present striking similarities to the occurrence before us.

First, the appearance of Jehovah to Moses in the burning bush on Mount Sinai. Moses, seeing the supernatural flame, advances towards it as did Joshua towards the man. Just as the *Sar-saba* tells Joshua, who comes towards him, to take off his shoes, so Jehovah, after telling Moses to keep at a distance, orders him, in precisely the same terms, to take his shoes from off his feet, because of the holiness of the ground on which he treads. For the sudden appearance of the vision one may compare, for instance, Zechariah i, 8, and ii, 5. (1.) It is the same prophet that says (viii, 3), “the mountain of the Lord of *Sabaoth* (plural form of *Saba*) is a holy mountain,” and represents

Him (xiv, 3) as issuing forth to fight, and "standing with his feet on the Mount of Olives."

One of the visions that offer the minutest resemblance to that of the Sar-saba to Joshua is the appearance of the Destroying Angel to David. The *mise en scène* of this episode is much more simple in the book of Samuel, but the more detailed account given in Chronicles recalls in most unmistakable fashion the description in Joshua; on comparing the two Hebrew texts, the identity will be seen to extend to the phraseology. Jehovah, having sent his angel to strike (שחית) Jerusalem, had pity on the unfortunate city, and said to the destroying angel (*Maleak ham-mashhit*), "Stay, it is enough." David raised his eyes and saw the angel standing "between heaven and earth," and his naked sword in his hand. He then threw himself with his face to the ground. The angel, who was then above the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, sent word to David by Gad that he should go up and erect an altar on the threshing-floor. It evidently follows from the passage that the angel was over Mount Moriah.

These analogies would of themselves suffice to make us look, *à priori*, for a mountain in the Joshua episode. Now can this mountain be anything but the one which tells its own tale by its name to-day, namely, the "peak of the Sar-saba?"

The story of Joshua if analyzed in detail points to two things: (1), to the height of the point where the apparition took place (Joshua lifted up his eyes); (2), to a considerable space between the vision and the seer, since Joshua said to the Sar-saba, "I am going towards thee," and the latter said to him, "I am coming to thee." Moreover, the use of the word עמד, *stans*, implies that the supernatural being was at an elevation and standing upright on some support. The commanding position and strongly marked appearance of the Sartabâ, monarch of the plain, made it an admirable scene for calling up the imposing figure of the Captain of the Hosts of Jehovah.

It may not be superfluous to remark that, apart from its probable reputation for sanctity, this eminence had a real strategic value. Schultz has already proposed to place there the fortress *Alexandrion* of Alexander Jannæus and the considerable ruins found there by Zschokke have brought him to share this opinion.* Perhaps this function of the place enables us to

* Confirmed later on by the identification of *Karâwâ*, the neighbour of the Sartabâ, and the *Coreae* of Josephus. This last excellent suggestion, currently attributed to Gildemeister, is due, in reality, to Sir Charles Warren (*Underground Jerusalem*, p. 253).

explain the general sense of this puzzling episode, and especially the enigmatic query of Joshua, "Art thou for us, or for our enemies?"

The appearance of the angel-warrior of Jehovah descending on this natural fortress, with which perhaps his own identity became merged, is quite topic.

Again, who knows whether the drawn sword which gleamed in his hand, as in that of the Destroying Angel of the Mount of Olives and Mount Moriah, may not have something to do with the flame which, according to the Talmud, broke forth at fixed seasons on these holy hills? What, then, are we to understand exactly by the *Sar-saba*? The problem is of the greatest difficulty, and belongs to the obscurest regions of the Hebrew religion. I will not touch upon it here, further than to remark that God himself is called in Daniel (viii, 11) *Sar has-saba*, which agrees closely with the expression *Jehovah Sabaoth*. There is no doubt as to the actual meaning of the expression, it means simply commander-in-chief, *generalissimo*. Thus, for example, Omri was *Sar Saba* over all Israel.*

We find in Daniel that several nations have their *sar*, "guardian angel, protector," as, for instance, Greece and Persia. The *Sar* of Israel is *Michael* (x, 13, 21; xii, 1): "For Michael is your Chief (*sarkem*), the Great Chief," (*has-sar hag-gadol*).

Michael usually personifies the Divine power, particularly in its violent manifestations and its militant shape.

Later traditions do not hesitate to identify Michael with the angel that appeared to Joshua. Phocas speaks of a *bunos* (Tell) opposite the Mount of Temptation, with a church upon it marking the place where Joshua saw the Archangel Michael. An anonymous account (Allatius 13) says that below the monastery of St. Euthymus there was a monastery of the Virgin at the spot where Joshua saw the angel.

The Igumen Daniel mentions a church at Gilgal to which had been added a convent dedicated to St. Michael, because it occupied the very spot where Joshua had his vision.

It will appear from these testimonies that tradition is in favour of the vision of Joshua taking place during his stay at Gilgal. This conclusion

* The expression corresponded exactly to the *Ser 'asker* of the modern Mussulmans (Turks, Arabs, or Persians). It was a mistake, in my opinion, to make this word a hybrid compound of the Persian *ser*, "head," and the Arabic *'asker*, "soldiers." *Ser 'asker* is, historically speaking, an Arabic term; it is also, from the linguistic point of view, a Semitic word.

seems warranted by the general tenour of the narrative, and by its position in the chapter, for although the account begins with the words "at Jericho," this expression ought not to be taken literally, and means here, as in so many other cases, merely the neighbourhood of Jericho.

The mountains are so grouped that the Sartabâ is invisible after you get west of Rîha, being completely masked by the range in the foreground, and especially by the eminence of 'Osh (*'Ishshe*) Ghurâb, which forms the eastern end of that range. Eastwards from Rîha, however, it is visible from every part of the plain.



K'REÎN SARTABÂ.

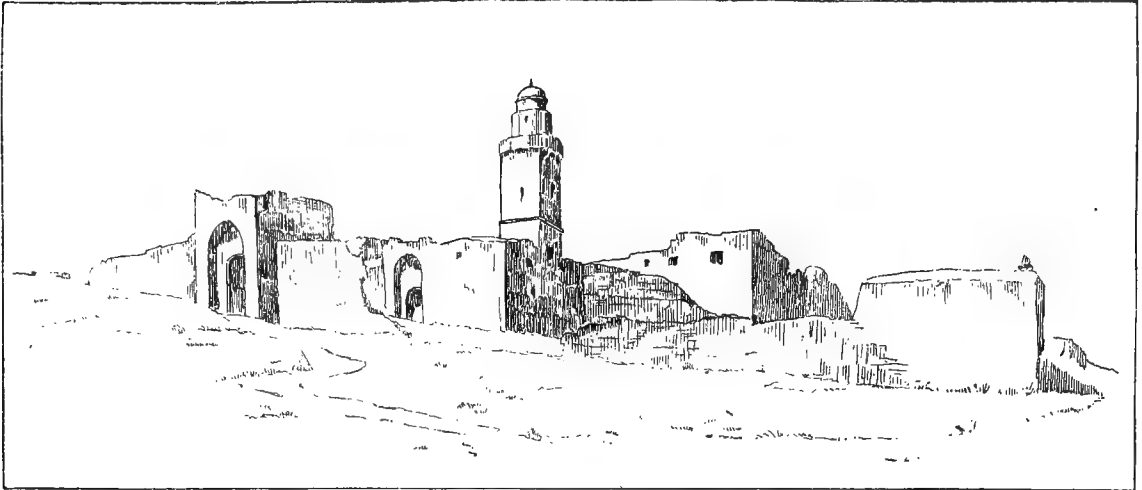
The above view is taken from the Tell el M'gheifer, one of the places suggested as the site of Gilgal. M. Lecomte also took a sketch of it from Tell el Ithleh near Jiljûlieh.

I entertained a momentary idea that there might be some connection between the much venerated makâm of the Imân 'Aly Joshua and the holy *makâm* where Joshua stood as he spoke to the angel; but the Mussulman sanctuary lies much too far to the west for the Sartabâ to be visible from it.

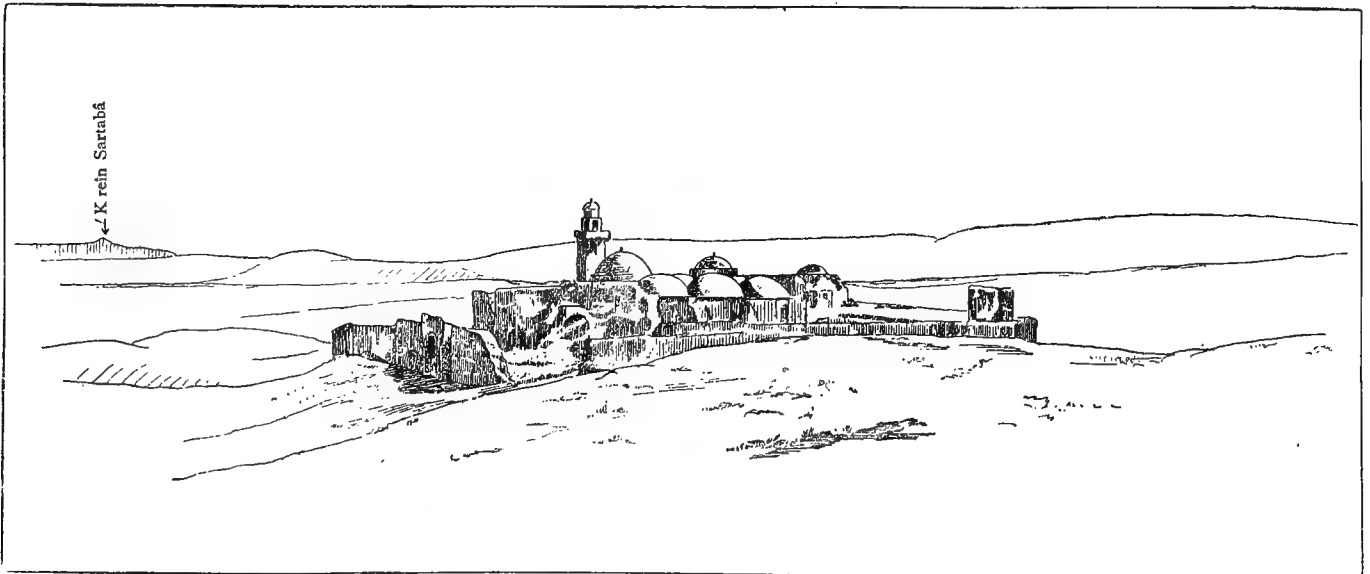
Neby Mûsa.—On the following day, April 25th, we broke up our encampment and returned to Jerusalem by way of Neby Mûsa, which we visited in passing. This much venerated sanctuary of the Mussulmans is in a state of utter ruin. I give two views of it as it appears to a spectator looking north-west and north-east respectively.

Unfortunately the central chambers were locked up, so we could not get in. We were only able to examine the outer and subsidiary portions, and to get a look through an open window at the so-called cenotaph of Moses. This was covered with a fine piece of silken stuff with inscriptions embroidered on it, and surrounded by small articles left there by pious pilgrims. The whole appears to be of Arab construction. The only objects worth mentioning are; in the balustrade of the minaret a block of stone with the mediæval slanting tool-marks; a recumbent fragment of a granite column which we saw in the interior through one of the windows of the central building; on the inside of

the north wall a small sculptured base of a pilaster built in upside down, made of polished red limestone, and decorated with vertical fluting displaying in



NEBY MÛSA, LOOKING TOWARDS THE NORTH-WEST.



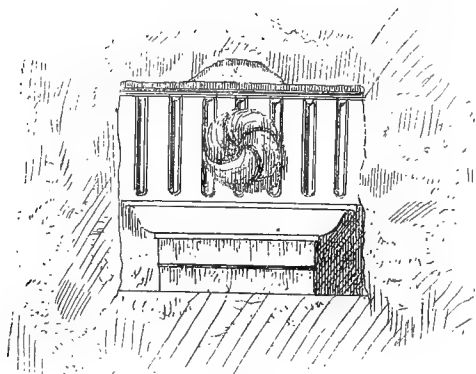
NEBY MÛSA, LOOKING TOWARDS THE NORTH-EAST.

very high relief an ornament consisting of leaves gracefully bent so as to form a rose. This base recalls those of the door of the church at Gaza.

A few minutes walk further on there rises the kubbah of a small wely, called *Kubbet er rā'y*, "the shepherd's cupola." Here, according to local tradition, rests *Sheikh Hasan*, the "Shepherd of Moses."

The whole place was well nigh deserted. A band of wandering Bedouin came to seek shade, like ourselves, under the walls of Neby Mûsa, and made there a frugal breakfast, washing it down with draughts of the fresh but slightly bituminous water afforded by some cisterns of no great depth that had been dug near. This troop of Bedouin had started in search of stolen or strayed horses. As they discussed with relish the hot rolls that they had kneaded and cooked on the spot, I could not help thinking of Saul going out to seek his father's lost asses. I do not know if the Bedouin found at the Makâm some revelation that put them on the track of the missing animals, but at all events they fraternised with us in the most amicable manner.

The memory of Moses is still green among all the people hereabouts. At every turn I heard the Arabs swearing *wa-h'iât ibën 'Amrân*, "by the life of the son of 'Amrân."



Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

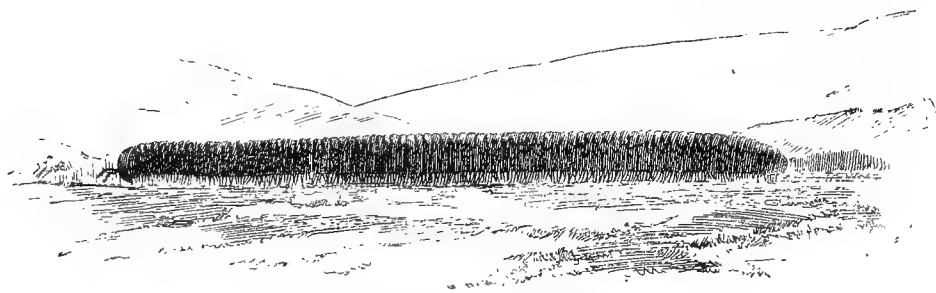
I questioned several of them with a view to ascertain the starting point of the legend which locates the tomb of Moses on this side the Jordan, and in so doing flatly contradicts the Biblical tradition. They answered that when the angels came to tell Moses that his last hour was at hand, he was on the east side of the Jordan, and fled from *'ain esh shark* in order to escape the fatal moment, as far as the place now called Neby Mûsa. Here he found some angels engaged in digging a grave, which he was induced to enter by a trick like that to which his brother Aaron had previously succumbed.* "For

* According to this curious legend, taken from Mussulman writers, the Angel Gabriel tells Moses and Aaron to follow him. He takes them to Mount Hor (where the Makâm of Aaron is shown to this day). There they enter into a cavern and see a bed (a funeral bed, a sarcophagus) made of gold richly chased, with the following inscription in Hebrew: "This bed is for him whom it has been made to fit." Moses first lies down in it, but the couch is too small. Aaron

whom is the grave?" he asked. "For a man of your size," answered the divine gravediggers. Moses got into the grave to try it. "True," he said, "it is the right size." But when he essayed to get out, they said to him, "It is for thee. Thy last hour is come." Then the Angel of Death placed to his nostrils an apple of paradise, and Moses gave up the ghost.

Before falling into the trap, he had said to God, on arriving at a dry and desert place, "Here is nothing to drink, nor to make a fire with for cooking." God answered him, "Thy water shall come from thy wells, and thy fire from thy stones" (*moietak min ʿb'îarak ou nârak min ʿh'jâarak*). Such is the origin of the cisterns that have been dug near the sanctuary, and of the combustible schistous rock that abounds in the vicinity, an extremely interesting one from the geologist's point of view.

Moses' Rod.—In the valleys round here and as far as the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, one meets with a sort of insect like a centipede(?); my ignorance of natural history prevents me from giving an exacter description. I mention



INSECT CALLED '*Asâyet Mûsa* ("MOSES' ROD").

it here solely on account of its name. It is called '*Asâyet Mûsa*, "Moses' rod." The creature is quite harmless. It looks like a long worm of a blackish colour, and is furnished with a quantity of minute legs, by means

tries it in his turn, and it is found to fit him exactly. Immediately comes the Angel of Death and takes possession of his soul. The Israelites, not seeing Aaron reappear, forthwith accuse Moses of having killed his brother. (This last feature appears as early as the Talmudic legends.)

I have shown in my memoir on *Horus et St. Georges* (p. 31) that this quaint story with its preconcerted trap is modelled on an Egyptian legend related by the author of the Treatise of Isis and Osiris. Typhon, wishing to be rid of his brother Osiris, takes his measure by stealth and causes a case to be made (a mummy case) of elegant workmanship. Then he has the case brought in at a feast, and says it shall belong to that one of the guests who shall manage to lie down in it. All make the attempt, but in vain. Osiris in his turn gets in, and finds that it just fits him. Immediately Typhon and his accomplices put on the lid, nail it down and seal it. This is the starting point of the well-known adventures of the chest, it being thrown into the Nile, the searches of Isis, and so on.

of which it moves, keeping perfectly stiff and straight. To look at it, you would think it was a small piece of animated stick endowed with powers of locomotion. If you touch it, it immediately coils up. This mode of progression and this strange appearance have made the little snake-like creature popular with the Arabs. The legendary name they have attached to it is an allusion to the miracle of the rod that turned into a serpent at the meeting of Jehovah and Moses in the burning bush, a wonder that Aaron also worked before Pharaoh.

Arab Traditions.—It has been long supposed that Neby Mûsa must have taken the place of an ancient Christian monastery. This is quite possible, and indeed the external appearance of the mosque and its subsidiary buildings inclines one to this idea, as may be seen from M. Lecomte's drawings of which engravings are given above.

At all events Mujîr ed Dîn* affords us some definite details concerning the history of the Mussulman sanctuary. He begins by mentioning the doubts that had been raised as to the authenticity of the tomb, adding that it was located in this spot by general opinion. He attributes the building of the cupola to Beibars, who was supposed to have made it on returning from his pilgrimage to Mecca, when he visited Jerusalem in 668 (A.H.) and destroyed the monastery of Mâr Sâba. Later additions were made to the mosque, both inside and out, by divers pious persons. The southern side was enlarged between 875 and 885, the minaret was built after 880. Mujîr ed Dîn mentions the pilgrimage that is made to the sanctuary each year after winter is over, and speaks of fantastic visions seen at the tomb, and other prodigies designed to show that this is the veritable resting-place of "him that talked with God" (*Kelâm Allah*).

The ancient Mussulman traditions, or *hawâdîth*, declare that the tomb of Moses is in a place called *El Kethîb el Ahmar*, "the Mound of the Red Sand." Mahomet passed by there and prayed on the occasion of his nocturnal ascent (*isrâ*). The *hadîth* quoted to me by the Jerusalem Mussulmans runs thus :

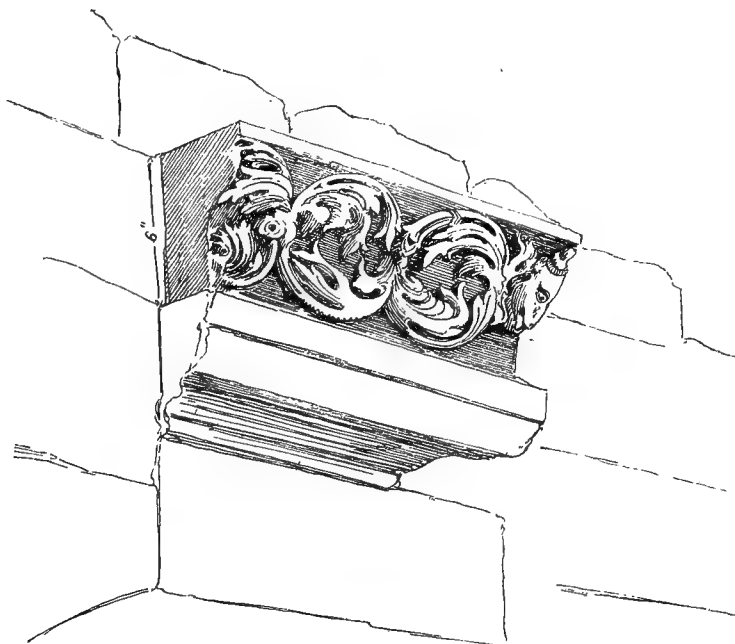
مررت على أخى موسى وهو نائم فى الكتيب الأحمر

"I passed by my brother Moses, who sleeps at El Kethîb el Ahmar." There, they told me, is the real tomb. It was only in later times that, on the authority of a sheikh, it was begun to be shown at Neby Mûsa. Mujîr ed

* Pp. 93, 94 of the Bulak Arabic text.

Din (p. 93 of the Arabic text) knew this tradition, and quotes it. It would be interesting to determine the spot really alluded to.

Bethany.—After our short sojourn at Neby Mûsa we resumed our journey to Jerusalem by the pilgrims' road. As we passed through the village of el 'Azeriye, the traditional Bethany, I remarked a fine sculptured fragment of the period of the Crusades, built into the wall of a house. It consisted of some fine scroll-work, with a bull's head in the right-hand corner, the facing on the left showing distinct signs of the mediæval slanting tool marks.



SCULPTURED STONE BUILT INTO A WALL AT BETHANY.

The inhabitants told us that the Franks gave their village the name of *Beit 'Ania*. I noted the form of the name, though the account of its origin involves it in suspicion, because the presence of the 'ain* is somewhat difficult to explain.

* I have, moreover, found this name spelt thus, بيت عديا (*sic*), in an Arabic Christian unedited manuscript of the 13th century. The author also speaks of Bethphage in the form بيت فاجي, as being a *Karieh* adjacent to the Mount of Olives, and in ruins at that period. Half a mile away, adds the anonymous author, is a large church built on the site of the olive tree from which branches were torn on the day when Jesus rode on the she-ass; and every year at the Feast of Palms the inhabitants come to gather branches, and go in solemn procession with them to the sanctuary of Constantine (*sic*).

A few minutes before arriving at el 'Azeriyeh, and to the east (north-east?) of the village, there is seen a rocky plateau covered with sepulchral and other excavations, consisting of cisterns, wine-presses, foundations of by-gone houses, and so on, leading one to suppose that an inhabited place of some importance formerly existed there. I was quite unable to ascertain whether there was any particular name for the place, and especially whether it was called *Khūrbeh*. At the southern extremity, however, of this plateau local tradition points out a piece of rock, half sunk in the ground, and gives it the name of "The Ass of Lazarus," saying that this animal was turned to stone after Jesus had ridden on it. Ought we to look in this direction for the disputed site of Bethphage?*

* Cf. my paper in the *Revue Archéologique* (December, 1877: *La Pierre de Bethphagé, fresques et inscriptions des Croisés*).

CHAPTER IV.

TOUR FROM JERUSALEM TO JAFFA AND THE COUNTRY OF SAMSON.

AFTER the annoyance of a false start on the day before, caused by a lack of animals at the last moment, we left Jerusalem finally on the morning of Wednesday, June 3rd, 1874. Our tour was to cover seventeen days, and comprise researches into a number of questions which will, in turn, be laid before the reader, in addition to the unexpected, which always has to be reckoned with, and did not fail, as will be seen, to make itself felt on this occasion.

Our outfit was of the simplest. An Arab tent, with ten ropes, for M. Lecomte and myself, two trunks, two microscopical camp-beds, a liliputian table with two folding-chairs to match, an old flat chest graced with the pompous name of canteen, and containing a jumble of provisions, cooking utensils, and miscellaneous aids to camping out, were all we could boast of. The whole made an easy load for two mules, one of which served in addition as a mount to my servant Ahmed. This fellow, a peasant from Lifta, was the sole representative of the numerous following that is wont to swarm round the Frank when he wishes to try nomad life in Palestine. Each of us had, besides, on his horse, a pair of those very convenient Arab *khurjs*; these used to contain my whole equipment when I first stayed in Syria, and made tours; my present enterprises, compared with these, seemed attended with Asiatic splendour. For instance, we rode on two excellent saddles, which we owed to the liberality of the *Société de Géographie* at Paris; these were of the greatest service to us during this Palestine mission.

I took as guide a good friend of mine, an old fellâh from Abu Ghôsh, one Ibrahim Ahmed, who was more or less of a sheikh when he was at home, and was perfectly acquainted with part of the region that I purposed to traverse. I had already gathered from him a store of interesting information, and enlarged it as we went along. This will be incorporated with my

narrative in due course. In particular, it was from him that I first heard of the existence of the Gezer inscription. The discovery of this, which took place during this tour, is, as will be seen, of very great importance in Biblical epigraphy and topography.

Our first halting-place was the village of our guide, Kariet el 'Enab, or Kariet Abu Ghôsh, where we were to pass the night. We did not, however, take the high road to Joppa to reach this, but followed from the outset the old road which makes an arc towards the north, with the new road as the chord of it.

The Tomb of the Beni Helâl.—When we got opposite the wely of *Sheikh Bedër*, I noticed on the left, between the old road which we were following* and the new one, a number of squared blocks of stone, evidently disposed in rows, and seeming to form a rectangular oblong with its greater size 15 m. long. The whole group is called "the Tomb," or "Tombs of the Beni Helâl" (*Kabër* or *K'bûr Beni Helâl*). Its size and appearance remind me somewhat of the famous K'bûr el 'Amâl'ka or K'bûr Beni Isrâîn ("the Tombs of the Amalekites," or "of the Israelites") which are near el Hizmeh, to the north of Jerusalem. Its name likewise recalls these. This name, *Beni Helâl*, assumes in local tradition an aspect rather legendary than historic, and appears to have reference to certain primitive populations of Palestine. As early as the geographical treatise of Esthori ha-Parchi, we find: "East of these districts" ("the Haurân") "you find the mountain chain of *Jebel bene Hellel*, called by the grammarians *Jebel bene Israil*."† Thus the tombs of Beni Helâl are mentioned together with those of Beni Israil at Hizmeh in this connection also. Similarly the name Helâl is most closely associated in local tradition with that of the mysterious *Fenîsh*, whom I shall speak of shortly: *Helâl el Fenîsh*. There may be interesting excavations to be made in this spot.‡

El Fenîsh.—We soon left this behind, and as we went along my guide told me that the realm of that mysterious personage who passed

* This is bordered with large stones, and is in part hewn in the rock. Not far away to the south is the wely of *Sheikh Yâsin*.

† *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, II, 410.

‡ It is not noticed, by name at any rate, in the *Map* and the *Memoirs*. Perhaps it should be connected with the *Kabr el Helaly* (Map, 15 Pr, *Name Lists*: the grave of the man of the Beni Helâl Arabs). Cf. also some curious details as to the Beni Helâl of Syria, gathered by poor Drake at Ma'lûl and Nazareth (*Quarterly Statement*, 1873, p. 58), and a paper by P. J. Baldensperger, Esq., *ib.*, 1894, p. 277.

under the name of *Fenish* or *Finsh** extended as far as Beit 'Ur (Beth-horon).

Lûlich, Kefîreh.—He likewise informed me that the ancient name of Yâlo (Ajalon) was *Lûlieh*, and according to others *Lûlo*; that the ridge of the south of Kastal was called *Harâsh* (هراش), that the fellahîn pronounce the name of the locality *Kefîreh*, with a ك, and the townsfolk (*el medeniyeh*) with a ق.† If this last detail is correct, which I do not vouch for, it is most important, because it allows us to follow Robinson without hesitation in his proposed identification of this now ruined village and the *Chephirah* of the Bible, one of the four Gibeonite cities. This identification was open to the criticism that it involved the rare, not to say impossible, substitution of an Arabic ق for the Hebrew כ, for the name of this place, admitting the form قنيرة which M. Guérin claimed to have found.

Clay Beds.—After having deviated a little to the right and the left, we took to the high road again at *Kastal*. Quite near this to the north is a bed of clay loam, or what passes for such, greatly esteemed by the potters and the makers of pipes (*ghalâîn*) at Jerusalem. The spot is called *Matianet el Kastal*, *matianet*, a place-name derived from *tîn*, "clay." I gazed with some interest on this "potter's field," thinking that perhaps much of the famous Moabite ware which was making such a stir at the time had been fashioned from this clay.

Shûfeh.—We visited in passing a cone-shaped hill lying to the right of the road, a little before Abu Ghôsh, with the significant name of *Shûfeh*, derived apparently from the extensive view (يشوف, شاف) obtained from its summit.‡ I remarked there a cavern excavated in the rock.

* This fabulous personage plays a considerable part in the rustic legends of the Judæan peasants. His name is connected, among other places, with Beit Jibrîn (Eleutheropolis). My special note, communicated to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1871, was the first attempt to show that the name and the memory of the *Philistines* might have been preserved in this name *Fenish* (فنش), with a phonetic change prevalent in the speech of the fellahîn, that of *l* to *n*. Another instance of this change is the word *feneseh*, meaning the large piece of silver which the *fellâh* women wear on their necks, which stands for *feleseh*, "piece of money."

† It is well known that the ق is pronounced by many fellahîn like ك, and the ك like چ, so that no error is possible in transcribing these two varieties of *K*, which are essentially different, provided you are in a position and will take the precaution to ascertain first of all the phonetic customs of the peasants you are questioning. It is the Beni Zeïd, said Ibrahim Ahmed, that pronounce the ك as چ.

‡ Cf. in the Talmud, שופה *Shûfah*, "prominence."

Īk'bâlah.—From here we went on to Kh. Īk'bâlah,* a mediæval ruin too well known to detain us. Some of the stones display masons' marks and letters. It was pointed out to us this time as *Helâl el Fenîsh*, rather to my astonishment, as some years before I had been shown a totally different place, between Kastal and Sôba, going by the same name.†

Kebbârah.—As we proceeded to Abu Ghôsh, we came across a place called *el Kebbârah*, and took from the door of a tomb hollowed out in the rock the following bearings: Sôba, 169°, Abu Ghôsh 318° (?).

The *Wâd ed Dil'eb* passes below it.

Abu Ghôsh.—On reaching Abu Ghôsh I had our tent erected there for the night, and we lunched. In the course of the meal I picked up some information from the fellahîn. They told me:—

- (1.) Of Deir Izhâr (إظهار or ظہار (?)) on the right of the road and to the west of the church of Abu Ghôsh. This place was said to have been formerly connected with the convent by a subterranean way;
- (2.) Of a "beled," or inhabited village (hitherto not marked on the maps), situated to the north of Sâris, and called *Beit Thâl*;
- (3.) Of Beit Nûshef, between Beit Likia and Beit Sîra, etc. . . .

Khalâil ez Zummâry.—After lunch we went to explore the neighbourhood. About half-an-hour to the south-west of the village I noticed in the Wâdy *Khalâil ez Zummâry* two burial vaults hollowed out in the rock. In one of them, on the back wall of the arcosolium, on the right hand as you go on, a cross is cut.‡

El Ē'mûr.—We next passed through the inhabited but half-ruined village of *el Ē'mûr* ('Ammûr) (العمور), which lies to the north of the broad wâdy of the same name. I noticed two shafts of columns and a few burial-caves.

Jeb'a.—After crossing the valley, we arrived at last at the Kh. *Jeb'a*, to the south-west of el Ē'mûr. The suggestive name of this place had made a

* The real meaning of the name must be, "the ruin opposite."

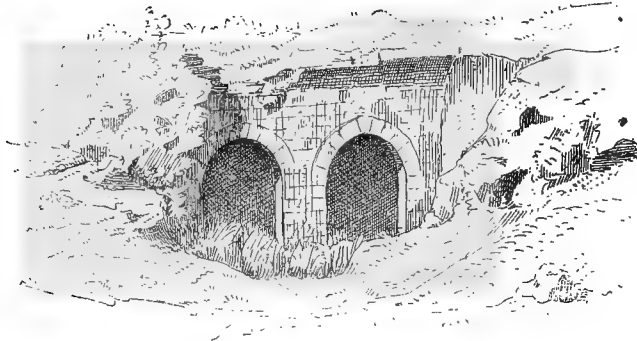
† I find indeed the following entry in one of my old note books: "On the west of the road from Kastal to Sôba, at the foot of the hill, I noticed a ruin called *Kh. H'lâl el fenîsh* (هلال الفنىش), with an extensive cave, and an angle of masonry of large rough hewn blocks. One of them measured 1^m·25. high by 2m. in length, and looked as if it formed part of an enclosing wall (1870, Carnet, III, p. 29)." [Wherever a reference to "Carnet, etc. . . ." occurs, the author's unpublished Notes of his observations before and after the years 1873 and 1874 are indicated.]

‡ Sketch lost.

vivid impression on me when I first heard it pronounced by the fellahîn, so I made all haste to explore it.

The name is applied to a vast plateau covered with ruins, at the top of a hill placed at the confluence of two valleys, Wâdy Ē'mûr ('Ammûr) and Wâd el Ehmar (Hamâr), which unite above Râs el Jeb'a (to the west).

This plateau appears to have been the seat of a considerable town, to judge by the numerous but shapeless ruins to be found on it. These consist chiefly of heaps of fallen stones, for the most part of small size, belonging to ancient walls. Here and there, however, a few large blocks, more carefully hewn, are to be seen. The soil presents that greyish tint which in this country is characteristic of the sites of ancient cities, and it is strewn with potsherds. We counted quite a number of cisterns with large square mouths, wine-presses, etc., cut in the rock. Unfortunately the whole place was over-run and covered up with grass and brushwood, which obstructed our efforts. M. Lecomte made a drawing of a large reservoir cut in the rock and fronted by two arches, belonging apparently to a vaulting intended to cover it in.



RESERVOIR AT KH. JEB'A.

At one end, towards the south-west, this plateau is separated by a considerable depression, called *Khall't el Jeb'a*, from an eminence, *Râs el Jeb'a*, which appears to have been the fortified part or acropolis of the city. Here are cisterns, wine-presses, double walls, etc.; towards the north there is a large heap of stones called *R'jâm Jeb'a*. We took the bearings from this: Sâris, 304°; Neby Shamwîl, 62°; Sôba, 99°.

Threshing Floors.—On our way back from the *Râs*, we traversed the whole length of the plateau, and I noticed further two huge threshing floors cut in the rock. The fellahîn generally call threshing floors of this sort *jur'en*, جرن. The name and the object correspond exactly to the Biblical *gören*, גרן.

Moreover also the vulgar pronunciation is the same, the *jezm* with which the *r* is marked in literary Arabic (*jurn*) being replaced by a regular short vowel, the equivalent of the Hebrew *segol*.*

Gibeah.—What was the ancient city now represented by the Kh. Jeb'a? Its name would seem to connect it with the already numerous group of *Gibeahs* in the Bible;† Jeb'a, جبعة, answers exactly to *Gibeah* גבעה, which from its derivation signifies "hill." This generic meaning sufficiently accounts for this homonymy, which creates such confusion in the ancient topography of Palestine.

Among the various *Gibeahs* in the Bible, there is one that would correspond pretty closely with Jeb'a, namely the *Gibeah* where the inhabitants of Kirjath-Jearim deposited the Ark after fetching it from Bethshemesh. The nearness of Abu Ghôsh, if we adopt the general identification of this with Kirjath-Jearim, would rather favour this view. Again, it is worth noticing that our Jeb'a lies exactly on the road that one has to take in going from 'Ain Shemës (Bethshemesh) to Abu Ghôsh. Still I will not venture at present to assert that that is where we must look for the house of Abinadab, where the Ark remained for twenty years till David took it away to Jerusalem. One objection among others to such an assertion is that it is hard to reconcile with the opinion (a conjectural one, it must be said) which considers the *Gibeah* of the Ark to be the *Gibeath Kirjath*‡ enumerated by Joshua among the cities of Benjamin. If the boundary of Judah really passed by Abu Ghôsh, our Jeb'a would be too far to the south to have been comprised in the territory of Benjamin. The whole of this question requires to be taken up again and treated thoroughly.

'Ain Mahtûsh.—We returned from Abu Ghôsh by way of *'Ain Mahtûsh* in the valley of the same name. Up above are visible the ruins of a birkeh, built of large blocks. It served no doubt to regulate the flow of water used to irrigate the valley.

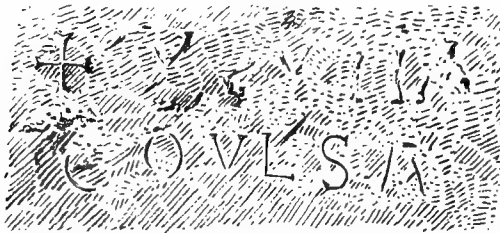
* This, by the bye, is a general observation, applicable to the whole series of *segolate* nouns and the corresponding words in popular Arabic, as I already had occasion to show a long time ago. This phenomenon is one of the most striking of those that directly unite the phonetics of popular Arabic with that of Hebrew, passing over the head, so to speak, of literary Arabic.

† Like names are no less common in Arabic place-nomenclature. My guide told me on another occasion of two places called *Kh. Jb'a*, one situated, he said, to the south of Kastal, the other between Beit 'Enân and Katanneh. I found them marked on the Map, which shows in a general way the correct knowledge of my old sheikh Ibrahim Ahmed.

‡ *Gibeath and Kirjath* (A.V.). (Translator's note.)

Opposite the spring, on the other side of the valley, I saw in the distance some ruins of a so-called cyclopæan structure, which were pointed out to us by the name of *Beit Rummân*. This puts one in mind of the numerous Rimmons in the Bible, but it may simply be formed from the Arab word for pomegranate.

Church of Abu Ghôsh.—On returning to Abu Ghôsh we studied certain details of the mediæval church, of which a concession had just been made to the French Government.* I saw again the Latin masons' marks that I was the first to point out in 1870, and we copied them afresh. (See the special table, Vol. I.) On one of the courses, to the right as you go in, I discovered a small *graffito* of two lines, but could only make out a few Latin characters, perhaps of the Crusading period or possibly later. The first line, which

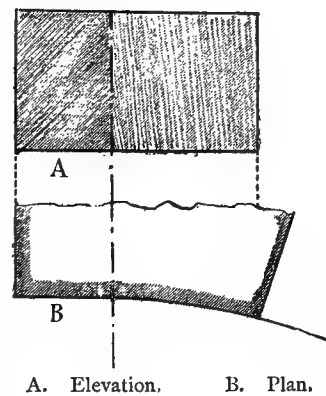


has been hammered over, has almost entirely disappeared, with the exception of a small footed cross of distinct outline, which formed the beginning of it. In the second line one can clearly read: E⁺OVLSA. The block on which the lines are engraved

bears unmistakable traces of the mediæval slanting tool-marks. Here follows a facsimile from the squeezes I took.

Above the entrance door of the subterranean church I noticed traces of a two-armed cross inscribed in a circle. It had been hammered over.

Crusaders' Tool-Marks.—I particularly set myself to distinguish the heterogeneous styles of dressing the stones that we found in the upper and lower parts of the church, and observed a fact with reference to the mediæval tool-marks on the blocks, which is a regular proof of the law that I discovered and have set forth above (Vol. I). It



* A study of this church and the crypt in great detail, with views, plans, sections, and elevations, will be found in an article by M. Mauss, published in the *Revue Archéologique* for March—April, 1892, pp. 223, *et seqq.* Cf. in the *Revue Biblique* (1893, p. 41) the remarks of Father Germer-Durand, where he disputes certain views of M. Mauss, states that the frescoes are accompanied by Latin Inscriptions, and supposes that the Church belonging to the Hospitallers was dedicated to St. John.

will be remembered that by this law the blocks hewn by the Crusaders have *oblique tool-marks* when they are *flat*, and that the tool-marks are more or less parallel with the perpendicular if the blocks take a curved form. Now in the three circular apses at the end of the church of Abu Ghôsh there is a very short straight part just before the curved part begins, and the combination of the flat and curved surfaces appears on one and the same block; well, this block shows on its flat part the oblique marks, and on its curved part (it is here practically a vertical cylinder) they are almost vertical. I took a squeeze of the surface, clearly showing this twofold characteristic.

Origin of the Church.—The history and origin of the church of Abu Ghôsh remain an unsolved problem. The main part of the building is indisputably of the time of the Crusades, though in the lower part of the subterranean church which forms the crypt there are some large "pock-marked" blocks, which *may* be earlier than the Crusades, but are not necessarily so.* The outer facing of the walls has been so carelessly done, and with such coarse materials, that one is inclined to suppose it to have been restored or even finished at a much later date. Indeed, it is quite possible that the building had to be hurriedly abandoned by the Crusaders when it was in course of construction, on account of the approach of Saladin, and that it was brought to its present condition at a much later date. This hypothesis would easily account for the distressing irregularity in the dressing of the stones, which exhibit side by side the most careful and the rudest work.

As for the singular appellation of *St. Jeremy* which modern tradition attaches to the church, one can only explain it by supposing it due to an ignorant confusion between the names *Kirjath Jearim* and *Jeremias* (*Hieremias*). Franks who were at one time masters of the Holy Land, and were mostly unlearned folk, may have been misled by the superficial resemblance of the two words. It is, however, unnecessary to go back to the Crusades for the origin of this error. It may very well have been started since that time, and be the work not of the conquerors but of pilgrims and monks from the west in later ages.

* M. Mauss is of opinion that the church of the Crusaders has been adapted so to speak by them from the main portion of an ancient Roman castellum: this would explain the extraordinary thickness of the walls, the fact that the apses do not project out beyond the eastern wall, leaving the latter an unbroken line, the holes made in the walls after building for the openings of the door and windows, etc. Resuming an ancient theory, he proposes to make this castellum the Castle of Emmaus, and Abu Ghôsh, Emmaus.

In this case what tradition, if any, did the Crusaders wish to perpetuate when they built this church? May we not suppose it was that of the abiding of the Ark at Kirjath Jearim, if we admit that Gibeah was merely a quarter of that town?

Such were the inductions I was led to by considering this obscure question on the spot itself. I have since found an unexpected confirmation of this view in a text which I had not then by me, and which seems to have hardly been resorted to in the controversy. Petrus Cassinensis, in his *Libellus de locis sanctis*, the date of which has been established as being about 1137, says that at a place 9 miles from Jerusalem called *Kirjathjearim*, where the Ark of the Lord was, a church has been constructed: "milliario nono ab Jerusalem, in loco qui dicitur Kariathjearim, ubi fuit archa Domini, ecclesia illic constructa est."

Several important results ensue from this decisive passage:—

- (1.) Abu Ghôsh was identified with Kirjath Jearim as early as the Crusades.
- (2.) The church dates back to the first half of the twelfth century at least.
- (3.) The Ark was connected with it in tradition.

Probably this same Biblical reminiscence is accountable, in spite of appearances to the contrary, for the Mussulman tradition which makes the small mosque near the church a sanctuary or *makâm* of *Esdras*. This tradition perhaps is not so incongruous as it appears. It is known, of course, that this "prophet" is called in Arabic *Neby 'Ozeîr* or *el 'Ozeîr*. *Esdras* assuredly had nothing to do with Kirjath Jearim, but the Arabic form of his name *العزيز* corresponds literally with the Hebrew name *אלעזר* *Eleazar*, the son of Abinadab, and it must not be forgotten that there was an *Eleazar* to whom the inhabitants of Kirjath Jearim *entrusted the care of the Ark*.

Moreover, in further support of this conjecture I can cite a notorious instance of the Arabic name for *Esdras* in the form *el 'Ozeîr* being substituted for that of *Eleazar*. Jewish and Samaritan tradition point out to one, at 'Awerta, near Nâblus, a place of which we shall have more to say later on, the tomb of *Eleazar the Son of Aaron*. Now to the Mussulmans this is the tomb of *el 'Ozeîr*. Thus we are perfectly justified in assuming that beneath the *el 'Ozeîr* of Abu Ghôsh there lurks an *Eleazar*.

The localization of the legend of *Esdras* at Abu Ghôsh, moreover, seems to me to have much older warranty than one would have supposed from the mere witness of rustic fellahîn. There is a passage in the Koran (*Surah of the cow*, verse 263) in which the Mussulmen commentators of early date

recognized an allusion to Esdras, though he is not mentioned in it by name. It begins thus: "And as he who passed through a city (*Kariatîñ*) with ruined houses," etc. Several early commentators, seizing on this word *Karia*, have expressly applied it to Abu Ghôsh, the real name of which, as we know, is *Kariat el 'Enab* ("the village of grapes"), or, for short, *el Karia*. I have not the original texts by me just now, so will content myself with quoting, with further abridgement, the summary of them given by the old d'Herbelot in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, evidently from Persian sources (perhaps the *Kisas el-anbiâ*?). Esdras, on his way to Jerusalem, stopped at a village near the Holy City. The village was ruined, but there were many vines and fig-trees. Esdras took up his quarters behind a wall, and there supported himself on fruit, with his ass tethered near him.* The village was variously called *Seir abâd*† ("place for walking" in Persian) and *Diar Ánab* (*sic*). One cannot help recognizing in this last name, which is evidently ديار عنب, the characteristic name of our *Kariat el 'Enab*. Thus it is seen that there is more than one reason assignable for the legend of Esdras prevalent in these days at Abu Ghôsh, and at the same time indirect proof is obtained that the name of the village is not an invention of yesterday, it containing the element *Kariat*, which is one of the principal bases of the identification made by western commentators with Kirjath Jearim.

Beit Mahsir.—Next morning we broke up the camp to go to Bîr el Ma'in, to the north-west of Abu Ghôsh, which was to be our second halting-place. I sent the baggage on by a direct route, so that we might be free to follow another.

We again crossed the Jaffa high road, leaving the eminence of Deir Izhâr to our left on the south-west, and followed the course of the Wâdy Balû', which lay to our left, deepening as it went on.

As we went along we saw in the distance the wooded crest of Beit Mahsir. When one reflects that this commanding point, lying to the north of Kesla between 'Ain Shemës and Abu Ghôsh, is, to the eye at least, the highest in the neighbourhood, one is sorely tempted to take it for the undiscoverable Mount Seir, one of the landmarks of the boundary of Judah. One

* It appears from a legend, that I picked up later at Abu Ghôsh, that this characteristic feature of the legend, the ass of Esdras, still lingers in local tradition.

† *Seirabâd*, سيرا باد, is perhaps the result of a mistaken reading for سابر آباد *Sâbor abâd*, "the town of Shahpor," where, according to a variant of the legend, Esdras died and was raised to life.

could even, if need were, find certain affinities between the two names, in spite of their apparent differences. If we cut off from *Mahsîr* the servile syllable *ma*, we have left the theme *hsîr*, by interversion *shîr*. The form *Mishîr* noted by Van de Velde, if it is not due to a misunderstanding on his part, would even contain the non-interverted form, and this variant would furnish a good intermediate form. As for the substitution of an Arabic *ha* for a Hebrew 'ain, this is authorised by numerous instances found in geographical names. In any case this comparison is much less improbable, on phonetic grounds, than the one which Schwarz, Tobler and others have tried to establish with *Sârîs*. The requirements of topography also appear to me to be equally well fulfilled.

Zunukleh.—The spot marked *Kh. Sârîs* on Van de Velde's map was pointed out to me by the name of *Zunukleh*, one that I had already noted some years previous. A sort of stone tripod is said to have been found, some time back, in a cavern at Beit Mahsîr.

Jebel 'Abd er Rahmân.—My guide, whom I had set talking on the question of mountains, told me, as we went along, of one called *Jebel 'Abd er Rahmân*, reputed the highest in those parts, "not excepting," said he, "*Neby Shamwîl*." It lies, according to his statement, to the north-east of Abu Ghôsh and to the south-west of Beit Sûrik, about an hour's journey from the former village. It is said that a most extensive view of the country round is to be had from its summit.*

Meshâhed.—While we were thus conversing with Ibrahim Ahmed, the ascent became so difficult that we had to dismount every now and then, so as not to break our necks over the sloping patches of rock, polished into slipperiness, that crossed our path at every step. After more than three quarters of an hour of this distinctly unpleasant exercise, more like a ride over the roofs of a European town than anything else, we beheld numbers of *meshâhed*,† showing that we were in sight of Beit Thûl.

* I do not find this name on the Map. [This is evidently another name for the hill-top called "Batn es Saideh," which was used as a trigonometrical point by the Survey Party.—ED.] The exact position of *Jebel 'Abd er Rahmân*—its very existence, of course I only know by hearsay—remains to be verified and fixed, as also does its real altitude. The indications given by my guide would seem to take us within the triangle of high hills lying between Abu Ghôsh, Beit Sûrik and Kalaunieh (Kûlônîeh). In this region Mount Ephron is placed by common consent, and *Jebel 'Abd er Rahmân*, probably the highest point in the range, might very well correspond to that mountain.

† Small heaps of stones placed at the points from which the villages or sanctuaries first come into view.

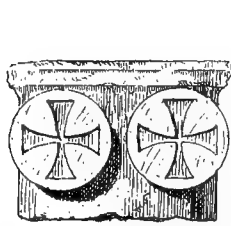
Beit Thûl (Tûl).—The name of this village presents a curious, but, let me add, quite fortuitous resemblance to that of the Bethulia of Judith. It had hitherto escaped the attention of explorers of the Holy Land, and this was to me its greatest attraction.

From Beit Thûl one enjoys a very fine view of the plain that lies beneath through a gap in the hills.

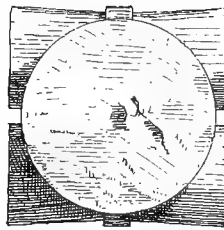
The village was inhabited, and a hearty welcome was accorded to us. The site possesses importance and certainly antiquity, and in fact we noticed both in and around the village all the characteristics of sites of this kind, cisterns, presses, caverns and tombs hewn out in the rock, especially on the western slope of the hill ; foundations of houses and quarry-holes cut into the living rock, fragments of pottery, a grey tinge in the soil, and so forth ; and, further, a seemingly ancient road, bordered with large blocks and extending, as it appears, to Yâlô, an hour's journey distant.

The village contains two welys, one the sanctuary of *Sheikh In'jeîm*, the other that of *Bedriyeh*. In front of the wely of Bedriyeh, I noticed the remains of a small aqueduct of masonry and two large shafts of ancient columns.

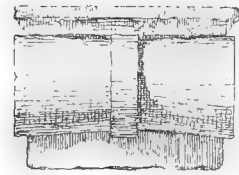
In the courtyard of an old ruined house we lit upon a rather curious capital, of hard stone, and cubical in shape, the two opposite faces presenting two spiral scrolls ornamented with large Greek crosses.



Elevation.



Plan, looking up.



Side view.

CAPITAL AT BEIT THÛL.

On measuring, it appeared that this capital must have belonged to one of the two columns mentioned just above. These remains lead one to suppose that an important Christian building of the Byzantine period once existed at Beit Thûl.

According to local tradition Bedriyeh was the sister of the Sheikh In'jeîm. When the latter established himself there the place was nothing but a desert.

The holy man was ministered to, and even, I believe, fed by a gazelle. After his death, his sister Bedriyeh took his place, and afterwards the place became a town. This legend is an interesting one. The Sheikh's name, it should be noted, comes from the same root as *nejm*, "star;" *in'jeim* is the rapid pronunciation, with a prosthetic *alif*, of *نجم* *nujeim*, "little star." The sister's name is derived from *bedr*, "the full moon." I should not be surprised if, as so often happens in Palestine, this pious and respected pair were found to be the expression of some old mythological notion connected with astronomy. At all events, this legend may be compared with the one prevalent among the Mussulmans, which recounts how God, having caused a gourd-tree to grow over Jonah's head,* sent a wild ibex to nourish him with her milk.† I would also adduce, for comparison, a coin of Damascus, which may have been known to the Arabs at the time of the conquest, and have suggested to them "iconologically" the idea of this fable from the design on the obverse: *a doe suckling an infant*.‡ Possibly this scene was accompanied on some specimens by the symbols of the moon and star (☾☿, which frequently figure on other Damascus coins; hence *In'jeim* and *Bedriyeh*.§

The fellahin of Beit Thûl told me that the town was formerly called among the Christians *Kal'at Fertin* قلعة فرطين; "the fortress of Fertin,"|| a Christian or pagan king (Kâfer) who reigned there and lorded it over all the surrounding region. He perished in the *tûfân*, "the deluge," which issued from the *Tannûr* of Abu Shûsheh (Gezer) and submerged the whole country. In speaking of Gezer I shall have occasion to recur to this latter legend, a

* We have here, I think, an instance of the *mythologie des images*, which I have already proposed to call *iconology*; the story of Jonah and the *kikayôn* tree is closely connected with those numerous *tesserae* of Palmyra, on which the dead man is represented lying beneath a tree bearing large round berries.

† Bochart, I, 920, 20.

‡ Mionnet, V, 292; cf. de Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 45, No. 13. Compare the myth of Téléphus suckled by a doe.

§ This generation of Arab legends through the arbitrary interpretations of scenes figured on ancient coins is not an isolated case. For instance, I have already shown (*Recueil d'Archéol. orientale*, I, p. 311) that the remarkable Mussulman legend of *Adam ploughing at Acre with a pair of oxen led by Gabriel*, which is localized at 'Ain el Bakar near Acre, arose from a popular interpretation of the colonial coins of Acre, on which the imperial founder of Ptolemais is seen driving a cart, the symbol of colonization in Roman worship, with a genius hovering above him.

|| *Fertin* is perhaps a transposition for *Tarfin*, which we shall be concerned with later.

very important one. I consider it to be a fragment of one of the oldest and most widespread beliefs in the land of Canaan.

I was told of a *Kh. Mismâr* situated between Beit Thûl and Zunukleh.

On my way through this region I noted an expression absolutely peculiar to the fellahîn there, namely, *m'ayi* (معيّة or معيّ), in the sense of *k'êhîr*, "much."

The ethnic name of the inhabitants of the village is *Thûly*, plural *Tawwâleh*. I shall often have occasion to recur to this question of ethnics. Sufficient attention has not been paid to them, and I have always made an effort to collect them carefully, for in my opinion they *often preserve for us the more archaic forms of the place-names*.

Beit Thûl is evidently some ancient locality of distinct importance, but which is it? The likeness of the name to Bethulia, false as a mirage, must not deceive us for a moment.

Might not one identify it with the undiscoverable Jithlah mentioned in Joshua xix, 42, among the towns belonging to the tribe of Dan, and forming a separate group with Ajalon and Shaalabbin?

This identification is most tempting to the geographer, considering that Beit Thûl is near Yâlô (Ajalon), and is even joined to it by the ancient road I mentioned just now.

From the etymologist's point of view the notion is admissible. We are quite at liberty in considering the name *Beit Thûl* to take as usual only the second half, eliminating the insignificant factor *beit*, "house." This leaves us *Thûl*, the essential factor, and the only one remaining in the ethnic *Thûly*.

Thûl, ثول, (*Thaul*)* signifies in Arabic a "swarm of bees" or "hornets." So we might stop at this and suppose the name to be of purely Arabic origin, "the house of the bees" or "of the hornets." As a matter of fact Beit Thûl does produce excellent honey, and we partook of some with relish. One has to beware, however, of these appellations that appear to be of purely Arabic origin, they are often ancient Hebrew names converted by a process of popular etymology into words familiar to the Arabs. In many cases slight phonetic changes assist the process. These, by the bye, are not arbitrary, but are subject to real laws. Thus, for instance, the name of the Bible town

* In the *Name Lists* the name is written بيت تول, and the second element *Tûl* is regarded as a proper name, and wrongly translated "length," from a confusion with the word طول, which is radically different.

of *Thimnah* has become in fellâh speech *Tibneh*, "chopped straw." Similarly *Thûl* may stand for *Jethlah*, the two last radicals of which it has preserved. The first syllable *Ji* may be either (1) radical—this is the opinion of Fürst, who derives the name *Jithlah* from one of those imaginary roots which are his particular foible, namely יתל (which itself, by the bye, is formed from תל); or (2) servile, in case the word really comes from תלה *talâh*, "to be hung, hung up." In either case the disappearance of this initial syllable *Ji* is the most natural thing in the world. This is how, for instance, *Jericho* becomes in Arabic *Rîha* (*Erîha*); *Jezreel*, *Zer'in*; *Jeshanah*, *Sîniah*, etc. At any rate that seems to me quite as reasonable as the identification with the name of a valley, *Wâdy 'Atala*,* which has been suggested in desperation.

Arab Legend.—At Beit Thûl I took on an extra guide to go to *Kh. Hirsha* or *Hersheh* (حَرْشَة). The breath of the *Khamsîn*† was scorching, the heat overpowering, the sky without a cloud, and of a blinding chalk-like whiteness. Our way lay through partially cut fields of corn. The harvestmen, it appears, are in the habit of leaving off work while this wind is blowing, because, they say, the corn-stalks get dry and are too hard to cut. The hills that we crossed were covered with underwood. A quantity of charcoal is made about here, and the operation is generally conducted in old rock-hewn caves, frequently ancient graves.

As we went along, my guide from Beit Thûl told me that opposite *Sârîs*, on the other side the confluence of the two valleys, there was a steep place called '*Elliet en Nimër*, "the Height of the Panther." There, in a cavern still existing at the present day, was once the den of a most savage panther which ravaged the country round, and cut off the communication through *Wâdy Sâfieh* and *Wâdy Hûteh*. One day an ancestor of one of the inhabitants of Beit Thûl went to slay it. The beast sprang upon him, planted its claws in his back, and carried him off to one of the highest rocks about its den. Here, however, the bold hunter managed to draw his knife, turned round and slew the panther, and cut off its paw, which remained imbedded in

* Map of Van de Velde. The existence of this name is not even asserted, and I do not find it on the Map. Phonetically, it would rather suggest *Ataroth* of Benjamin, which should be hereabouts, unless indeed it is simply عطا الله?

† *Khamsîn*. This name, which means "fifty," is generally accounted for by the number of days during which this wind is said to blow. I am rather inclined to think that it comes from the season in which it blows; the *Khamsîn* is the prevailing wind in the period of *fifty* days comprised between *Easter* and *Pentecost* (Πεντηκοστή).

his back. A skilful leech succeeded in extracting it, and he recovered. What struck me about this legend was the name given to the hunter's knife, *shibriyeh*. This word is probably derived from *shibr*, "palm" or "span," and probably denotes the length of the blade of the dagger. This is the same as that of the *hereb*, with which Ehud the Left-handed slew Eglon king of Moab, which measured a *gomed*.

Dhahr el Hâteh.—Looking to the north-west of Beit Thûl in the direction of Ramleh, I noticed a rocky height called *Dhahr el Hâteh*, which they say was struck by lightning and cloven into three parts.

Kh. el Kasër.—To the south-west of our route, above the Wâdy Sâfieh, is *Kh. el Kasër* (Kûsr).

Bât'n el Jarrûd.—To the north-west of our route and to the north of *Hirsha* is a height *Bât'n el Jarrûd*, so called because the soldiers of Islam assembled there (*jarradû*). This appellation may have reference to some military event, for it is well known that in this region, that of Beit Nûba, the Franks and Saladin engaged in numerous combats.

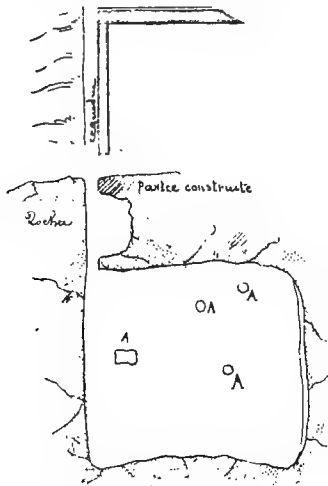
Hirsha.—However, we were now approaching *Hirsha*. We encountered first a commanding height called from its position the *Muntâr* (observatory) of *Hirsha*.

The Stone of the Pregnant Woman.—We noticed on the slope of the *Muntâr* a long hewn block of about 3^m·20, broken at one end; this is "the pillar of the fairy" or female jinn, *'amûd el Jinniyeh*. Tradition has it that a *pregnant she-fairy* had received orders from Solomon to bring stones for building the Temple at Jerusalem. She was in the act of carrying this heavy pillar, which she had fetched from *Hirsha*, when she learned by the way that the mighty king who had imposed this hard task on her was dead. She straightway threw her crushing burden to the ground, the stone broke with the shock, and remained there ever after. This legend of "the stone of the pregnant woman" (*Hajar el Hableh*) is very popular with the Arabs of Syria. I have found it in several places, and mean some day to make a special study of it.*

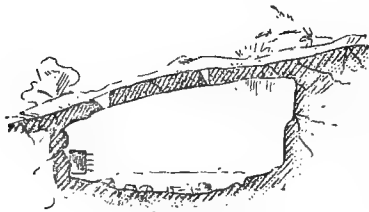
* We must reject the explanation suggested by M. Renan in his *Mission de Phénicie* (p. 74), according to which a *Hajar el Hableh* (transcribed *Hubleh*) stands for *Hajar el Kubleh* (القُبلى), "the Stone of the South." There is no doubt that the real meaning is "the Stone of the Pregnant Woman." The same mistake was once made about the same name as applied to the colossal hewn block in the ancient quarries of Ba'albek (*cf.*, for instance, Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*, ed. 1876, p. 500). Now in an ancient Italian MS. that lies before me, and

Waterworks.—I remarked further on a section of an aqueduct partly cut in the rock; a little further still, a huge threshing floor, a mosaic floor *in situ*, with large cubes of white limestone (called by the fellahin *kazamît*)* still in their bed of thick cement; and then cisterns, fragments of pottery, etc.

Next we made our way into an immense subterranean reservoir cut out in the solid rock, and measuring 14^m·80 in length, 13m. in breadth, and at



A. BIRKEH AT HIRSHA.



B. TRANSVERSE SECTION.
Scale $\frac{1}{800}$.

least 8m. in height. The ceiling is flat and sloping, and pierced with several openings, three round and one square, to allow of water being drawn out or admitted. The lower part of the sides is still covered with a coat of concrete 0^m·25 in thickness. In the middle a few large blocks, carefully hewn, lie on the ground. In one of the corners of this monumental cistern, which forms a regular subterranean *birkeh*, is the beginning of a wide canal, partly cut in the rock and partly built of masonry, which would allow of the water being let out and guided for the purposes of irrigation, as I suppose. This aqueduct consists of a sort of trench with top uncovered. At the end it is crossed by a structure of masonry with a groove in it which seems to have admitted the gate of a sluice for regulating the flow of the water. Further on it is joined at right angles by a wall surmounted with a cornice.

Lower down is another *birkeh* also cut in the rock, but this time open to the sky.

This large and remarkable reservoir is called '*Aineziyet Hirsha*. This

is nothing more or less than a translation of an Arabic treatise on searching for hidden treasure in Syria, this same stone at Ba'albek is called *la pietra gravida*, evidently for *della gravida*. I believe that this extremely curious legend has some connexion with the tradition concerning the *Caryatids* or statues of women supporting a building or an entablature. There may be a basis for comparison with the three kneeling statues at Rome, brought from Syria after the defeat of Antiochus, and regarded by the people as divinities presiding over women in childbirth. M. Bréal thinks that these *nixi di* were *Caryatids*. In Western folk-lore there are legends which strikingly recall that of the *Hajar el Hableh* (cf. *Revue archéologique*, May-June, 1893, p. 350, *et seq.*).

* The word is tortured into various shapes by the Arabs. At Lydda I heard it pronounced *bazamît*. It must be some foreign word, Greek perhaps, that has passed into Arabic.

name 'Aineziyeh, which is not to be found in our Arabic Lexicons, signifies a (covered) reservoir more extensive than a cistern, and is applied, for instance, to the great cistern at Ramleh.

Besides this, there is in the neighbourhood a group of ruins of some size consisting of heaps of well-hewn stones, many of them belonging to arched bays, and some bearing *bossages*.

We noticed among them a fine carved lintel bearing a Greek cross contained in a circle or crown.*

A tomb, with three arcosolia, had been afterwards transformed into a cistern. We had all the trouble in the world to crawl in and examine it.

This group of waterworks of such a size, these ruins of houses with arched bays, etc., point to the existence here of an important settlement, probably dating back to the Byzantine period. Did Hirsha exist before this period? and what can it have been? The name recalls that of the forest of Hareth which served as a refuge to David (allowing for the well-known interchange of the *shin* and the *tan*): or that of Mount Heres, which cannot have been far from Yâlô. But these are mere hypothetical identifications, I do not wish to lay stress upon them.

Various Localities.—After a lunch, which we took at our ease beneath a fine carob-tree, and washed down with excellent water, I dismissed our guide from Beit Thûl and we set off for Beit Nûba. I first of all took down from his lips the names and approximate positions of certain places round about which we had no leisure to visit: *Jammûres*, *Kh. Sâwân*, *Kh. Rakkûbes*, to the east of Beit Nûba and to the south of Beit Likia. He told me that *Bezka*, which I desired to visit because the name had struck me, was to be found to the north of Kubâb and the east of el K'niseh, between Selbît and 'Annâbeh.

Beit Nûba.—At three o'clock we entered Beit Nûba, whose inhabitants looked on us with suspicion, and gave us a surly reception, forming a striking contrast with the cordial welcome we had just before found at Beit Thûl. However, I did not allow myself to be discouraged, hoping that as the village was formerly inhabited by the Crusaders, it might have some find in store for us, and by dint of pertinacity I obtained access to the houses, whether they liked it or not.

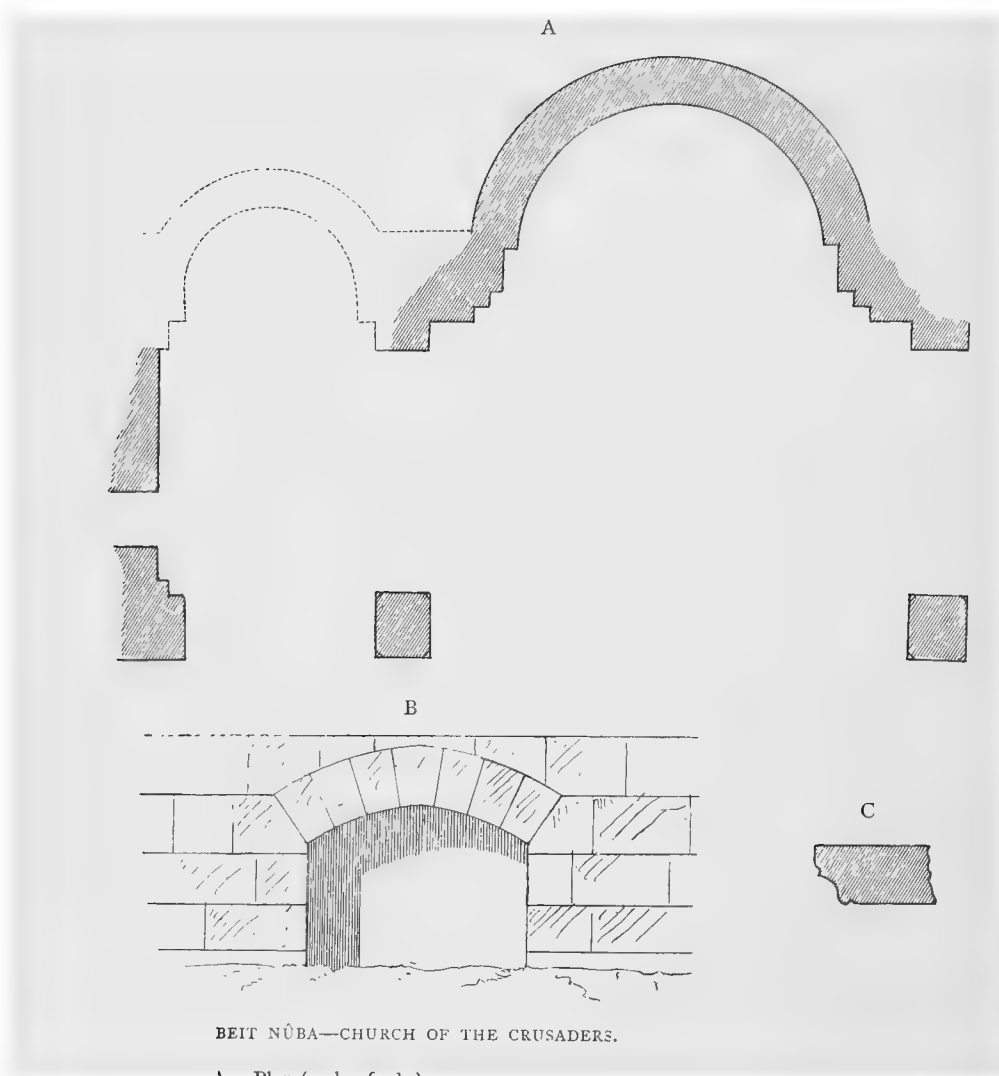
Mediæval Church.—Our perseverance was rewarded, for we discovered, shut in by these wretched hovels, three apses, regularly orientated, of a large mediæval church, hitherto unknown. We noted among the masons' marks

* Sketch lost.

an M, and in the straight and curved portions of the apses the same peculiarity of tool marks, either diagonal or approaching the vertical, as in the church at Abu Ghôsh.

Unfortunately time failed us to make a complete plan, and to distinguish all the primitive elements in the conglomeration of houses that clung to the ruined building.

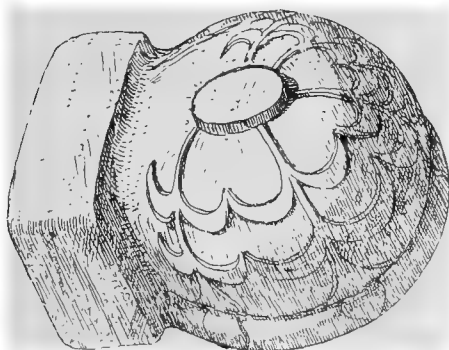
However, we noted enough to give a general idea of the whole. The church is in the eastern portion of the village. A rough and incomplete plan of it follows here.



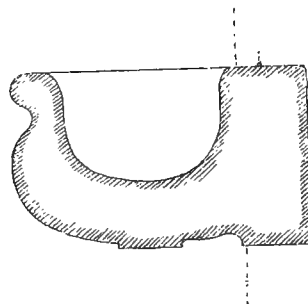
BEIT NÛBA—CHURCH OF THE CRUSADERS.

- A. Plan (scale of $\frac{1}{200}$).
 B. Elevation of a door in the north wall of the small north aisle. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.
 C. Section of the cornice.

In the courtyard of a house I noticed, lying on the ground, a very handsome holy-water stoup of carved white marble, probably belonging to the church of the Crusaders, with which it is, I think, contemporary.



View, looking up.



Section.

This, I think, is the unique instance of a holy-water stoup found in Palestine.* Apart from that, it is interesting for the history of Western Art to find a specimen of these articles that cannot be later than the 13th century. This proof of the existence of mediæval remains at Beit Nûba settles once and for all the question whether the casal *Bettenoble* should be identified with Beit Nûba, or, as some authors, M. Guérin for instance, would have it, with 'Annâbeh.

On the west of the village is a makâm dedicated to Neby *Tarfîn* or *Turfîny* (طرفين), a descendant of the patriarch Jacob, as local tradition assures us. I cannot make out what lies concealed beneath this singular name. May it be that of the name of king *Fertîn* or *Fartîn*, the personage of the legend of Beit Thûl already given, the *t* and *f* being transposed? The king, however, appears in this legend as a pagan or Christian. It may possibly have some connection with the Jewish name *Tarphon* טרפון, which has been borne by several ancient rabbis, and is in itself merely a corruption of the Greek *Τρύφων*. Perhaps, again, it is a transformation—a quite regular one—of the name *Τρόφιμος* which occurs several times in Christian martyrology.

El B'weîreh.—We left Beit Nûba and directed our steps to el B'weîreh,

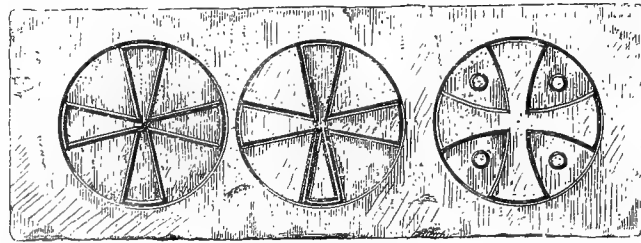
* I find, however, the following among my notes, marked with a query: "Fragment of a holy-water stoup (?) of carved marble, found in the Crusaders' Church at Kubeîbeh." A drawing of it by M. Lecomte must have gone astray like a number of others.

where I wanted to examine some ancient remains that I had heard of a long time before from different fellahîn.*

El B'weîreh is a ruin of some importance, and had not hitherto been visited by Palestine explorers. It has numerous rock-hewn caves.

We found a great number of the inhabitants of Katanneh, a village lying some distance to the east, who spend part of the summer there for the harvesting. This custom of taking a country holiday every year in certain *Khûrbehs* or ruins is a very common one in Palestine. It may serve to explain why and in what manner the tradition of the names of places has been so faithfully preserved, even when these are deserted.

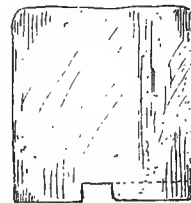
The fellahîn showed great distrust of us at the outset, and it was only by dint of repeated negotiations that I obtained the information I wanted. We were first taken to see a fine lintel of hard stone, 1^m·30 long, ornamented on one of its faces with three crosses of slightly different shape, inscribed in a circle. One of the crosses, the one on the right, has four small knobs between



LINTEL AT B'WEÎREH. Front view.



B'WEÎREH. View looking up.



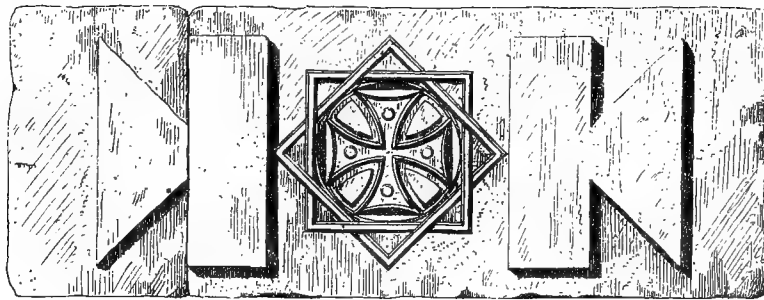
Side view.

* At this point there is some confusion in the notes of my route that I cannot clear up. I can only make out the name "Ajenjûl, to the north of Latrûn." This note must evidently have a connection with the "Khûrbet el Junjul" of the Map, which we passed through just before arriving at B'weîreh. I cannot say whether my entry refers to this place under a form of name noticeably different, or to another place of the same name in the neighbourhood of Latrûn that may have been mentioned by my guide in speaking of it.

its arms. The lower surface presents recesses intended doubtless to ensure the cohesion of the stone with the fabric to which it belonged.

We next were led to a large field surrounded by a dry stone wall, in which we perceived a quantity of fine blocks carefully hewn, some with a moulding, which were said to have come from the ground inside the wall. The tool-marking was not mediæval, and I am inclined to believe that these materials date back earlier than the Crusades, probably to the Byzantine period.

There was another lintel broken into two unequal portions, and by good luck we found the missing portion in the middle of the field. It is ornamented with an elegant Greek cross enclosed in a square with another square intertwined diagonally; on the four arms of the cross are four small projecting knobs; on the right and left, two triangular auricles resembling those on inscribed cartouches. The whole is carved in relief, and produces a very fine decorative effect; the style is pure Byzantine. Length of the lintel 1^m.55.



LINTEL AT B'WEÏREH.

The fellahîn of el B'weïreh indicated to me several spots which we had not time to go and see, as the day was drawing to a close :—

Kh. Kanbût, on the west side of *Kh. el B'weïreh*, but forming part of it, so to speak. *Kanbût*, I was told, was a man of “ Ibrahim Pasha's time ;”

Kh. es Sedër ;

Kh. Barada, to the south of B'weïreh.

We resumed our journey to Bîr el Ma'in, and passed through the ruins of *Kh. el Hadetheh*, quite near B'weïreh. Here again we noticed considerable ancient remains, caves and foundations of houses, hollowed out in the rock, cisterns and ruins of buildings, blocks well hewn and moulded, columns, and two *birkehs*. However, as the day was far spent, we had to content ourselves with a superficial survey, so as to get to the tent before nightfall. I noticed growing among the ruins those yellow flowers which are so characteristic of

such places, as has already been observed. The fellahin call them *murrâr* or *shôk el murrâr*.

To sum up, my impression is that all the country from here to Beit Thûl must have been very prosperous in Byzantine times, and that the ruins we noticed at Beit Thûl, Hirsha, B'weireh and Hadetheh all belong to that period. There were on those spots extensive groups of inhabited dwellings, perhaps large agricultural colonies of monastic origin.

The Hasmonæan Adasa.—I do not mean that these Christian communities were not established on the sites of older localities. For instance, *Hadetheh* (حدث) should represent some ancient חדשה *Hadasha*, a name which must have been pretty common in Palestine, and simply means "new town." We know that the Arabic root *hadatha*, حدث, corresponds exactly to the Hebrew *hadash* חדש.* The *Adasa* of 1st Maccabees and of Josephus must have been one of these *Hadashas*: the translation Ἀδασά, with loss of the initial aspirate, being perfectly regular. This granted, I propose locating on the site of our *Hadetheh* the place which was made famous by the defeat of Nicanor by Judas Maccabeus. The various sites suggested for this by different authorities, from the *Onomasticon* downwards, in nowise fulfil the conditions of the problem, as *Adasa*, according to Josephus, was thirty stadia from Beth-horon, where Nicanor pitched his camp after leaving Jerusalem in order to effect a junction with another portion of the Syrian army that was coming to reinforce him. Now *Hadetheh* is just at this distance from Beit 'Ûr et tahta. Besides, it lies just on the road between Beth-horon and Gezer, and we know that the Syrian army was pursued by the Jews from *Adasa* to *Gazara*.

* From observing this philological point, I have been enabled to identify, with certainty I think, the city of Judah called *Hadasha* (Joshua xv, 37) mentioned along with Migdal (Gad), and sought in vain up to the present day, with the modern village *Hatta*, to the east of Mejdél and Ascalon. This name in fact is nothing but a quite normal assimilation of *Hadtha*, *Hattha* (حدثا = حثا). The transition form is already seen in the Hebrew *Hazor-Hadattah*, "New Hazor." This village *Hatta* appears to me to occur in a mediæval Act, dated 1155, of which the original unhappily is lost, a donation made to the Hospitallers by Amaury, Count of Ascalon, of four casals situated in the domain of Ascalon: *Bethtafe*, *Habde*, *Bethamamin*, and *Phaluge* (Dela-ville Leroulx, *Cartul. Général des Hospitaliers*, No. 232). I have no hesitation in identifying the first and two last as *Beit 'Affeh*, *Kh. Beit Mâmîn*, and *el Fâlûjeh*, three villages lying in a group to the east of Ascalon. As for *Habde*, I am persuaded that it is none other than *Hatteh*, *Hatta*, which forms a quadrilateral with the three other villages; *Habde* is certainly a copyist's error on the part of the author of the inventory; the original probably had the reading *Hatte*, perhaps even *Hadte*. The same etymology seems to me to recur in the name of *Kh. Kefr Hatta*, lying a little to the north of Mejdél Yâbâ.

Thus by its name, its distance and its strategic position, Hadetheh appears to me to fulfil all requirements, and I, in my turn, beg to propose a new candidate for the disputed site of Adasa.

Bîr el Ma'in.—We quickened our pace, and finally reached Bîr el Ma'in at sunset. Here we found our little camp set up by our servant, who had come from Abu Ghôsh by the straight road in five hours.

There was still daylight enough for us to distinguish at our feet, through a gap in the mountains, the town of Ramleh, a white spot in the middle of the deep yellow plain, and beyond it, the sandy belt of dunes.

The inhabitants received us admirably, with every token of good will. The *nâtûr* of the village did us numberless small services in the way of drawing water, buying eggs and milk, etc. Every large village in these parts has its *nâtûr*, literally "guardian." The word, which has an ancient Aramaic physiognomy,* comes from the root *natar* *نظر*, "to watch, guard," whence likewise the widespread geographical term *Muntâr*, and also the name of the village *el Atrûn*, *Latrûn*, in its authentic primitive form *Nâterûn*. The *nâtûr*, whom I have also sometimes heard called *nâtûr es sâha*, "guardian of the open space," is a sort of municipal watchman paid by the village in kind, mostly in grain, and corresponding pretty nearly to our "garde-champêtre,"† except that he has no legal status. On him devolves the duty of seeing to the wants of the travellers and guests who are housed in the *medhâfeh*, an institution which no self-respecting village is without.

The *medhâfeh* ("place where guests are received," from *dheîf*, *dhuyûf*) is sometimes a separate room set apart for this purpose, furnished simply with a mat crawling with vermin; at other times, indeed as a general rule, it is the mosque or wely of the place. One of the chief functions of the *nâtûr* consists in preparing the coffee which is offered to guests by the village; and which nowadays in several places has become a means of extracting a small baksheesh from the traveller.

Various Localities.—At supper I conversed with the kindly villagers, and was told of *Beit Nûshef*, between Beit Likia and Beit Sîra, also of *Kh. el Ėb'îâr*, where a stone *sandûk* (sarcophagus) was to be found, and a *kâdûs* (a large vase?); and of a mountain called *el Koka'* to the east of Yâlô (which they pronounce Yâlû); of *Kh. Hîba* to the west of the latter village, etc., etc.

* Cf *נִטְרָא*, Hebr. Talm.

† A sort of rural constable in France.

Next followed some curious legends :—

Legend of Neby Ma'in and his sisters.—The mosque of Bîr el Ma'in is consecrated to *Neby Ma'in*,* a prophet and the son of Jacob, who must be the same as *Beliamîn*, otherwise called *Benjamin*. He is buried there in a cave surmounted by a wooden *tabbût*† or sarcophagus. He it was that founded Bîr el Ma'in, which is sometimes also called *Deir el Ma'in*. No scorpion can enter his sanctuary without straightway dying.

When Neby Ma'in died, his five sisters hastened to come from the *Jisër Benât Ya'kûb*, or “Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob,” which is on the Jordan to the south of Lake Hûleh, in order to be present at his funeral. They all however died before reaching their destination, at different places in the neighbourhood, where their tombs are still the object of veneration :—

1. *Hannâneh* or *Hanâya*, whose makâm to the south-west of Neby Ma'in is simply indicated by trees (*Sarrîs* and *ballût*), a mysterious force having overthrown every structure that it was attempted to build upon it :—

2. *Zahra*, buried at a spot some few minutes to the north of Bîr el Ma'in ;

3. *Mennâ'a* ;

4. *Hûriyeh*, at *Kefër Lût* or *Kefër Rût* ;

5. *Farha*, to the north of el Burj.

These five daughters of Jacob, sisters of Neby Ma'in, are venerated as holy women, and all receive the title of *Sitt-nâ*, “Our Lady.” I noticed before in 1871‡ a few traces of this singular tradition : among others, that Neby Ma'in had a brother *Neby Sîra*, like him the son of Jacob, and buried at *Beit Sîra* ; but the details I gathered three years later at Bîr el Ma'in, fill it in and considerably extend it.

This region moreover teems with memories of Jacob and his more or less fabulous descendants, whom the fellahîn, as their manner is, attach to some particular place through its name : as *Neby Dan* or *Dânên*, at *Neby Danian* ; *Neby 'Ûr*, at *Beit 'Ûr* ; *Tarfîn*, at *Beit Nûba* ; *Rubîn* and *Yûda*, at *Neby Rúbîn* and *el Yehûdiyeh* ; *Neby Kanda*, in the parts about *Yebna*, etc.§

* The name ought really to be spelt ماعين *Mâ'in*, rather than معين, if I may trust my ears and also the form given in the official list of the local government, which is in my possession.

† *Tabbût* تابوت is the same word as the Hebrew *tebah* תבה, a sarcophagus.

‡ See *infra*, Appendix.

§ All these nebys, I was told by the fellahîn of Bîr el Ma'in, when I pressed them on the subject, are either the sons of Ya'kûb, or descended from him (*min zurriyeto*). They quoted as further instances : *Neby Yûsha'* at *Eshû'*, and *Neby Târy*.

I think there would be great interest in comparing these legends with the traditions in the genealogical lists of the Books of Chronicles, which often have a genuine topographical import. This work is particularly valuable, from this point of view, in relation to Ephraim, for it allows us partially to fill up the unfortunate silence of the Book of Joshua concerning the cities that fell to this tribe.

I proved thus much some time ago by a few cases of place-names, that topically exemplify this method and exhibit its usefulness :—

Be'enna, a place in the neighbourhood of Lydda, represents one of the Bible personages called *Ba'ana*, or *Ba'anah* ;

Arsûf (*Apollonia*, in the Syro-Macedonian epoch) represents a descendant of Ephraim called *Resheph*, which name, on the other hand, is identical with that of the Phœnician god *Resheph* or *Reshuph*, appearing as the equivalent of *Apollo* in Greco-Phœnician bilingual inscriptions ;

Beit Sîra, with its *Neby Sîra*, a son of Jacob, represents the town of *Uzzen Sheerah*, “the ear of Seerah,” daughter of Ephraim, etc.

It would be easy to multiply these examples by extending this method to other regions, and to other genealogies than that of Ephraim. The land of Moab presents a whole series of anthro-chorographic assimilations of the same kind. I have noted the most remarkable found in this quarter in the *Revue archéologique*.*

To return to our Arab legend of the *five daughters* of Jacob, I am inclined to think it closely related to the Biblical tradition of the *five daughters* of Manasseh, or rather of the five female descendants of Manasseh, by his sons Zelophehead, Hepher, Gilead and Machir, who came to Moses and Joshua to claim a share of the land.† These five daughters are named : *Mahlah*, *Noah*, *Hoglah*, *Milcah*, and *Tirzah* (מחלה, נעה, חגלה, מלכה, תרצה).

One of these names, *No'ah*, shows some signs of likeness to that of one of the daughters of Jacob, namely *Mennâ'a* (נעה, مناعة), but this does not suffice to settle the identity of the two personages. I arrive at this conclusion by considerations of a more general nature.

We should remark, at the outset, that the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob, whence the five sisters started, according to the Arab legend, lies in the direction of the territory of the tribe of Manasseh, to the south of Lake

* March, 1877. *Gomorrhe, Segor, et les filles de Lot*.

† Numbers, xxvi, 33 ; xxvii, 1 ; xxxvi, 10 ; Joshua xvii, 2.

Hûleh. This most remarkable bridge is on the high road that, for ages past, has united Damascus with the main artery which crosses cis-Jordanic Palestine from north to south, from Nazareth to Hebron, and from which branch forth the principal roads that intersect the country. The idea of the travels of the *five daughters of Jacob* has surely been inspired by these geographical conditions.

This bridge has been built hard by an old ford of the Jordan, which is called by Latin writers of the Middle Ages the *Vadum Jacobi*, and in Mussulman tradition the whole legend of the passage of the Jabbok by Jacob is connected with it. The nearness of the territory of Manasseh, and, on the other hand, the fact that the memory of Jacob has become firmly attached to this neighbourhood, show how the confusion arose between the *five daughters* of Zelophehad, Manasseh's descendants, and the *five daughters* of Jacob. Besides, the name and personality of Manasseh are hardly familiar to the Arabs; those of Zelophehad still less, as, considering the popularity of Jacob among them, it is quite natural that they should have transferred to him a story that related to the descendants of his grandson. Such transferences constantly occur in the folk-lore of the Judæa fellahîn. They get hold of three or four celebrated Bible names, and use them as pegs, so to speak, on which they invariably hang the shreds of tradition they have preserved. Among these names, that of Jacob occupies a front place, especially in questions of genealogy. This is why, for instance, *Sheerah, daughter of Ephraim*, the eponymous heroine of the town of Uzen-Sheerah, loses both sex and parentage in their tradition, and is transformed into *Neby Sîra, son of Jacob*. What we should especially consider here, is the group of the *five sisters*.

I will conclude by pointing out another fact which tends to confirm this identification. We have seen that the object of the five sisters in starting on their journey was to be present at the funeral of their brother Neby Ma'in, whom, as I have said above, the fellahîn take to be *Benjamin*. Now Benjamin, we know, is connected in the Bible with Manasseh in the closest manner; Machir, the eldest son of Manasseh, marries a Benjaminite;* it is from Jabesh Gilead,† a town of Manasseh, that the women are taken as wives for the four hundred out of the six hundred Benjamites that had escaped the general massacre of the tribe at Gibeah, and so on.

* 1 Chronicles vii, 15.

† Cf. the name of the son of Machir, which also is the name of a country, *Gilead*,

Finally, there is a point about the five more or less fabulous descendants of Manasseh, which invests their names with that unmistakable *topic* character which we noted in those of the five daughters of Jacob. The names of four of them are actually identical with the names of four Palestine towns, thus :—

Mahlah recalls *Abel Meholah*, a town of Issachar ;

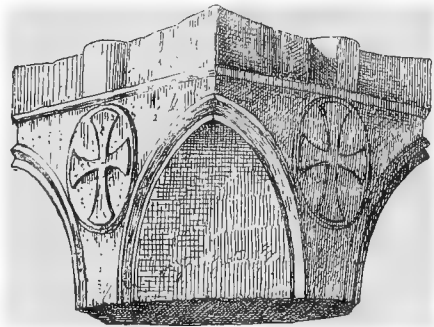
No'ah recalls *Ne'ah*, a town of Zebulon ;

Hoglah recalls *Beth Hoglah*, a town of Benjamin ;

Tirzah corresponds to the famous *Tirzah*, the first capital of the kingdom of Israel ;

Milcah is the only one that has no ancient place-name corresponding to it, at least as far as one can see.

From Bîr el Ma'in.—We passed a wretched night, tormented by mosquitos. Apparently the power of Neby Ma'in, the dreaded of scorpions, does not extend to these intolerable little creatures—they are beneath him. Next morning we had a look over his sanctuary, where we noticed a fine Byzantine capital, with its four corners scooped out, and adorned on each of its four sides with a Greek cross surrounded by a circle.



BÎR EL MA'ÎN.
A Capital in the Wely.

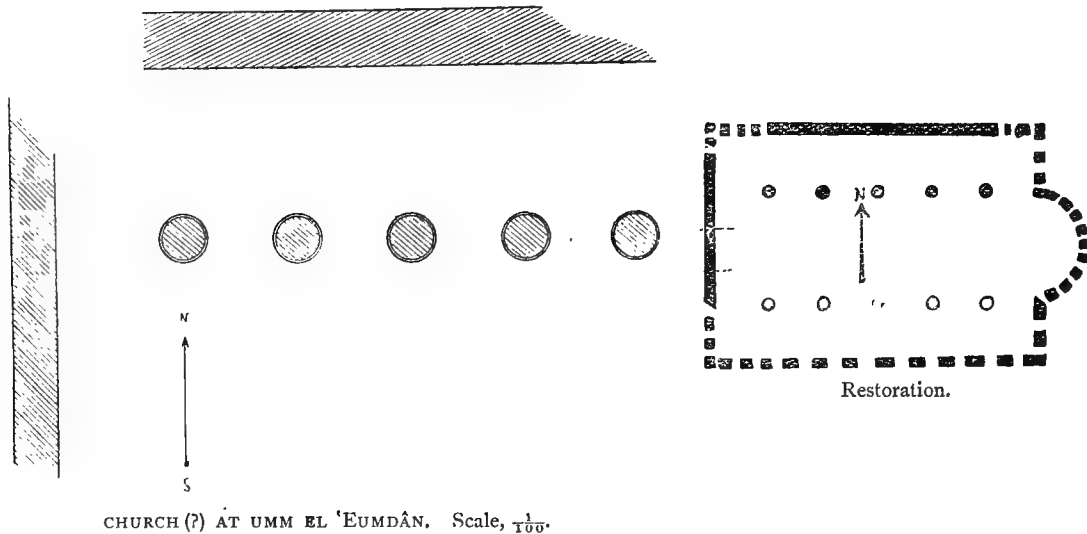
The programme for the day included a series of small explorations in the neighbourhood of Bîr el Ma'in, where I had decided to return for the night. We started in the company of our faithful Ibrahim Ahmed and the sheikh of the village, the latter riding his mare. I envied him this excellent little animal, for my own horse from Jerusalem had gone lame, and played me sorry tricks at every other step. There was no help for it but to put up with this torture, which was to last another fortnight, and did not conduce to make the excursion agreeable.

El Ėb'îâr.—I turned my steps first of all towards *Kh. el Ėb'îâr*, attracted by the presence of the sarcophagus we had been told of the evening before. We arrived there after about three quarters of an hour. The place* is situated about ten minutes walk to the north of Umm el 'Eumdân ('Amdân) ; it presents a few architectural remains, large unhewn blocks,

* I do not find it marked on the Map. Here are its bearings as I took them, but I do not guarantee their correctness : Kefireh, 120° ; Latrûn, 197° ; the Wely of el Jezery, 250°.

levellings, and foundations, about ten cisterns, square vats cut in the rock. We went down into one cistern that had the shape of an ellipse, with the opening at the end of the major axis. The alleged sarcophagus is a sort of chest or vase carved in stone, broken, and built into the top of the wall.*

Kh. el 'Eumdân.—At Kh. el 'Eumdân the ruins look more important, and comprise remains of various buildings, in the shape of numerous well-hewn blocks, lintel with a small six-leaved piece of rose-work carved in the middle, mill-stones, cisterns, and columns or fragments of columns, which have gained for the place its name of "Mother of columns." The diameter of the columns is about 0^m·55; one, a complete one, measures 2^m·96 in length. In the middle of these various remains we noticed five bases or tambours of columns, standing *in situ* at equal distances apart, and parallel to a wall of which the foundations alone remained; and, at right angles to the wall, a fragment of another wall, in the same condition, and intended evidently to join it. Between the line of the colonnade and the wall were quantities of mosaic cubes, showing that the ground had been originally paved with them.



Considering the orientation of the colonnade and the relative positions of these various objects, which are all *in situ*, I think we have here a small ancient church. We may restore the missing parts symmetrically and represent it as above.

* Sketch lost.

There is not a trace of the mediæval tool marks.

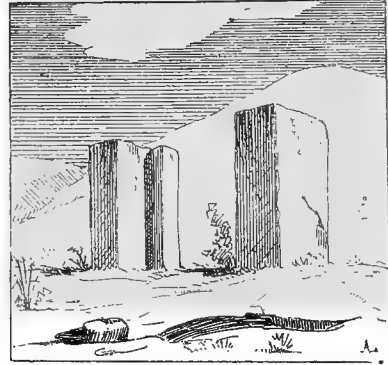
Further on appear two large square blocks, scooped on their inner side, and imbedded in the rock. At first sight these would be taken for the two jambs of a door. I rather think, however, that they are the two pillars of a press, similar to those that we observed some while later on in the district of Beit Nettîf.*

Bezka.—At Bezka, on the final undulation of a hill, a birket of masonry, some scattered blocks, ruins of houses, mill-stones and numerous cisterns, a quantity of workings in the rock, rectangular vats of presses, for wine or oil.

Misled by a confused recollection of a passage in the Arab chronicler Mujîr ed Dîn, I thought I recognized in Bezka a locality mentioned by him, but on consulting the text, I saw my error.†

Kefertâ.—After passing the wely of Sheikh S'limân (Suleimân) and again satisfying ourselves that the name given to the neighbouring ruin is really *Kefertâ*,‡ and not, as M. de Saulcy has asserted, *Kufur Tab*, we arrived at Kubâb.

Kubâb.—Kubâb is certainly a place of some antiquity, but its real identity has not yet been determined. It is mentioned by Mujîr ed Dîn§ under the name of *Kariet el Kubâb*, as a village of the district of Ramleh punished in 898 A.H. by Janbulât, governor of Jerusalem, in consequence of a revolt of the fellahin. Hence followed a struggle for power with his colleague the governor of Gaza, who declared that the village was under his dominion. This was the prelude to the affair of Tell el Jezer, the account of which put me on the track of my discovery of Gezer. The inhabitants of Kubâb declare that the former name of *Kubâb* was *Kabbân* كَبَّان, and that this is the form in which it appears in the "books of the Christians." Were it not for the radical difference between the two *k*'s, one would incline to believe that this legend has reference to the *Chabbon* of Joshua xv, 40.



A PRESS AT UMM EL 'EUMDÂN.

Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

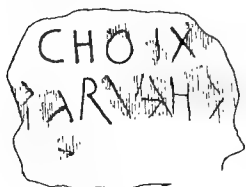
* See *infra*.

† I find noted in my pocket-book a suggestion which has since been made, for the identification of *Bezka* and the *Bezek* of the Bible.

‡ See Appendix.

§ Bulak Arabic text, p. 696.

Roman Inscription.—While I was looking at the houses of the village, a peasant brought me a small piece of stone (a limestone flag) inscribed with Latin characters. Ibrahim Ahmed had already told me of the existence of



this, and brought me a rough copy of it to Jerusalem in April. (I mention it in my Report No. 11.) I obtained possession of it for a few piastres. All that could be made out on it was the remains of two lines, cut with some care, but too much mutilated for any satisfactory result to be arrived at. The traces of the ruled lines that regulated the height of the characters are still apparent. Length of the fragment, 0^m.30.

The characters appear to be of the Roman period; the reading of the first line may perhaps be *c(o)ho(rs) IX*, "ninth cohort." In the second line the first character is perhaps a sign denoting the *century*, followed by AR, or ARV. . . , which may be regarded as the beginning of the name of the centurion, accompanied, perhaps, by the number of the century, V = 5; then a repetition of the sign of the century, followed by H or EI (?). However this may be, it is tolerably apparent that the inscription proceeded from a detachment of the Roman legions garrisoning Palestine and guarding the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa. It was perhaps the same as the corps quartered not far from there at 'Amwâs (Emmaus—Nicopolis), where I discovered, a few years later, various fragments of Roman inscriptions, among others one mentioning a soldier of the Fifth Legion (Macedonica).*

To this fragment found at Kubâb I add the copy of another fragment, which I quite believe has a similar origin, though, from a gap in the notes in my field book, I am unable to say for certain. This also is a piece of a Roman inscription. In the second line apparently it is necessary to restore: [. . . *Anto*]nini *Au*[gusti] (?), and perhaps in the first: [*legio*] X *F*[retensis] *An*[toniniana . . .](?).† In this case we should have a new inscription relating to the famous Tenth Legion (Fretensis), about the time of Caracalla, or, at the latest, Heliogabalus.

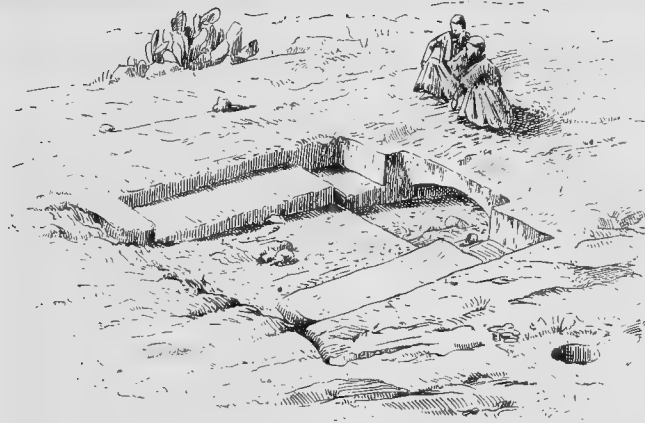


* For this, see in Vol. I my remarks on Bettir and the Roman inscription which I discovered there, which mentions the Fifth Legion (Macedonica) and the Eleventh (Claudia).

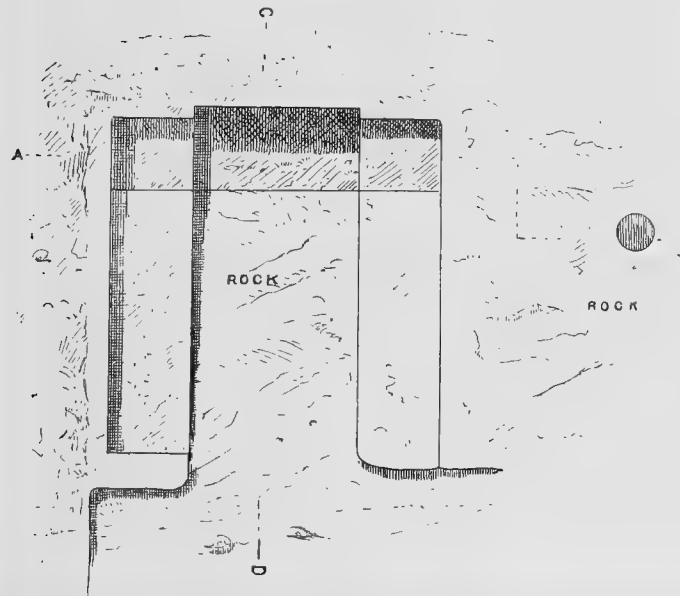
† We know from various monuments, notably from an inscription from Jerusalem (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, X, 49. and XI, 138), that the Tenth Legion (Fretensis), like many others, had, in fact, received the surname of *Antoniniana*, in honour of Caracalla.

Ancient Sepulchre.—After lunching beneath a figtree near the block-house of Kubâb, we went to examine a fine tomb quite near, which I had already had occasion to study in 1871.

We took an exact plan of it.



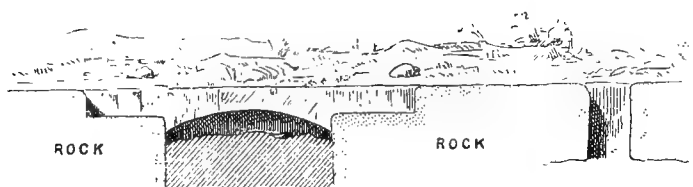
A.—Perspective Sketch.



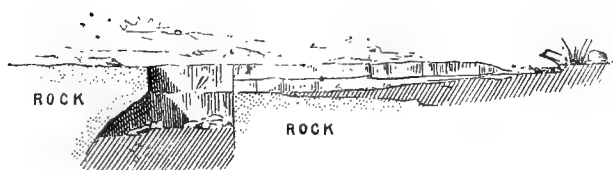
B.—Plan. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

For the description and other details I beg to refer the reader to my account in the Appendix.*

* There will also be found in the Appendix a sketch I made of a piece of a "donkey-back" sarcophagus lid, which has since disappeared.



C.—Section on A B.

D.—Section on C D. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

Tell el Jezer—discovery of the first inscription.—After lunch we started to see the inscription at *Nejmet el 'Ades* between Kubâh and Tell el Jezer, not far from 'Ain Yardeb (Yerdeh), which Ibrahim Ahmed had told me of in March. On that occasion he brought me a very rough copy, mentioned in my Report No. 10; but I could only make out the Greek letters **ΑΛΙΚΙΟΝ**, or something like it, followed by other puzzling characters. I had an inkling of the importance of this text, and my curiosity concerning it was keen. This impression, as will be seen, was well founded. I lay stress on this small matter, as it shows what care ought to be observed in gathering and verifying the smallest items of information supplied by the peasants of Palestine, without giving way to discouragement at the deceptions they so often involve.* To neglect them is sometimes to miss archæological discoveries of the greatest importance, as I shall now proceed to show.

The heat was overpowering, and the *barghash* drove us and our animals to frenzy. At last we arrived at the little hill called *Nejmet el 'Ades*,† simply

* On reading over my note books again, I find that I myself have failed to observe this principle. Ibrahim Ahmed told me at the same time of an inscription at *Beit Nakûba*, to the east of Abu Ghôsh, and quite near it. I neglected to go and verify the matter on the spot. I acknowledge my transgression, and recommend this desideratum to the attention of future explorers.

† *Nejm*, *nejmeh*, which in literary Arabic means “stars,” in peasant speech signifies “hill, height.”

from the fact that the fellahin sow lentils (*'ades*) there; it is a sort of large hump of rock. Here we had to search a long while for the inscription, Ibrahim not remembering exactly where it was. Finally, we saw it all of a sudden, not far from the entrance of a small rock-hewn tomb. The ridge of rock on which it was cut was flush with the ground, lying east and west, and almost horizontal, having a slight dip at the south end. In order to read the characters in their proper direction, one must stand facing the north. On taking the position of the place with the compass, we got the following results: the block-house at Latrûn, 128°; block-house at Kubâb, 79°; Deir Abu Mesh'al, 40°. I calculated that we must be about half an English mile to the east of the Wely el Jezery, which was not visible.

The inscription was composed of five Greek letters and six square Hebrew letters, of large size, arranged in a single line 1^m.85 in length.

I at once made out the Greek name AAKIO, followed by the Hebrew name for *Gezer*, גֶּזֶר. As for the other Hebrew characters, I confess I could not decipher them at the time. It was only after some days, on reading over at Jaffa the copy taken down in my note book, that I all at once recognized the word תְּחֻם, for תְּחֻמָּה, *tehum*, "boundary." I need not say what were my feelings at discovering graven on the rock itself, the decisive confirmation of the identification which I had proposed three years before to establish between the town of Gezer and this place. (See Appendix.)

Of course I took good care not to betray to the fellahin accompanying us what value I attached to this precious text. I confined myself to taking an exact copy of it, intending to come back after our tour was over to study the ground thoroughly, and clear up the various questions that might be raised or settled by this discovery. The inscription was too large to admit of our taking a squeeze of it with the rudimentary appliances at our disposal. Meanwhile M. Lecomte was kind enough to take a drawing of it by means of the camera lucida. Accurate reproduction, together with some more explanatory details, will be found in Chapter V, which deals with Gezer.

Local Hints.—We made rather a long halt at Nejmet el 'Ades. It was a quarter to six when we left the spot where the inscription was. However our day had not been wasted.

I gathered the following information in conversation with the fellahin:—

The *Tannûr* of the Deluge is between 'Ain Yardeh and Abu Shûsheh (the village of Tell el Jezer);

A carved inscribed stone was to be found in the wely of *Mûsa Talî'a* (not far from Abu Shusheh to the south);

At el Burj (which we were to visit next day) were some "bronze cups" which had been found in the earth ;

About a quarter of an hour's journey before you get to *Budros* (to the north of el Medieh), there were paintings (frescoes) representing "a goose and a serpent ;"

At Beit Nettif there was a cave with an inscription above the entrance and some ancient pottery.

Bâb el Hawâ.—On our way back to Bîr el Ma'in we passed by *Bâb el Hawâ*, close to and to the west of *Kh. Barada*, and noticed there a millstone and a sort of press of a quite remarkable round shape with two basins (?) hollowed in the rock.

Kh. Barada.—At *Kh. Barada* (a few minutes from 'Ajenjûl) is a low, flat hill ; on the top, a small birkeh hewn in the rock, and some extensive ruins comprising corners of the foundations of houses, rough blocks, cisterns hollowed out in the rock, large surfaces marked out by walls, rubble cores of walls, mosaic cubes, and a rock-hewn sepulchre. Also, the foundations of a building which in its original shape probably assumed an octagonal or hexagonal form. Three sides of this were recognizable.

Kh. es Sidër.—To the south, about twenty minutes from Bîr el Ma'in, is the ruin of *Kh. es Sidër* (السدر).

Bîr el Ma'in.—The night we spent at Bîr el Ma'in was hardly better than the one before it. Next morning I opened and examined a tomb, situated not far from the wely to the north-east. It was a chamber of irregular shape hollowed out in the rock, with two burial troughs constructed with the aid of well cut slabs. The two troughs are not placed parallel, but making an angle of about 50 degrees. In the middle of the troughs is a column roughly hewn, surmounted by a rough-carved chapter, and resting on a base of more careful workmanship, the whole being intended to support the roof. Above it on the outside the rock bears marks of cutting. Some *fukkhâr* (lamps or vases of terra cotta) are said to have been found there.

Various Local Notes.—After this we took leave of our hosts at Bîr el Ma'in, but not before I had gathered some items of information, which I here append. One of them, as will be seen, is of uncommon interest :

Between Keslâ and Deir el Hawâ, at Ē'râk Ismâ'in is an enormous cave ;

Between 'Amwâs and Deir Aiyûb is a ruin called *Kh. el 'Akêd* ; near Deir Aiyûb, to the east, are the ruins of *Kh. In'kîb* ;

To the south of Deir Aiyûb are *el Khammâra* and *el Khatûleh*, with a number of presses.

To the west of Beit Mahsîr is *Deir Sellâm*;

Further on, *el Meîsiyeh* or *el Meiyâseh*.

Ethnic Names.—As my custom is, I collected a number of ethnic names. I had long since noted the extreme importance of these names, which have often preserved for us forms more archaic than the names of the places themselves. This subject has been hitherto entirely neglected, but it is of the highest importance, as we shall see.

I was told that the people of Abu Ghôsh were called 'Enbâwy (عنباوى); in the plural, 'Enaw'beh (عنابوة). So far there is nothing extraordinary; the ethnic is evidently taken, in regular fashion, from the real name of the village, which is *Kariet el 'Enab*.

But being curious enough to inquire, in speaking of this, the ethnic name of the inhabitants of el Medieh, where I intended to go in order to clear up the question of Modin and the tomb of the Maccabees, I was told: *Midnâwy* (مدناوى); in the plural, *Medâw'neh* (مداونة). This name, as may well be supposed, made me prick up my ears, showing us as it does an archaic form of the place-name, which could not have been suspected from its modern shape *Medieh*; *Midnâwy* and *Medâw'neh* have preserved with great exactness the old name *Modin* with the *n* that is wanting in *Medieh*. This is assuredly a decisive and important argument in favour of identifying this locality with the town of Modin. Henceforth I shall note carefully, as I proceed with these researches, all ethnic names I may succeed in collecting. I earnestly beg future explorers to follow this example, and thus to furnish materials for a *complete list of the ethnics of Palestine*. I feel sure it will afford instruction; occasionally, even a revelation.

Here are a few to begin with, that I gathered at Bîr el Ma'in itself, when the conclusion which that of el Medieh had suggested to me had put me in a humour for the search:—

Beit Nûba: *Nubâny*, plural *Nawâb'neh*.

Beit Likia: *Likiâny*, plural *Lekâîneh*.

Bîr el Ma'in: *Mi'âny*, plural *Meyâ''neh*.

el Burj: *Barrâjy*, plural *Barrâjeh*.

Berfîlia : *Berfîly*, plural *Fechâk'leh*.*

Deir Aiyûb :, plural *Deyâ'rbeh*.

Keslâ : *Keslâwy*, plural *Sekâw'neh* or *Sekkâw'neh*.†

Sittnâ Zahra.—I sent the servant on ahead to Lydda with the tent, and we set off.

We first went to have a look at the rather unimportant makâm *Sittnâ Zahra*, which lies quite near the village on the north. I have already narrated the legend which attaches to it. From here we deviated southwards in the direction of Yâlô, as I wished to make a detailed inspection of that place.

Legend of el Fâr'deh.—We again passed through Barada. A few minutes to the south is the ridge of a tell, covered with blocks of flint and fragments of the same stone arranged in small heaps, and called *el Fâr'deh*. The fellahin, if I rightly understood their explanations, take this to mean "the wedding party."‡ I append the quaint legend attached to it; though, as it is not easy to relate in decent language, I hope I shall be excused for taking refuge in allusion. It has, however, its interest, as it belongs to a cycle of traditions widely spread in Palestine, relating to peoples changed into stone. A young girl from the mountain of Abu Ghôsh was once conducted to the Jaffa country to be married, accompanied by all her belongings, men, women, and children. The nuptial caravan halted on arriving at el Fâr'deh. There a young child was obliged to satisfy a certain natural want, and its mother had the strange idea of using a *r'ghîf* (the thin flat bread of the Arabs) for the purposes of a napkin.

The Almighty, angered at this sacrilege, changed the whole caravan into flint. All the blocks that are to be seen in the vicinity are the people metamorphosed by this miracle. The Arab legend employs for "metamorphose" the verb *sakhat*, and this throws light on the etymology of names like *maskhûta*, *masâkhît*, which are found attached to several localities in Palestine.

* Here, as sometimes happens, the plural of the ethnic must have been taken from *another locality*. In this case it is a valuable indication of old migrations of the indigenous populations, who have *taken along with them the names of their place of origin*. The importance of this fact is easy to grasp; it has to be taken seriously into account in considering the possibility of a place-name having been transferred from another locality.

† The same remark applies. Further on will be found the historical explanation of this instructive anomaly.

‡ It is properly "the wedding procession" Cf. 1 Maccabees, ix, 36, *seq.*, the tragic episode of the wedding procession of the sons of Jambri of Medaba.

It is probable that these form the subjects of similar legends. I found almost the same tradition localized in the environs of Mâl'ha (*see* Vol. I).*

Yâlô.—On reaching Yâlô, or Yâlû, I went straight to the hill of *el Kôk'a* (Kôkah), as its name and position, after all the fellahîn had said to me about it, kept me in a state of expectation.

El Kôk'a.—The original form of the name, it appears to me, was *el Kôk'a*, with an 'ain at the end certainly, but I am not sure whether it was *كوكعة* or *قوكعة*. It is a mound of earth like a regular tell, seeming to have been subjected to human action, even if it is not entirely artificial. It is in the shape of a truncated cone, with a platform on the top. It overlooks Yâlô towards the south-east, and, as seen from Yâlô, presents an outline pretty nearly corresponding to this hasty sketch that I took of it.



I think that some interesting excavations might be made there, and might perhaps afford some evidence as to the identity, a very probable one, between Yâlô and Ajalon. On the side of the hill on which the mound is, a number of entrances to caverns, of more or less regularity, are visible. Some *fukh-khârs*, the inhabitants say, have been found there.

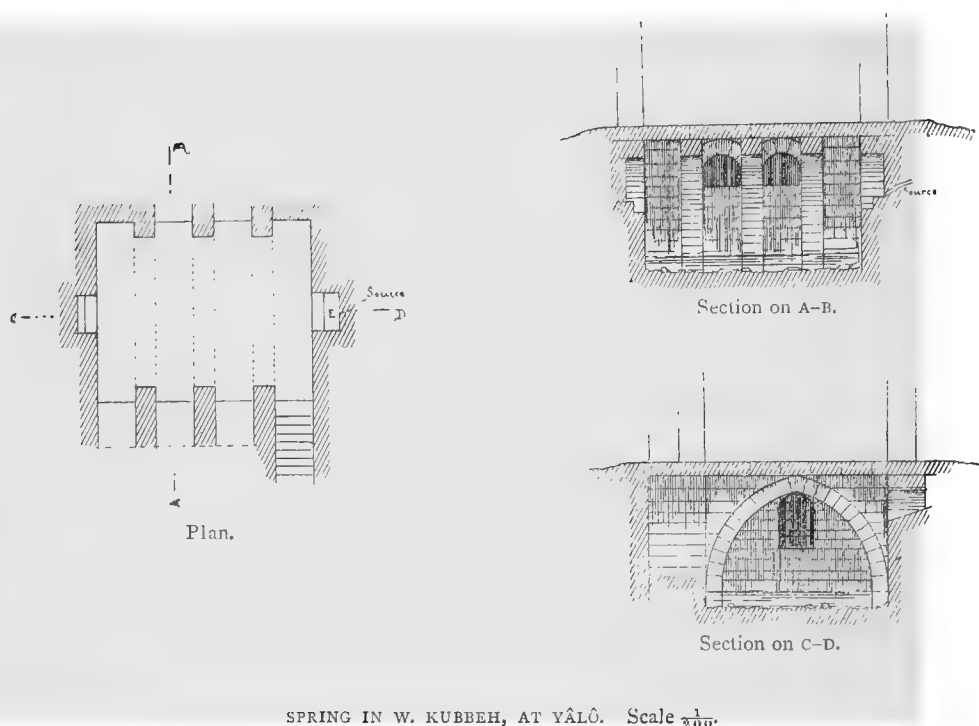
'Ain el Kubbeh.—Running to the east from the foot of the hill that bears the Tell of *el Kôk'a*, is a little valley called *Wâdy Kubbeh*, containing an important spring covered in with a series of vaults. The building, of which these form part, is almost entirely gone in its upper part, but the substructure is well preserved.

It is a vast reservoir built of fine well-dressed blocks of ancient appearance. The vaults are covered on the outside with large slabs, on which there was doubtless erected the building which to-day is in ruins. The three arches are pointed, with key-stones. At the back are seen three semicircular ones, doubtless of older date and contemporary with the walls. If you descend into the reservoir by the staircase constructed at one corner, the spring is visible on the right, issuing from beneath a smaller arch also semicircular. This forms the end of a conduit by which, so the fellahîn say, it communicates with another spring further to the south, called *el Beiyâra*

* This same legend was afterwards noted, with details that vouch for its accuracy, by Mr. Baldensperger in his excellent study of the folk-lore of Palestine (*Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 209. Cf. p. 211). It is a curious fact that the characteristic feature of the "petrified wedding parties" is not unknown in Western folk-lore (cf. *Revue archéologique*, May-June, 1893, p. 356).

("the garden watered by a well"). The former is called *'Ain el Kubbeh*, evidently deriving its name from the vaulted structure (*kubbeh*, "cupola").

According to the inhabitants the reservoir had been full of water, but about ten days before our visit it got lower. This had laid bare the inner walls, covered with traces of reddish infusoria like those I observed two months before at Bîr el Helû, which at first sight have the deceitful appearance of small odd-shaped characters written in red ink.



The Beiyâra.—The *Beiyâra*, which we next visited, is a splendid wide-mouthed well of spring water, circular in shape, and built of hewn stones. It is precisely similar to Bîr el Helû, which lies in the direction of Latrûn, consequently quite near this one. The two wells display the same mode of construction and must be of the same date. According to the fellahîn, there is a subterraneous communication between the *Beiyâra* and the *Kal'ah*, that is now to occupy our attention.

El Kal'ah.—We looked over the village proper to find the *Kal'ah*, "the fortress" and the "prison" of the *Kuffârs* that I had been told of. Local

tradition has it that Yâlô was formerly completely surrounded by a wall (*sâr*), and I was shown some fine large blocks said to have formed part of this, and appearing in some cases to be *in situ*. I only noticed one stone at Yâlô that bore the mediæval tool-marking of the Crusading epoch.

We were taken to the *Habës bint el melek*, as it is called, or "the prison, or cell of the King's Daughter." It is at the present day an underground structure of carefully dressed stone, with double semicircular arches. On the ground itself are still visible thick cores of masonry stripped of their covering of hewn stone. In the courtyard of the adjacent houses are some large pillars, and two courses of a thick wall. The whole of this, so the fellahîn say, formed part of the ancient *Kasër* or "castle." In this "castle" lived a "Christian" king, the King of Yâlô. The Mussulmans, under the command of el Melek ed Dhâher (the Sultan Beibars) came and besieged him there. The daughter of the king advised him to take earth from below to make bastions for the cannon (*sic*) on el Kôk'a. It was unfortunate that I could only get an imperfect account of this legend, for it probably contains, in rudimentary shape, some useful indications. In any case, it seems to point to the construction of works on the tell of el Kôk'a, and this corresponds to my impression that this tell is in part at any rate of artificial origin.

Various Notes.—The inhabitants confirmed a tradition that I picked up for the first time in 1871, and which had been repeated to me later, that Yâlô was called *Lûlieh* by the Christians; here I was told *Lûlô*.

Four different sanctuaries were mentioned as being in the village: *Sheikh Ismâ'în*, *Sheikh Ėb'reîch* (بريكت), *Sheikh Gharîb*, and the mosque of *el 'Amery*.

To the south of Yâlô is seen a brow of a mountain called *Wâr Kreîkûr*.

In the same direction, a protuberance on the hill where the tell is produces a kind of rocky knoll called *el Ėk'meik'meh*.

Further on, and above el Ėk'meik'meh, is the *Jebel K'reîkûr*, bounded on the east by the road that starts from the south of Yâlô, and on the west by the *Jebel ez Zellâka* (آلة).

To the west between the Zellâka and Yâlô lies *el Mostâh*, a small hill of slight elevation, devoted to the growing of vines and fig trees. A little further on, to the west, is *Kh. el Hawâ*.

As we left Yâlô, my attention was called to *Bîr el Jebbâr*, to the south-west. Here was a small arch, of no great antiquity apparently, with steps underneath leading down to the water.

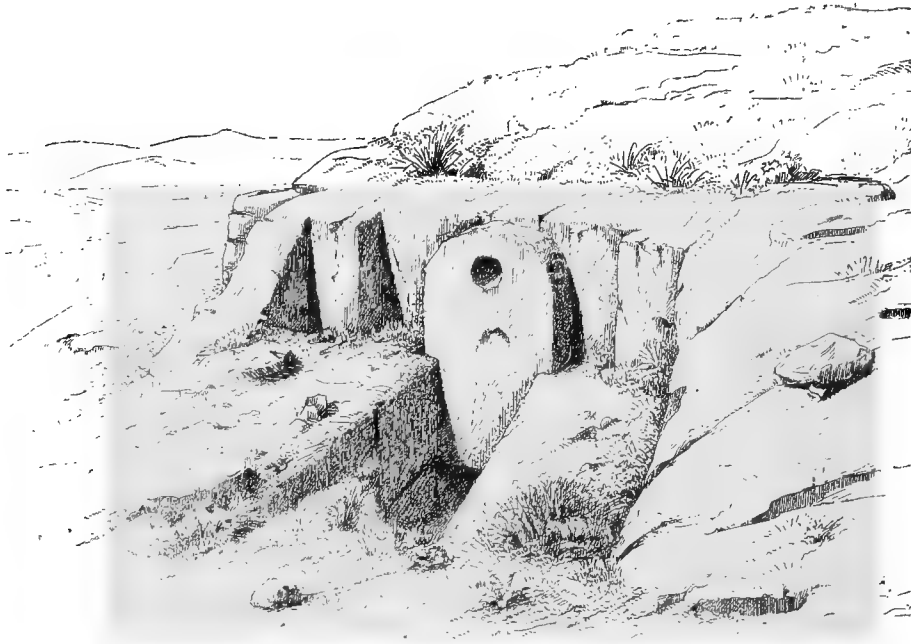
Between Yâlô and Kh. Hîba, to the right of our road, we noticed a place where the rocks were thrown about in confusion and shivered into fragments.

The spot is called *Bassat 'Abbâs*, and is said to have been struck by lightning some ten years before.* This fact, if true, may serve perhaps to explain the disordered state of the rocks at different places in Palestine.

At Kh. Hîba were broken-down walls, foundations, rock-hewn caves, and a large well built of masonry, after the manner of those at el Beiyâra and el Helû.

Here I dismissed my old friend Ibrahim Ahmed of Abu Ghôsh, as he had got rather tired out. We arranged to pick him up when we came through Bir el Ma'in on our way back. I took for guide a fellâh Ibrahim Mahmûd, from Yâlô, where we came across him in the fields harvesting. He had donned a great leather apron, and looked rather like a kind of European peasant, it did one good to look at him. He was a very good fellow, extremely quick and helpful.

Râs el Ekra'.—He conducted us to the *Râs el Ekra'* (الاعرق), pronounced almost *Râs lekra'*, a hill situated quite near 'Amwâs to the north-north-east of it, and separated from it by the *Khall't el Hammâm*. This rocky hill contains several ancient tombs, and seems to have been one of the burying-grounds of old Nicopolis.



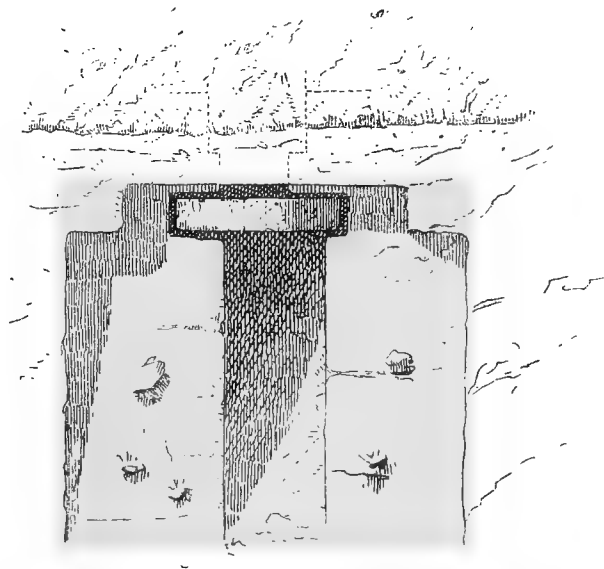
ROCK-CUT TOMB NEAR 'AMWÂS.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 69, where the same fact is mentioned, relating perhaps to the same place (called by the inhabitants of Beit Thûl, Dhahr el Hûteh).

Ancient Sepulchre.—One of these tombs is quite remarkable.* The engraving above will give an idea of its external aspect.

The tomb has a small square door cut in the rock, which is still almost entirely closed by an enormous flat stone, 1^m·60 high and proportionately thick, made to slide vertically along the side of the rock, like a regular trap-door, concealing or exposing the opening as required. This stone is square at the base and rounded at the top. In the upper portion it is pierced with a large round hole to admit the rope or the lever by which it was worked. In front of it is a kind of narrow passage without a top, consisting of two rows of blocks carefully hewn, and leading to the vestibule, which is hollowed out in the side of the hill and to the entrance proper. The trap-door was meant to slide between the blocks and the rock itself.

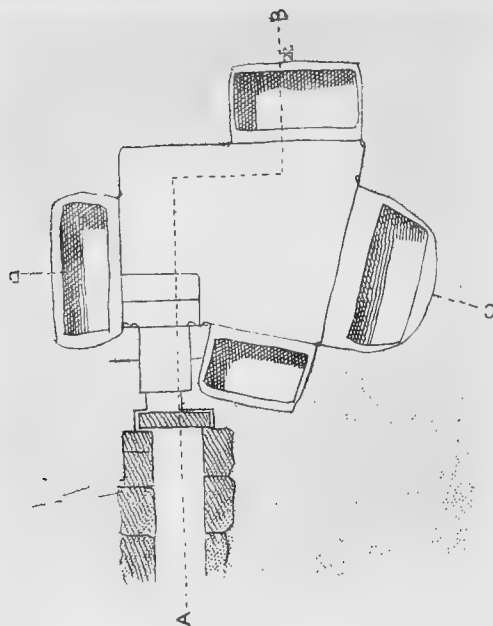
It was slightly raised above the ground. By dint of great exertions we managed to crawl on our stomachs, between it and the threshold. The opening was only 0^m·30 high, and the feat was rendered the more arduous by the earth heaped up outside. Passing through a small gallery of no great length, we descended two steps cut in the rock, and found ourselves inside a chamber, an irregular trapezoid in shape. The staircase brings you to one of the corners.



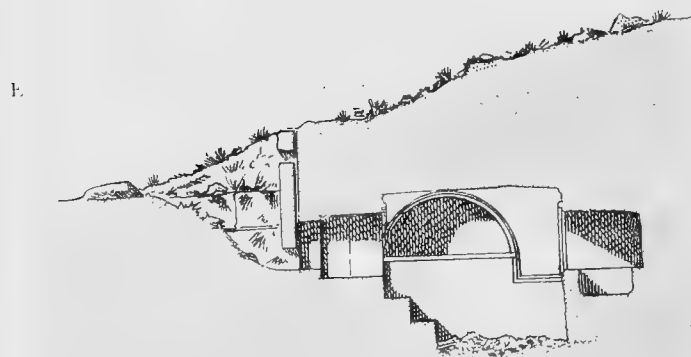
A.—PLAN ON THE LINE A B, AT THE HEIGHT OF E.
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

The first objects we distinguished by the light of our candle were a fine scorpion and a monster of a spider. These we hastened to slay. The establishment being cleared of these inmates, we were able to look about us more calmly. The left wall forms a right angle with that at the back, but the right wall, on the contrary, forms with it an angle of considerable acuteness,

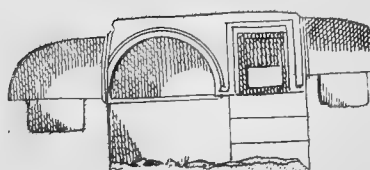
* I cannot indicate its position with precision, there being no landmarks in sight. However, I noted one bearing, viz., of 300° with the wely of Sheikh S'limân (Suleiman) (to the north of Kubâb).



B.—GENERAL PLAN.



C.—SECTION ON A B.

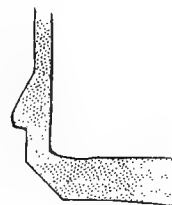
D.—SECTION ON C D. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

and a right angle with the fourth wall. This is very short, and joins the staircase in a slanting direction.

In each of the walls is hollowed out an arcosolium, covering a burial-recess. In the recesses some bones were still to be seen. The floor of the chamber was filled up with earth, to what depth we were unable to make out. The tomb must have been rifled by treasure-seekers, who have left indications of their presence in the shape of marks of tools on the walls.

All the inner walls are covered with a very thick layer of excellent plaster, a sort of concrete mixed with pebbles. This is covered with a coat of red paint. All round the top of the walls there runs a cornice of moulded mortar. I give here a profile of it.

On examining the back of the arcosolium opposite the entrance, at the point marked *n* on the plan, I discovered a line of Greek characters, which appear to have been engraved while the mortar was still fresh. They remind one very much of the *graffiti* in the Tombs of the Prophets already mentioned.* The line is about a yard in length. I took a squeeze and a copy.

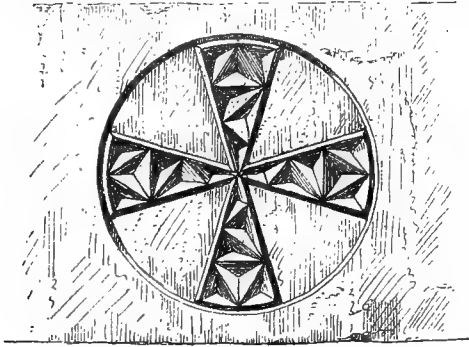


The characters are very difficult to decipher, especially at the beginning of the line, as the plaster is in such a bad state. The end alone can be read with certainty, ... *εὐχὶ πάντῃς λέγουσιν* “. . . . prayer, all say.” *Εὐχί* is an iotacism for *εὐχή*, “prayer,” or *εὐχῇ*, “at prayer,” or *εὐχῇ*, “prayers.” The latter form, though *εὐχος* is rather rare in prose, would have the advantage of giving an immediate object to the verb. At the beginning, I sometimes feel inclined to read *Κε, Χ, ἀκούε τὰ* “Lord, Christ, hear the prayers ;” but this is very doubtful. I ought to mention that the engraving does not always reproduce exactly the outlines of the original, which are confused enough. In any case the inscription, from the shape of the characters, is certainly Christian, and dates from the time when this ancient tomb was converted and its present decoration added.

Kh. en Neby Ma'in.—From here we returned to Bir el Ma'in, where we picked up Ibrahim Ahmed, with the view of going to el Medieh by way of *el Burj*.

About twenty minutes to the north-west of Bîr el Ma'in is *Kh. en Neby Ma'in*, containing some considerable ruins. I was told that a stone with an inscription was to be found there, but we did not come across it.

El Burj.—The real name of *el Burj* is *Burj el Ma'in*, and the village is closely connected with that of Bîr el Ma'in. It contains several sanctuaries, among others that of the patriarch Seth (*Neby Shît*), the ruins belonging to a fortress and called *Tantûra*, and the remains of a tower and fortress apparently of the time of the Crusades. We also noticed a fine Byzantine lintel with a Greek cross inscribed in a circle, and having its four arms ornamented with a curious triangular facet-work.



ON A LINTEL IN A HOUSE AT EL BURJ.

The people brought us a cup and a small vase, both of bronze, said to have been found in a neighbouring tomb. But the price asked was so extravagant that I gave up the idea of acquiring them. I much regret that we were not able even to make a drawing of them.

El Medieh.—At el Medieh we made a fruitless search for an inscription I had been told about. I saw that it was impossible to undertake at the time the digging operations I had projected, as all the corn was still standing, and not a sod could be turned before harvest was over. I made all the necessary arrangements for proceeding with the excavations later on, while joining the fellâhs at their meal of roasted grain (*f'rîka*), which is reckoned a delicacy among them, and recalls a custom mentioned in the Bible (Leviticus ii, 14 ; xxiii, 14).

After this I dismissed my two guides, and we set out for Lydda, accompanied by a small boy from el Medieh. After a while, however, when he saw the sun setting, he left us, saying he was afraid of being eaten by the hyenas on the way back. It was pitch dark when we got to Lydda, where we found our tent at the *Sâha el Gharbîyeh*, near the *sâkia*, which was surrounded by herds brought there for water.

LYDDA.

At Lydda we made a halt of four days, which we spent in making a detailed study of the ancient churches, the bridge of Beîbars, the mosque and ancient church of Ramleh, etc. ; in looking up certain remains of antiquity, and

in gathering information from the inhabitants. I came across my old friend the camel-driver, Abu Hanna Daûd el Hausary. He had been very useful to me when I first stayed at Lydda, and on this occasion also he did me great service, with never failing intelligence.

Miscellaneous Notes.—I shall begin here by giving, for what they are worth, such small observations as I was enabled to make from my intercourse with the natives of Lydda. They relate in some cases to Lydda itself, or the country round, in others to more distant localities :

The ancient name of Lydda was *Ėk'feîr el Leudd* كفير اللد* ;

A saying of the natives of Lydda (with a pun on the name *Leudd*) : *El Leuddâwiyeh muladdedeh*, "the people of Lydda are quarrelsome" (?) ;

The well of *Bîr el Talak* (طلق), which lies behind the church, is said to be connected with it by a subterraneous passage ;

A few minutes south-east of the church a house is shown where *el Khadhër* (St. George) is said to have been born ;

In a garden where there is a large well, about two hundred and twenty yards to the south-west of the minaret of the mosque, local tradition points out the site of an ancient Convent of St. Michael (*Deir Mar Mikâîl*) ;

People told me of a *Bîr Mar Elyâs*, "well of St. Elias," without giving precise indications of its position ;

To the south of the mosque is a pond called *el Manka* منقا ;

The well with a sebil, situated about half-way between Lydda and Ramleh, is called *Bîr ez Zîbak* (الزيتى), "the well of quicksilver ;"

The ancient building *el M'zeir'a* is the sanctuary of *Neby Yahia* (St. John the Baptist) ;

At Medjdel Yâbâ there is a large stone covered with unknown writing ; one Anthimos is said to have copied it in part ;

To the north-west of Lydda, at about an hour's distance, is a certain *Kh. Subtara* (سبطارة) on a small tell ;

About half-an-hour to the east of Lydda is a locality called *Kh. edh Dh'heîriyeh* ;

Between 'Akkûr and Keslâ is a place called *Beit Sakkaya*. The people of Keslâ originally came from there, and that is why their ethnic name is in the plural *Sakkâw'neh*,† while the singular is regularly formed, *Keslâwy* ;

* See further, for another legend connected with this name.

† See above, p. 90.

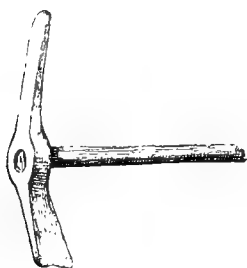
The ethnic of Na'lin is *Na'lîny*, in the plural *Na'âl'wè*; that of Jaffa is *Mînâwy*,*

The ancient name of *el K'nîseh*, to the north of Lydda, was *Kufûr Jennîs*;

There is another *Sarfand* about an hour to the south-west of the present village of that name. It is called *Sarfand el Kharâb*, "Sarfand the ruined." According to native tradition Sarfand is a modern name, the old name having been *Sarf el mâl*,† "the money expense or exchange" (صرف), or *Beled es Sarâr'feh*, "the country of the money-changers." This curious legend must point to the ancient name and an ancient ethnic of *Sarphat*. There is also the pronunciation *Surfand*;

About an hour and a half or two hours to the west of Sarfand, forty minutes from Yâzûr,‡ are the ruins of 'Ayûn Kârâ (قارا), "the springs of Kârâ." It was an important town, and once the seat of a bishopric, according to Greek local tradition. It lies on the old road to Gaza;

At el Bîreh (to the north of Jerusalem) there is an ancient inscription built into the base of the south wall of the ruined church. It is hidden by a large pomegranate tree.



IRON PICK.

Various Antiquities.—I now arrive at my archæological researches properly so called.

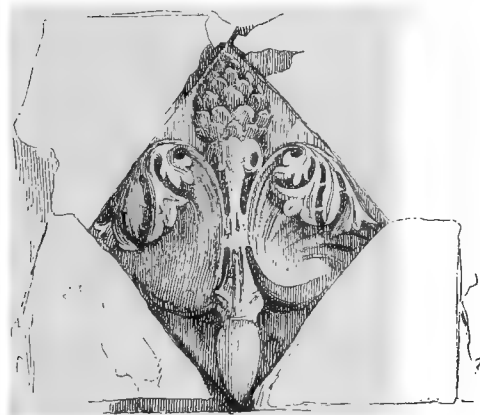
Near our encampment, to the west of the church, in the *kerëm* of 'Osmân, five or six stone sarcophagi had been found, of different lengths. We saw one that had been overturned, with a bee-hive upon it. The sarcophagi were grouped so as to form a square. Lamps and vessels of terra-cotta and glass phials have been discovered there; and in one of them an iron pick. The owner has had a new handle put to this latter, and uses it, though it is terribly rusty.

* From *mînâ*, "a harbour," which is nothing but the Greek word λιμήν (pronounced *limin*), which has passed into Arabic through the Aramaic למנא, למינא = المينا; *l'mîna*, *êl'mîna*. In this word, by a popular error, the *el* has come to be regarded as the article, and so a separable portion of the word, *El-mînâ*. Yâkût gives the ethnic *Yâfûny*, which takes us directly back to the Hebraic form *Jâphô*.

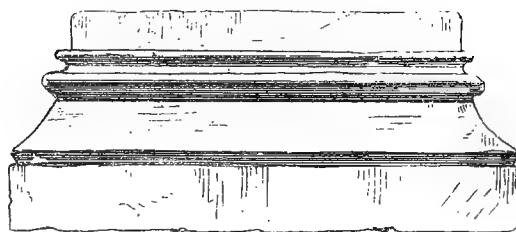
† See further, what is said of the use of this expletive word *mâl* in other place-names in Palestine. On the other side of the Dead Sea, between Wâdy Môjeb and Karak, is another place of the same name, *Sarfât el mâl*. This also must be probably an ancient *Sarphat* of the Moabites, which has more faithfully kept to its primitive name.

‡ *Sic*. These estimates of distance are erroneous, as will be seen further on.

I came across a piece of carving that I had seen in 1871,* built in over the door of the house of Jiries el Hakûra; M. Lecomte made a drawing of it.



CARVED STONE.

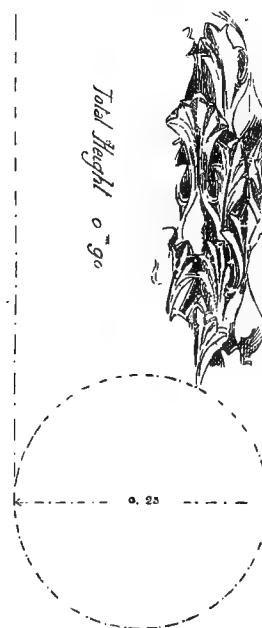


BASE OF PILLAR.

He likewise drew a large moulded base which I noticed among the building materials gathered together in view of the enlargement of one of the soap-works (*masbana*) of the town.

In the Greek convent two fine small marble columns have been placed at the top of the staircase. Their shafts are ornamented with delicate carving from end to end three-quarters of the way round. These must have been dwarf angle-columns belonging to a small structure such as a baptistery or a ciborium. They come, they assured me, from the convent of St. John on the banks of the Jordan. Here is a sketch showing the scheme of the ornamentation.

I saw a score or so of fine Byzantine gold coins in the possession of an inhabitant of Lydda, one Mehfûz Habesh, which must have formed part of some great find at Lydda or in the neighbourhood. In spite of the reserve maintained by the owner, I should not be surprised if this find were the one that was mentioned to me, with an air of mystery, in 1871, by a fellâh of Neby Danian who served me as guide.*



* See further, Appendix.

THE MOSQUE AND CHURCHES OF LYDDA.

On first visiting Lydda, in March, 1870, I had made various archæological observations of great importance in the ancient Crusaders' church, then in ruins, and in the mosque adjoining. These observations were the more noteworthy at the time, as it would have been possible, by their aid, to decide beyond doubt between the contradictory assertions of the Greek and Latin communities at Jerusalem as to the origin of this church, and the historical arguments for attributing it to one or other of these two communities. I discovered :—(1) A series of masons' marks and tracks of the mediæval tool-marks on all the stones of the church, which, putting aside all considerations of style, was material proof that it has been built from top to bottom by the Crusaders; (2) that there existed, incorporated in the structure of the adjacent mosque, an ancient Byzantine church of earlier date than the mediæval church, which latter had its south wall touching it; (3) a long Greek inscription cut on one of the columns of the mosque, and belonging to the Byzantine church aforesaid.

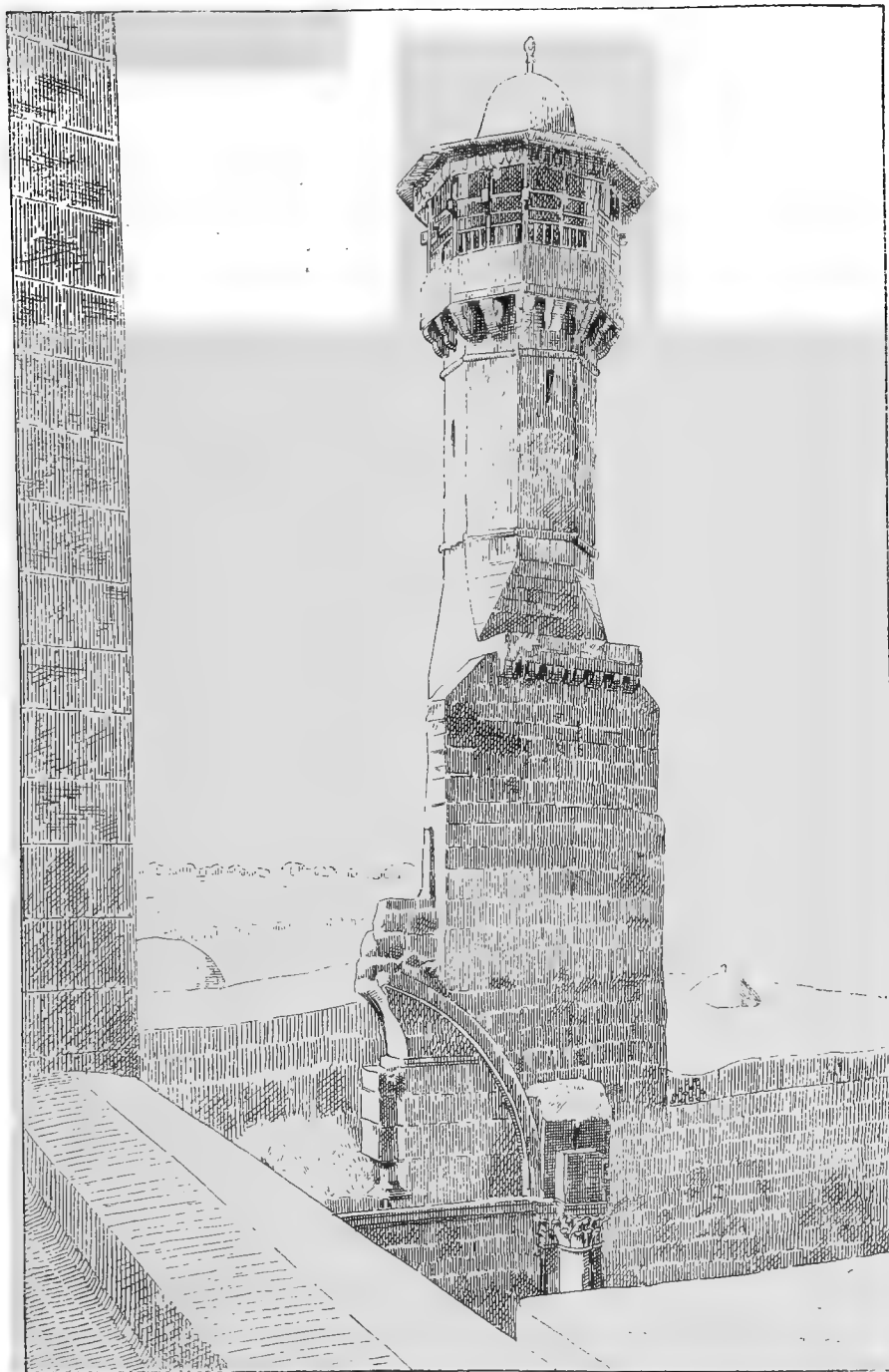
I had also proved historically, with the aid of a passage from Mujîr ed Dîn, which hitherto had been misunderstood, that the church of the Crusaders had been destroyed by Saladin, while the Byzantine church had been respected, at least in part, and had been transformed into a mosque,* a high minaret being added.

This minaret is the one that is visible at the present day; it is built over one of the embedded pillars of the south aisle of the mediæval church (M on the plan which will be given further on). Here follows a drawing of it made by M. Lecomte, from the top of the terrace of the mediæval church of St. George.

This church has been restored by the orthodox Greeks, to whom it was finally handed over by the Ottoman government, although, from the strictly historical point of view, it was the mosque itself, formerly a Byzantine church, which they might have been justified in claiming, and not the church called after St. George, which is indubitably of Western origin.

On examining the engraving, the reader will notice at the base of the minaret the remains of one of the arches of the south aisle of the church of the Crusaders, which, as I have said, abutted on the north wall of the Byzantine church.

* Mujîr ed Dîn says, in so many words, that the mosque was an ancient church "of Greek structure" (*min binâ er Rûm*).



MINARET AND ANCIENT CHURCH AT LYDDA.

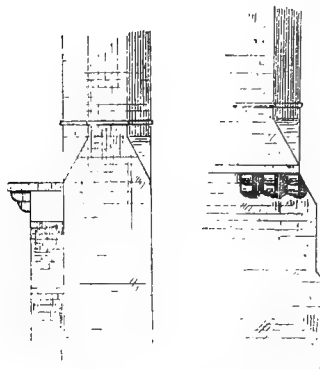
Here are clearly distinguishable :—

(1) A piece of wall containing a pointed arch, now filled in, with a chamfered label-mould, resting on a moulded cornice, the whole having doubtless formed part of the inner side of the southern boundary-wall of the mediæval church. There is still distinguishable, in the tympanum of the arch, the right-hand reveal of an original window formed in it, and looking on to the southern outer wall, together with the base of one of the dwarf columns which must have been on either side of it.

(2) At right angles to this wall, the springing stones of a transversal massive rib of the south aisle. This also has a label-mould, and rests on the same moulded cornice, which turns at right angles. One can still distinguish the capitals of the half-column which takes this arch.

The cornice, the capitals, the shape of the column, and the mouldings are identically the same as those seen in the remainder of the church before the disfigurement caused by the restoration.

I give here a side and front elevation of the middle part of this minaret (an old buttress, or belfry), together with some corbels (of a watch-tower).



Front view. Side view.
MINARET OF THE MOSQUE.
Scale $\frac{1}{200}$.

In order to throw as much light as possible on the whole question, we made, with the greatest care, a general plan of the church and the mosque with its outbuildings. This plan, and the letterpress accompanying it,* absolve me from entering into further explanations.

Neglecting the two parts that are more lightly shaded, and represent the portions added in ancient times by the Mussulmans, and quite recently by the Greeks, the two old churches are seen at a glance lying side by side. Any one with a sense of symmetry can supply the missing portions: characteristic traces of them are to be found in different parts, even in the courtyard of the mosque.†

* Compare the plan published in the *Revue Archéologique* for March–April, 1892, p. 226, by M. Mauss, whose conclusions coincide nearly with ours.

† In addition to the half-column of the southern boundary-wall of the mediæval church, underneath the minaret, and the remains of three other similar features in the northern boundary-wall, shown on the plan, in the courtyard of the mosque, I find in my note-book an entry tending to show that beneath the Arab pillar of one of the three arched chambers which extend along the west side of the courtyard, there are also apparently remains of a mediæval pillar; this pillar (s) is in a line with the southern row.

LYDDA. MEDIÆVAL CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE BYZANTINE CHURCH & MOSQUE.

- A Column with Greek Inscription.
B Mouth of a Cistern.
C Traces of a little Apsis of which a part of the half Apola still exists.
DE Stairs Leading to the Crypt of the Church.
F Entrance to the Church.
G Entrance to the Mosque.

REFERENCE.

Church of St. George Actual state.

Mosque & its appurtenances

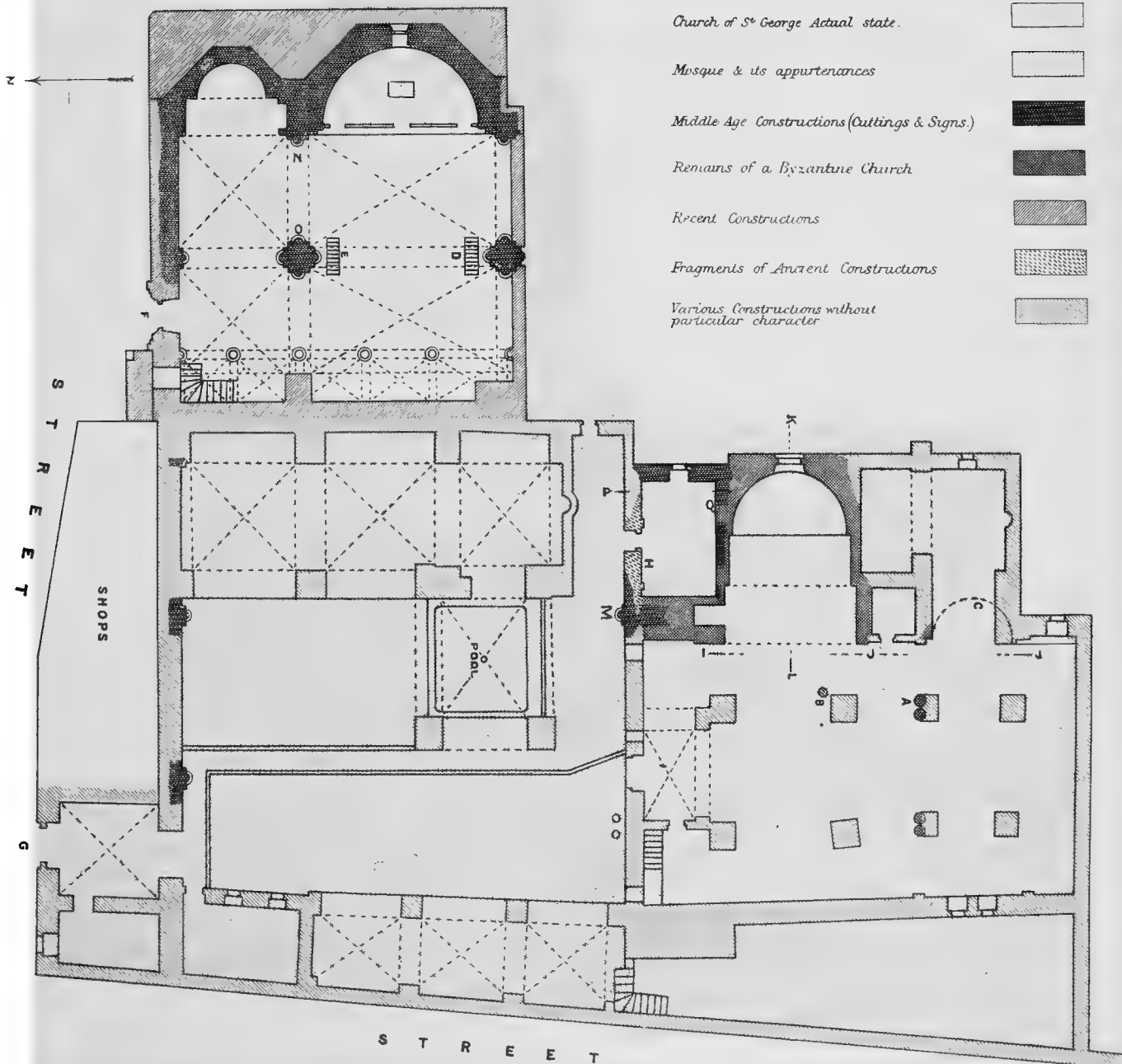
Middle Age Constructions (Cuttings & Signs.)

Remains of a Byzantine Church

Recent Constructions

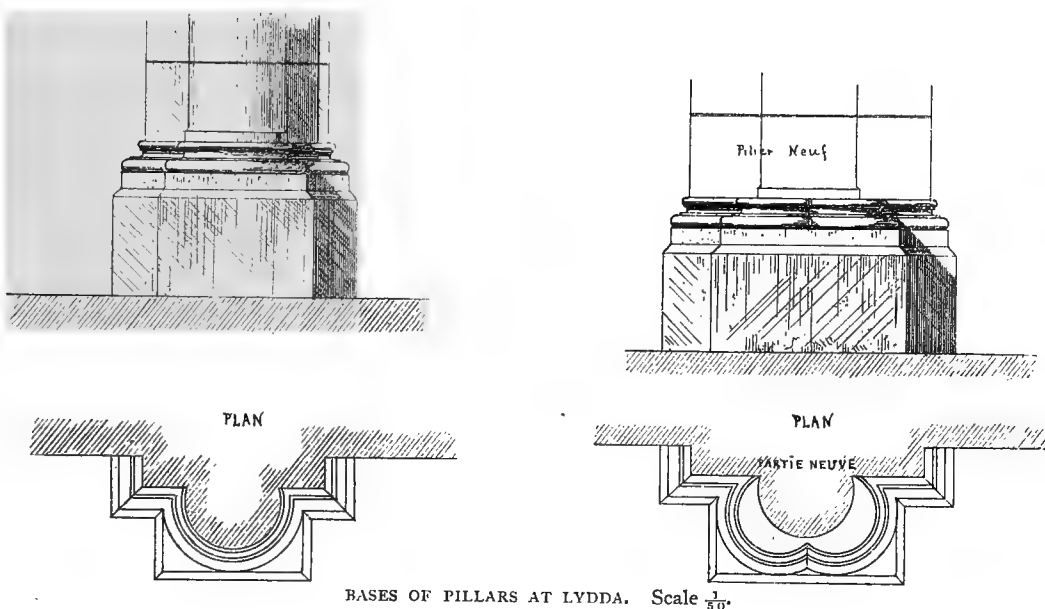
Fragments of Ancient Constructions

Various Constructions without particular character



SCALE $\frac{1}{330}$

The most interesting spot, and the one to which I would more particularly direct attention, is that near the point M, together with the adjacent portions of the building, for this is where the Byzantine and the mediæval church can be seen touching, and even partly running into one another. At M also there is visible, overlooking the courtyard of the mosque, a fragment of the inner side of the southern boundary-wall of the mediæval church, still preserved to a considerable height with the column entire, comprising base, the half-engaged shaft, capital, cornice, and springs of the arch of the bay with label-mould.* I give an elevation and a plan of the base of this half-pillar.



I give for comparison the elevation and plan of the base of the pillar (o) of the middle northern row (composed of two engaged columns). The pillar itself has recently been restored by the Greeks.

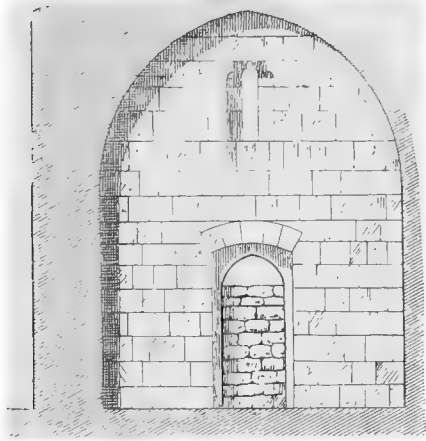
It will be noticed that the diagonal mediæval tool-marking is very conspicuous.

This portion of mediæval structure is connected with an ancient wall (H), certainly of earlier date, which extends eastward from the half-pillar in the same straight line. This wall is made of stones splendidly dressed, showing no trace of mediæval tool-marking, and is pierced by a large square door, two-thirds of which have been closed up with rough masonry.

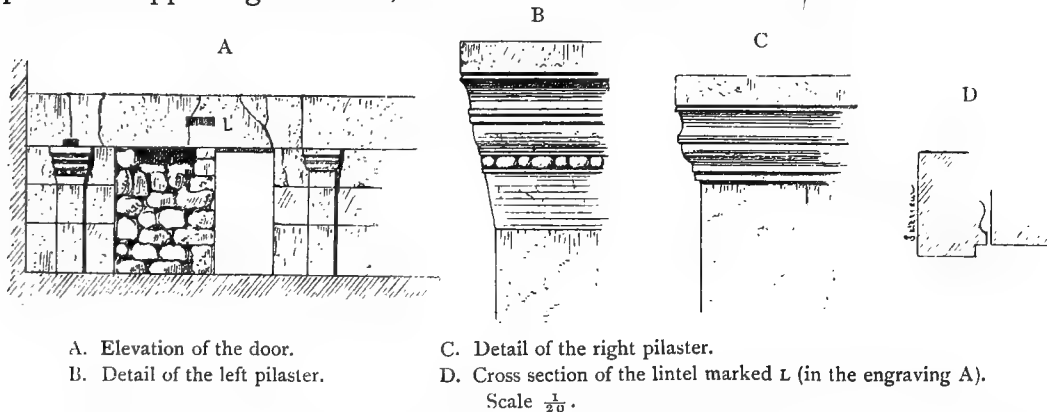
This door leads to a large chamber built in the shape of an oblong

* Compare above (p. 103) the drawing of the minaret, which is partly founded on this fragment of wall.

square, and vaulted with pointed arches. The whole of the east wall of this chamber and the inner side of the south wall, but this only to a certain depth, are of mediæval construction, as is shown by the cutting of the blocks. The eastern wall is pierced by a high narrow door, blocked up by rubble of modern date two-fifths of the way up, and surmounted by a loophole window. Here follows a tranverse section of this chamber from P to Q, showing the details of the eastern side.

Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

The southern face is not of mediæval construction; the dressing of the stone is Byzantine, I believe, but not so old as that on the north side where the large door is. Here is the elevation of part of the north side seen from the inside of the chamber, together with the detail of the pilasters supporting the lintel, and a section of the lintel itself:—



A. Elevation of the door.

B. Detail of the left pilaster.

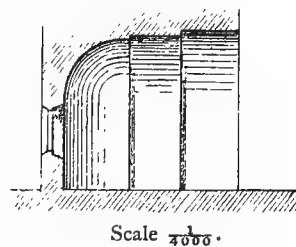
C. Detail of the right pilaster.

D. Cross section of the lintel marked L (in the engraving A).

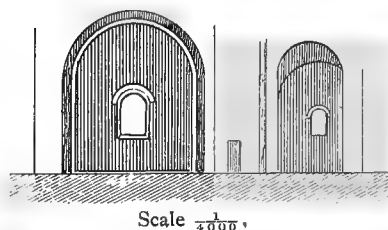
Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

As appears from the plan, three different styles of dressing the stone meet and intersect at the north-east corner of this chamber, corresponding to three periods, and probably to three distinct buildings: (1) the ancient proto-Byzantine style; (2) the deutero-Byzantine; (3) the mediæval.

On the western and southern sides of this chamber there rest the deutero-Byzantine constructions, now merged in the mosque proper. They belong to a church with a deep apse, which is characteristic of the Greek cult, lit by a window opening on the east, as the ancient Christian rite required. I give a longitudinal section of this apse, taken from K to L.

Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

To the south of this central apse we found, at c (plan), at the side of the main apse, traces of a smaller one, having a part of the half cupola still existing. The following elevation, from 1 to j, shows the aspect and relative position of the large and small apses.



West of the apse, and south of an Arab pillar, one can still perceive in the flags, at the point marked B, an orifice which may belong to a cistern, or perhaps to a crypt like the one under the transept of the mediæval church.

The Greek inscription that I discovered in 1870 is carved on the shaft of one of the twin columns at the point marked A on the plan. These are monoliths of marble, engaged in a square Arab pillar, and are probably *in situ*, like the two others found imbedded in the other pillar that lies to the west of this latter and in the same line with it. They are surmounted by capitals in the degenerate Corinthian style.

The inscription, which consists of nine lines, is carved right at the top of the shaft, immediately below the capital, and is difficult to make out from below, the more so as it has been hammered over. Furthermore, the ends of the lines are concealed by the Arab pillar in which the column is imbedded. With some difficulty I obtained authorization to take to pieces a part of the Arab pillar, on condition of setting it up again immediately afterwards as it was before. In this way I managed to uncover the inscription completely and took a tolerably good squeeze of it.

The following reproduction of the inscription has been executed from this squeeze and the copy that I made in 1871 and completed in 1874.

ΠΟΙΜΕΝΠΡΟ
 ΕΔΡΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ
 ΑΣΤΕΟΣΠΑΛΑΙΩ
 ΤΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΟΛΑΜ
 ΠΡΟΝΟΤΟΥΔΕΣΜΝΟ
 ΠΟΙΜΟΝΕΣ
 ΚΑΛΛΟΠΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ
 ΤΟΝΔΕΤΟΝΛΑΜ
 ΠΡΟΝΟΜΟΝ

+Οἱ μὲν προ-
 εδρεύσαντες
 ἄστέος πάλαι
 τὸν Χριστολαμ-
 π(ρ)ὸν τοῦ δε σεμνο-
 ποιμένες,*
 καλλοπίσαντες
 [τ]ὸν δε τὸν λαμ-
 [πρ]ὸν δόμον.

* Cf. the analogous but obscure compound σεμνορογατος, Waddington, *Inscript. grecques et latines de la Syrie*, No. 2443.

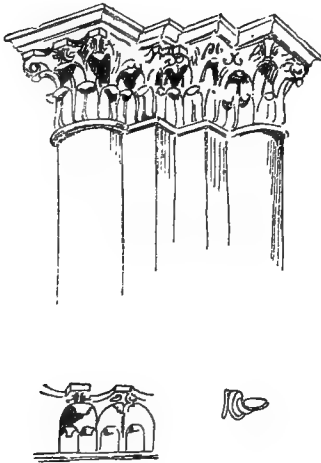
"The worshipful pastors who sit at the head of this city, for long time past illuminated by Christ (of this old and illustrious Christian city), having adorned this illustrious temple."

In *Χριστολαμπροῦ* the cutter of the stone has omitted the second *ρ*; *καλλοπίσαντες* is for *καλλωπίσαντες*. The inscription shows a marked attempt at poetical expression. It seems complete, though there appears no verb in the preterite in the sentence. Still one may well inquire if it was not followed by other lines. I found no trace of any on the column, but it is not impossible that the sequel was cut on some other column, and contains exacter information as to the date and character of the adornments spoken of, which certainly refer to the Byzantine church, and are a final proof of the existence of that edifice.

To finish off the description of the material, I will give a reproduction of two fragments built into the wall of the mosque, which are ornamented with rosettes, one of them cruciform, carved in the Byzantine style.



For the masons' marks noticed on the blocks of the Crusaders' church, see the *Special Table* in Vol. I.



Here likewise are a few small sketches showing the details of the capitals of the clustered dwarf columns in what is left of the mediæval church.

The Legend of St. George.—The cult of St. George at Lydda appears to have been introduced there very early, and contains certain most curious elements of Pagan origin. This question I have treated in detail in a monograph published some eighteen years ago, so I can only refer the reader to it.* At the time of the conquest, the Arabs found a sanctuary of St. George at Lydda, in the shape probably of the Byzantine church which I have shown to have existed, and which had perhaps taken the

* *Horus et St. Georges*, 1877. Cf. also my *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. I, fasc. I, p. 78.

place of another and more ancient church, the remains of which appear to be at M on the plan. The Mussulmans in turn took possession of the Christian legend, and that in a very singular manner, depending on what I have proposed to call *iconology*, that is to say the formation of myths from the sight of pictorial or plastic representations. It is recounted in a tradition which makes an early appearance in their hadiths and speedily became popular, that *Jesus will kill the Dajjâl at ('alâ) the gate of Lydda, or even at the door of the church of Lydda.* This is nothing but an arbitrary interpretation of some group of figures, a bas-relief or what not, which may be supposed to have existed on the gate of the town or the door of the sanctuary dedicated to St George, and to have vividly impressed the Arabs. St. George became in their eyes Jesus, and the dragon the Dajjâl, a monster who is the personification of the Mussulman antichrist. The name of Dajjâl is simply that of the old Philistine god *Dagon*, which has been preserved in the name of the neighbouring city Beth Dagon, concerning which I shall have more to say.* A variant of the legend adds that Jesus shall also slay the "wild pig," that is to say the *boar*, "on the gate of Jerusalem." This last touch may indicate some representation of the same sort; the boar was the emblem of the Xth Legion (the Fretensis), which was in garrison at Jerusalem, and the *signum* of the legion had been placed on the gate of Jerusalem so as to forbid the Jews to enter, according to St. Jerome.†

* The process by which the Christians themselves had already formed their legend of St. George and the Dragon was similar. It was taken from a popular Egyptian representation of late date where the god Horus, with his hawk's head, riding on horseback in the uniform of a Roman tribune or cavalry officer, is seen piercing with his lance the god Set-Typhon in the shape of a crocodile. The fact that the Emperor Constantine had himself depicted in this same allegorical form must have helped to popularise this representation in the early ages of Christianity. The starting point of the legend appears to have been an Alexandrine representation of Diocletian (Jovius), in the form of Jupiter-Horus, on horseback, piercing with his lance the crocodile Typhon-Set, as I have pointed out in a recent article (*Sur un bas-relief de Souéïlâ représentant un épisode de la gigantomachie et sur la ville de Maximianopolis d'Arabie; Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 13-20 Juillet, 1894; cf. my *Études d'Arch. Or.*, I, p. 178).

† This legend likewise recalls the celebrated prophecy concerning Diocletian, that he should become emperor as soon as he should have slain the "boar." The prophecy, which was probably thought of after the event, was deemed accomplished when Diocletian killed with his own hand the prefect of the pretorium *Aper*, whose name signifies "Boar." This decisive event in the life of Diocletian might have formed the subject of figured representations, which, becoming popular, like that of Constantine slaying the dragon, might have furnished this new feature to the legend as picked up by the Arabs on arriving in Palestine. It must not be forgotten that Diocletian had founded a city in Palestine called after him *Diocletianopolis*, but its identity has not hitherto been established. The memory of the popular boar of Diocletian has moreover impressed itself deeply on the Talmudic traditions, which call him "*Diocletian the Boar*" (חזירא).



THE BRIDGE OF BEIBARS AT LYDDA.

THE BRIDGE AT LYDDA.*

The fine church erected by the Crusaders in honour of their much-venerated Saint, by the side and at the expense of the Byzantine church, was, as I have said, destroyed by Saladin. Though history is silent as to its later fate, it still had one most strange experience. As I thought I noticed already in 1871, part of the material used in building it was carried in the thirteenth century to the distance of a mile, and set up again to build a bridge over the wâdy which runs to the north of Lydda, and joins the numerous wâdys that have their outlet at Jaffa.

Wishing to determine with exactness under what circumstances this removal took place, I resolved to make a detailed plan of this bridge. I enjoyed the aid of M. Lecomte in this, and was very glad to have his valuable opinion on many technical points. This thoroughly bore out my own conclusions.

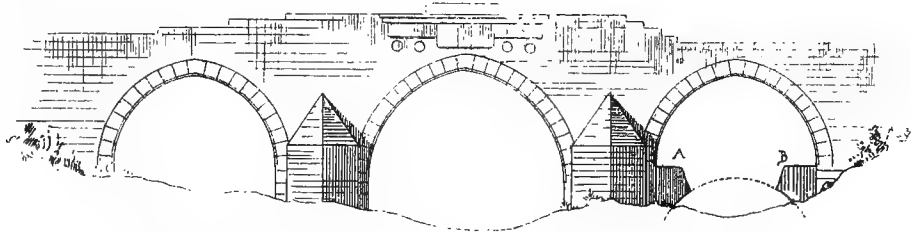
This bridge, above 30 m. long and about 13 m. broad, is composed of three pointed arches nearly equal in height, a central arch about 6^m·50 across, and two lateral ones about 5 m. The bed of the wâdy over which it is

* See the special memoir that I have devoted to this question in my *Recueil d'Archéologie orientale* (1888, pp. 261-279; cf. pp. 396-399).

Since then M. Max van Berchem, to whom I pointed out various *desiderata* that I had not had time or means to verify, has been kind enough to repair these omissions in the course of an exploration of Palestine, made for the purpose of studying Arab archæology. He has been so good as to authorise me to make use of the excellent photographs he has taken, as well as the sketches of certain details, together with his personal observations. I shall indicate as we go along the additional information for which I am indebted to him, and here beg him to accept my best thanks.

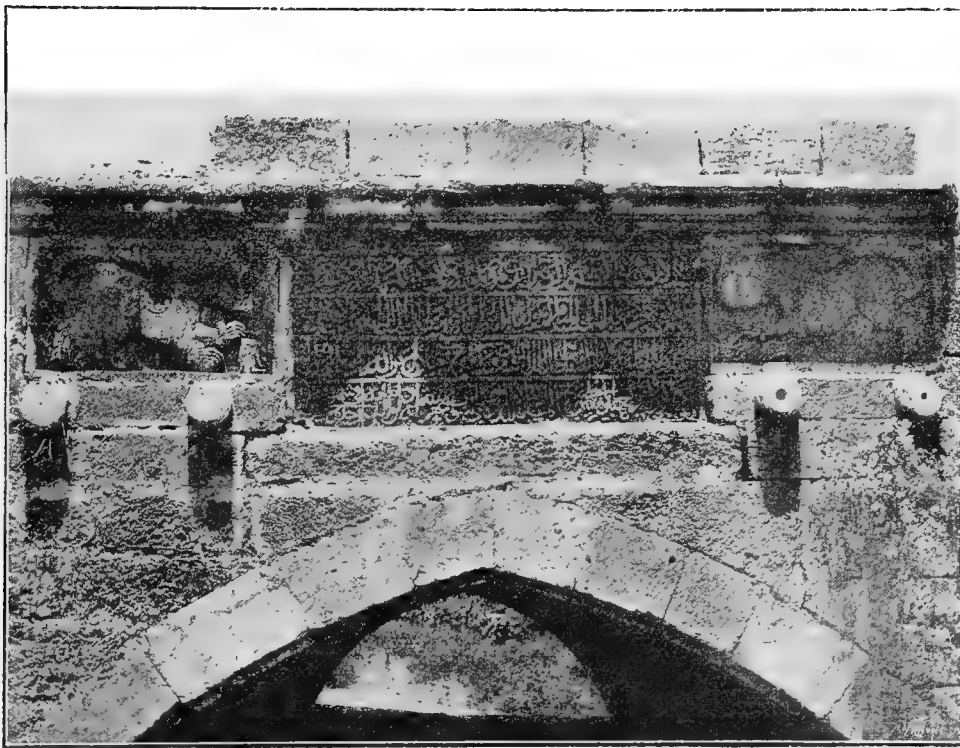
thrown is entirely dry in summer,* but a considerable volume of water passes along it at the period of the winter rains. It is to some extent blocked up by patches of alluvial earth, on which there grow prickly-pear-trees (*sabër*).

On the side facing up stream, the two central supports are protected by two pointed cut-waters intended to break the force of the current, which must be very violent in time of flood.



BRIDGE AT LYDDA.—Elevation of the side looking up stream. Scale $\frac{1}{360}$.

Above the central arch, in a rectangular slab, that is sheltered by a projecting marble cornice, is an Arabic inscription of four lines, flanked by lions.



ARABIC INSCRIPTION ON THE BRIDGE AT LYDDA.

* In searching the soil close by the lower end of the bridge, I found, at some depth, thousands of little eels of microscopic size wriggling about in the damp mud, and quite unaffected by the heat. It was in mid June, it should be remembered.

On the other side (looking down stream) of the same central arch is set another Arabic inscription of three lines, a repetition almost word for word of the preceding, barring a few slight variations;* it is likewise sheltered by a marble cornice and flanked by similar lions. Here follows the transcription and translation of the first.

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وصحبه اجمعين (2) امر
بعمارة هذا الجسر المبارك مولانا السلطان الاعظم الملك الظاهر ركن الدين
بيبرس بن (3) عبد الله في ايام ولده مولانا السلطان الملك (sic) السعيد ناصر
الدين بركة خان اعز الله انصارهما وغفر لهما (4) وذلك بولاية العبد الفقير الى
رحمة الله علاء الدين على السواق غفر الله له ولوالديه في شهر رمضان سنة احدى
وسبعين وستمائة [ية]

"In the name of the kind and merciful God, whose blessings be on our Lord Mahomet, on his family, and on all his companions! The building of this holy bridge was ordered by our master, the very great Sultan el Malek edh-Dhaher Rukn ed Dîn Beibars, son of 'Abd Allah, in the time of his son our Lord Sultan el Malek es Sa'id Naser ed Dîn Berekeh Khân, may God glorify their victories and grant them both His grace. And this, under the direction of the humble servant aspiring to the mercy of God, 'Alâ ed Dîn 'Aly es Sawwâk,† to whom may God grant grace as also to his father and mother; in the month Ramadân, the year 671."

The month Ramadân, 671 A.H., corresponds to March-April, 1273 of our era. The famous sultan Beibars had only four years before associated his son Berekeh Khân with him in the kingly power; hence the mention of him in our inscription along with his father, while he does not appear on the inscription of Beibars at Ramleh, dated 666; the act of *taklîd*, investing the young Berekeh Khân with the royal power, having been first promulgated a year later, in 667.

The two inscriptions are flanked by a pair of low bas-reliefs poorly cut, each displaying a lion seen in profile, enclosed in a rectangular frame.

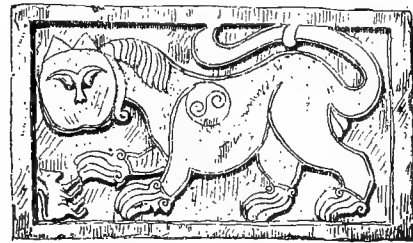
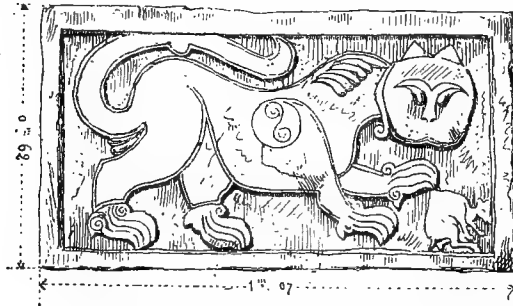
The two animals, which are similar on either side of the bridge, face one another in the same attitude, "*passant*" and "*léopardé*," to speak heraldically. They are indifferently executed in pure Arab style. The lion on the right

* The formulæ are generally cut shorter, and the date is omitted.

† The second inscription adds the patronymic *ben 'Omar*, "son of 'Omar."

has his right paw raised ; in front of him, beneath the threatening claws, sits a tiny quadruped, seen in profile, which, from its pointed nose and ears as well as its long tail bent vertically along its back, can only be taken for a rat or squirrel, or perhaps a jerboa (?). The little creature has its front paws stretched out towards the lion, apparently in an attitude of entreaty.

The lion on the left is lifting his left paw. In front of him is a small quadruped, obviously a repetition of the former one. The characteristic long tail of the animal does not appear in the drawing, but exists in the original ; only in this case it is bent back between the hind paws and lies along the right thigh.



These representations recall those oriental apologues wherein the lion and the rat appear, and perhaps contain some allusion to the repeated victories of Sultan Beibars over the Crusaders, whom he crushed in several encounters, and successively deprived of Cæsarea, Arsûf, Safed, and lastly Jaffa, the neighbour town to Lydda. Can there be some play in the words *fâr* (فأر) “rat” and *kuffâr* (كفار) “the infidels?” or is it intended to caricature the lion rampant, the device of the Lusignans, kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem, by representing it as a rat?*

In any case, these lions are of singular interest for the history of heraldry among the Mussulmans. We know from Arabic writers that the *rank*† or “heraldic emblems” of Sultan Beibars was a lion, and I have found that animal on numerous structures in Syria and Egypt raised by that sovereign. It is also represented on his coins, both gold, silver, and bronze.

* The question also occurs whether it was intended to travesty the *leopard* of the English royal arms ; for the bridge of Lydda, as I shall explain later on, was built just at the time when Beibars was in conflict with Prince Edward. The western name *leopard* transliterated into Arabic, ليوپار, presented an opportunity for a play on *fâr*, the name for a rat, and thus perhaps gave rise to the contemptuous allusion.

† From the Persian *rang*, “colour.”

Beibars was a great bridge-builder. I have noted in Arabic chronicles quite an imposing number of these structures executed by his orders. That at Lydda is expressly mentioned by the anonymous author of the *Life of Beibars*,* who speaks of "two bridges built by Beibars in 672, in the neighbourhood of Ramleh, to facilitate the passage of troops." The agreement of the dates denotes that one of the two bridges is ours. Another remains to be discovered in these parts. My first thought was of the *Jisr es Sûdâ*, which is three miles further to the north, but I now incline to another opinion, which I will enunciate later.† The chiefly strategic object of these two bridges proves that they were intended to ensure a permanent communication along the highway between Egypt and Northern Syria, which passed through Ramleh and Lydda, and was cut up by numerous wâdys originating in the Judæan highlands.

It was especially important to Beibars, as the requirements of war and politics continually summoned him from one end of the kingdom to another during his victorious struggle against the Crusaders and his native rivals, and he had need of solid bridges to secure a way at all seasons across the wâdys that intersected his route, not only for men and horses but also—which was most important—for baggage and siege artillery (*manjânîk*).

In the case of the bridge of Lydda, Beibars had an immediate and special interest in making safe the north road from Lydda, so that his troops could move rapidly forward and cover Ramleh, Lydda, and the plain as far as Carmel, in case of a hostile movement on the part of the Crusaders. In 1271 Prince Edward of England had pushed a daring raid as far as Kâkûn, thus threatening Lydda. Here was a danger to be guarded against, more especially as Prince Edward had refused in person to subscribe to the truce of Cæsarea formed in 1272 by Beibars with King Hugh, thinking to renew the incursions that he had found so profitable. Beibars adopted two measures, first he tried, in 1272, to get rid of the English Prince by assassination, and oddly enough it was the *Emîr of Ramleh*‡ who prompted him to this base attempt, which was disavowed by Beibars, after its failure, as an excess of zeal. Secondly (in 1273) he built the bridge of Lydda. The coincidence in date between these two occurrences is most significant, and points to a close relationship between them.

* An Arabic MS., as yet unpublished, in the Bibliothèque Nationale: *Supplément*, No. 803.

† See further on, p. 173, my account of the bridge of Yebnâ.

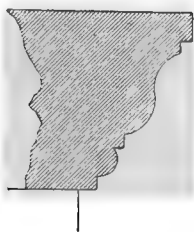
‡ For fuller details of this dramatic episode, see my remarks further on about Yebnâ, p. 175.

Apparently then everything concurs to persuade us that the bridge of Lydda was of pure Arab origin; and yet, as I have already pointed out, a close examination reveals a most unexpected archæological fact—the greater part of the materials of the bridge of Beïbars are of *Western origin*.

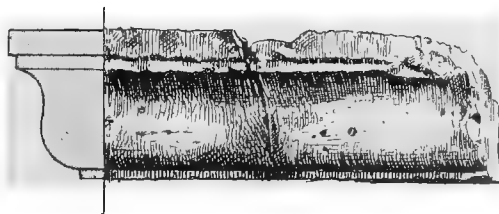
The stones display the mediæval slanting tool-marks, an infallible indication of the work of the Crusaders; moreover, many of them bear masons' marks that are absolutely conclusive. For instance, several stones of the central arch have the W. In the special Table of Vol. I will be found a series of these marks which I noted, and there are certainly plenty more that must have escaped me. They may all be found on the stones of the church of Lydda that have remained in their old position.

The outline of the mouldings of the marble cornices that overhang and protect the bas-reliefs, and the Arabic inscriptions, are anything but Arab in style. We could not take a drawing of these, so as to compare the outlines with that of the mouldings in the church at Lydda. We ought, likewise, to have satisfied ourselves that it did not display the mediæval tool-marking. Happily, I am in a position to fill up this lacuna, thanks to the kindness of M. van Berchem, who has been so good as to verify this detail carefully at my request. I cannot do better than to transcribe here, in a shortened form, the notes that he has sent me :

“The cornice over the inscription (on the side looking up stream) appears to be Latin, but it is smooth, and made of polished marble without striæ (A). This cornice is of different workmanship from the one with the inscription, and from the lions; it is of marble, instead of the coarse-grained limestone worked by the Arabs. The corresponding cornice on the down side has a profile like this (B).



A.—Approximate Profile.



B.

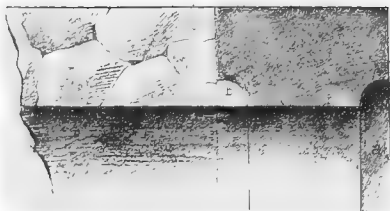
The surface has striæ very slightly slanting, and almost horizontal, having their direction determined by the concave-convex surface of the doucine.*

* In conformity with the general rule set forth above for the dressing of mediæval Western origin. The profile of one of these cornices recalls in striking fashion that of the moulding over the abacus of the capitals of the mediæval church of Lydda. (See the sketch given above [p. 108], and Plate XXVII, in Vogüé's *Églises de la Terre Sainte*.)

Lastly, the central pointed arch, instead of having a keystone, as is the case with all Arab ogives, has the vertical joint passing through the middle.* Now it is a matter of common knowledge that the vertical joint is the mark of a specific difference† between the arch of the Westerns—three-centered—and the Arab arch. From a statical point of view the two arches are constructed on quite different principles. The Arab pointed arch, with its keystone, is in a sense an imitation semi-circular arch. While we are dealing with this matter, I should like to draw attention to a curious point of relation hitherto unnoticed. The *tiers point* or three-centered arch, commonly called now-a-days by French architects the ogive, sometime also in mediæval language went by the name of five-centered arch or *quint point*.‡ Now when I was at Jerusalem I heard natives—men engaged in the trade—call the pointed arch, as opposed to the semi-circular arch, *Khumēs*, “fifth” (خمس), which answers exactly to the mediæval name of *quint point* or *five-centered*.§

I will add a few more remarks which I owe to M. van Berchem, and which are a further confirmation of the preceding, or serve to make them more precise.

“The two “heads” of the middle arch consist of striated blocks, much better set up than those of the main part of the bridge. The latter is of small tufous rubble, mixed with striated blocks. The two side arches are also of small rubble (Arab dressing); however, these arches also present a vertical joint, like the middle arch, with the exception of that on the west, which has on the north side an Arab keystone . . . The central arch (Crusaders’ materials) shows all along its edge a quadrant-shaped moulding;|| now on several of the blocks of the head of the arch this moulding occurs again, not only on the outside, at *a*, but also on the inner edge at *b*, in the intrados, which proves that they originally formed part of an “arc doubleau” or a Gothic rib, and would tend to confirm your hypothesis, which appears to me altogether probable.”



* This difference, however, is not invariable, for the Crusaders have not infrequently employed in Palestine the Arab system of arches with keystones.

† M. Lecomte's drawing takes no notice of this important detail, but I have since been able to assure myself of it beyond a doubt, from a photograph that I had made in 1887, with the kind assistance of Frère Lievin and M. Bonfils. I have given a photograph of this already (p. 111).

‡ See Villard de Honnecourt's *Album*.

§ The origin of these names would furnish abundant material for discussion. I intend to return later on to this important question, and have collected a quantity of notes concerning it.

|| See the engraving already given (p. 111).

Though the materials are of mediæval origin, it was certainly not the Crusaders who built this bridge. The patches, bad joins, unevennesses, and faulty dressing of the stone which are visible in the setting up of these heterogeneous materials betray the process of working up that they have evidently been through.* Besides, the bridge is nowhere mentioned in the annals of the Crusaders, and Beïbars loudly claims the honour of having built it. He speaks truly, but what he omits to say is that the person charged by him to construct with all speed this much needed bridge, hit upon the idea of making a quarry of the ruins of the Crusaders' church demolished by Saladin nearly a century before. The central arch of the bridge, at any rate, is simply one of the arches of the church, indifferently set up. In the main part of the structure there are even tambours of half-columns imbedded in the pilasters, with their masons' marks on each tambour. Thus the bridge of Lydda forms a necessary complement to the church, which explains why I have thought it desirable to submit it to a detailed examination from an historical as well as an archæological standpoint.

This bridge goes by the name of "Bridge of Jindâs" (*Jisr Jindâs*) among the natives, from the name of a small village lying quite near it to the east. According to a local tradition which I heard at Jindâs itself, the origin of the village only dates back to the construction of the bridge, that is to say to 1273.

This tradition seems at first sight to be in flagrant contradiction with a Latin charter of 1129, which mentions the "casal" of *Gendas* in the territory of Lydda,† most certainly identical with our *Jindâs*. This is 144 years before the building of the bridge by Beïbars.

However, the tradition may be perfectly well founded, and not incompatible with fact.

The truth is, it strikes me as more than probable that the *bridge itself* is not, any more than the stones which to-day compose it, the work of Arabs in the first instance. I discovered inside one of the small lateral arches (that on the right as you look at the side facing up stream) the remains of a ruined arch of still earlier date. The springs of it are marked A-B on geometrical elevation (see above, p. 111). This arch was semi-circular,

* Thus, for instance, the central arch of the down side has been so badly re-set that the joint at the top, originally vertical, varies appreciably from the normal vertical, and inclines to the right, as may be seen from a photograph of it taken by M. van Berchem.

† Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, No. 84; cf. No. 225 (act of the year 1154): "in territorio Liddensi."

as appears from a calculation of the curve. The keystone must have been more than 13 feet below the intrados of the ogive arch which surmounts it at the present day. This difference in level is the result of the gradual filling-up of the bed of the wâdy by alluvial deposits, which would point to a considerable interval, certainly some centuries, between the construction of these two bridges, quite different in form.

It may well be supposed that long before the thirteenth century, perhaps as early as the Roman, or at least the Byzantine period, there was already a bridge at this point, which lies on an important highway of Palestine, that uniting Lydda (Diospolis) and Cæsarea by way of Antipatris. The Arab bridge was founded on the remains of this ancient one, and probably at one time or another the hands of the Byzantines also were busy with the latter.

It is not impossible that the old bridge of Lydda is the place alluded to in the Talmud, in speaking of the copy of the Torah that was burnt by the sacrilegious Apostomos, that is, if we really must follow the commentators in rendering the words *מעברתא דלוד* *Ma'abart̃ha de Lod*, by "the bridge of Lydda."

In any case these facts enable us to understand how the inhabitants of Jindâs can assert, without grievous error, that their village, though mentioned at least as early as the twelfth century, was contemporary with a bridge which at first one would not suppose to have existed before the end of the thirteenth, since this bridge dates back much earlier than the thirteenth or even the twelfth century. Jindâs therefore may very well be contemporary, as local tradition has it, with this ancient Byzantine or Roman bridge.

This name *Jindâs* has not an Arab or even a Semitic appearance. Possibly it may be merely a corruption of the male name *Γεννάδιος*, which was common enough in the Byzantine era. *Gennádios*, or *Gennádis* (*Γεννάδης*), as the pronunciation was in Syria at that period, would be regularly transliterated into Arabic as *Jenâdis* *جنادس*; there exists about ten miles from Lydda, to the north-east and quite near 'Abbûd, a locality bearing the latter name. I allude to the *Mûghr Jinâdis* of the Map (Sheet XIV, kq). *Jenâdis* looks like a plural form of *Jindâs*, but it is quite within the bounds of possibility that it was just this *look* which produced the corrupt form *Jindâs*, and that this later on was artificially constructed as a *singular* out of the primitive type *Jenâdis*, which has the air of a plural. So *Jisr Jindâs* may mean simply the *bridge of Gennadios*, some more or less official personage of the Byzantine period, who, we may suppose, attached his name to the construction or reconstruction of the bridge of Lydda and from the bridge the name may have passed on to the neighbouring village.

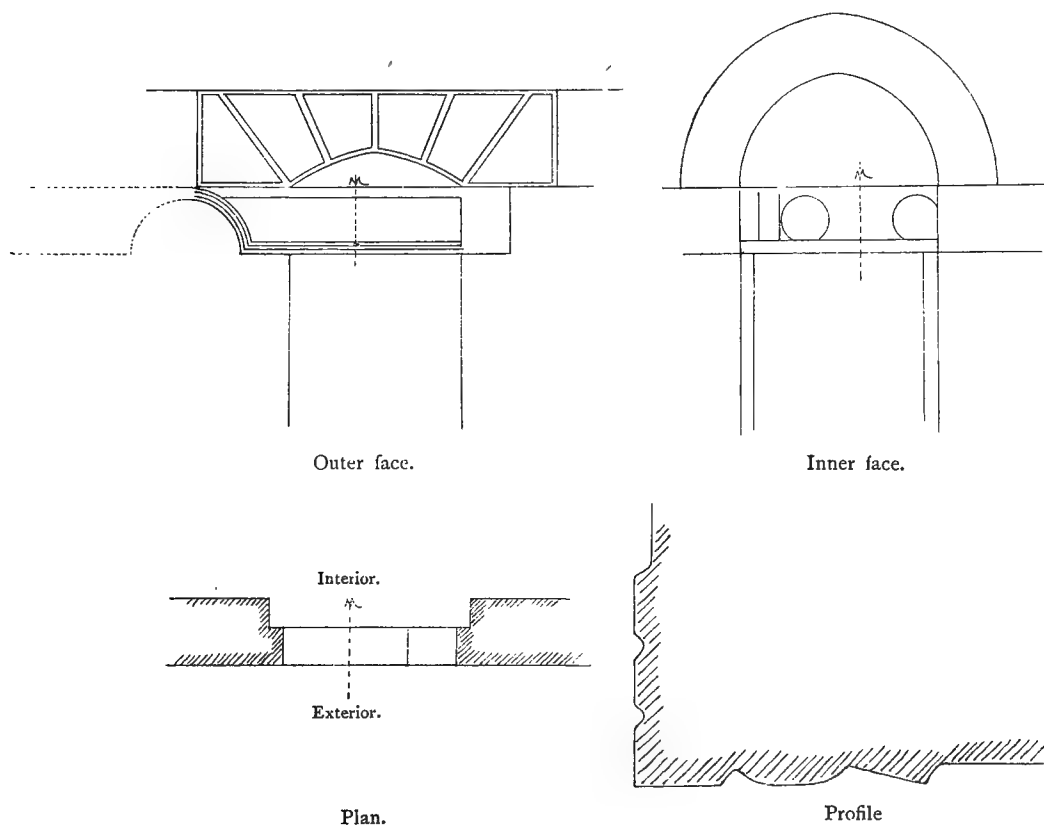
MOSQUE OF RAMLEH.

During our stay at Lydda we went to see the Mosque at Ramleh, which also is an old mediæval church converted. Being aware that the Survey Party had made a special study of it some months before, I confined myself to noting a few details.

In the reveal of the window above the modern door on the right hand side is a masons' mark twice repeated.

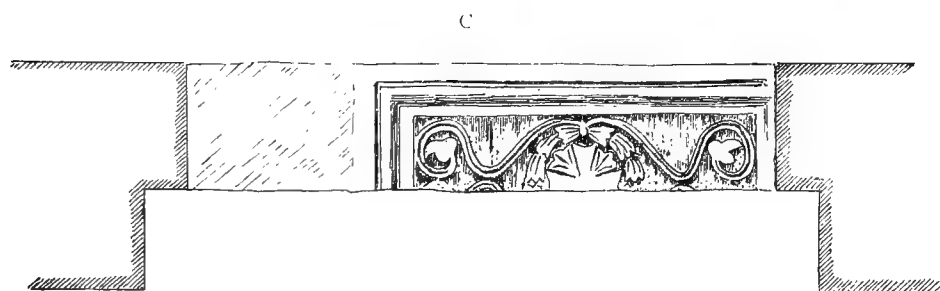
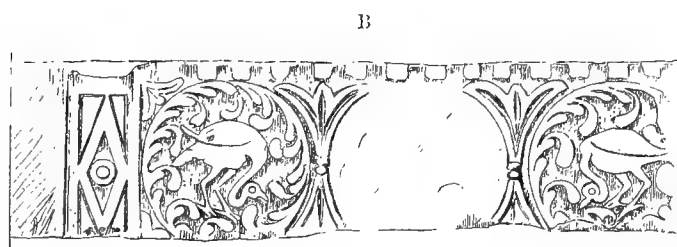
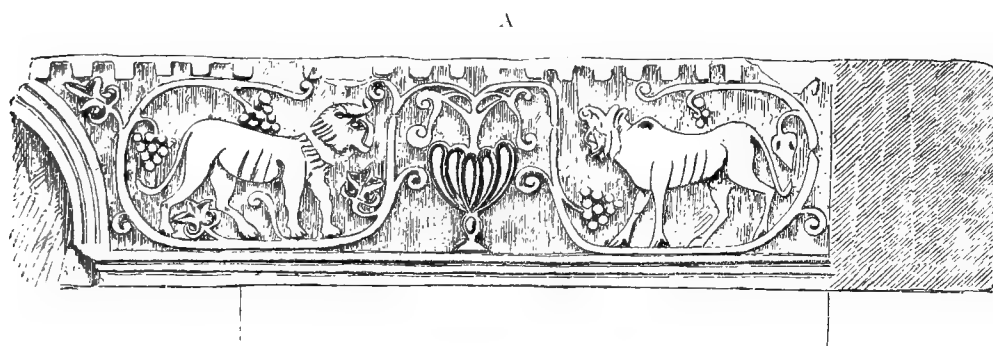
In the embrasure of the window of the right apse, and to the right and left sides, are three or four different masons' marks. (See the Special Table in Vol. I.)

Above the door of the stairs leading to the minaret, a fine block of marble, carved on three sides, has been let in to do duty as a lintel. Unfortunately it has been mutilated by the cutting to which it has been subjected to fit it to its new purpose. Here are four sketches showing the position and general shape of the lintel, looking at the various sides accessible.



MOSQUE AT RAMLEH. Details—Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

I took some very good squeezes of the three sculptured sides that were visible. Here follow exact drawings made by M. Lecomte from the squeezes.



Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

A—Two fantastic horned quadrupeds facing one another, to the right and left of a mystic vase, from which emerge two vine plants laden with leaves and fruit, enveloping the animals. Above, a denticulate border. It will be noticed on the left that the lower border, which is moulded, rises to form a semi-circle enclosing a part that has been slightly scooped out, or considerably hammered down, with a view, probably, to remove some central subject enclosed within it. The restoration of this semi-circle is an evident necessity : it is indicated by a dotted line in the engraving (page 119). It shows that the block in its original state must have been much longer, as the semi-circle must mark the middle of it. It is to be presumed that there was a sculptured

scene to the left of the semi-circle of the same extent as the one on the right, and forming a symmetrical pendent to it. The block must have been cut to the length required to convert it into a lintel. From these various considerations I estimate the original length of the stone at 2^m 60.

B—The rear face of the lintel presents, in its upper part, the same line of toothed border as the front face; the same moulded border likewise existed, no doubt, in the lower part, but has disappeared, the stone having been cut away and chopped off in parts. Here the decorations consist of three medallions, so to call them, formed by interlacing foliage, separated by three flowers clustered. On the two medallions to the right and left are carved two more or less fantastic birds (storks? or ostriches?), with long bending necks, and bills pointing downwards. The centre medallion doubtless presented another subject, but has been so carefully hammered out as to be undistinguishable. I suspect that it was some emblem of Christianity of a more marked character than the mystic vase on the front face, which particularly shocked the orthodoxy of the Mussulmans. To the left of the left medallion is an ornament consisting of a lozenge inscribed in a rectangle with a knob in the centre; this motive must have been symmetrically repeated on the right, and then immediately next the lozenge, which is intact, came the part corresponding to the semi-circle on the front face, which marks the middle of the lintel in its primitive condition. To the right of this semi-circle likewise appeared, we may suppose, a scene forming a pendent to that on the left.

C—Finally, the under surface of the lintel is also carved; but a portion of the carving has disappeared in course of the cutting made to receive the top of the doorway. The subject represented, of which only the lengthwise half remains, was a cross inscribed in a crown encircled by a fillet, with either end terminating in an ivy leaf, the whole being within a moulded rectangular frame. Here again there must have been, at the other end of the lintel, and perhaps at the centre also, one or two subjects forming a pendent to this latter.

The sculptures are in good Byzantine style; and the subjects belong to Christian symbolism. It is difficult to fix the architectural function of a long narrow block like this, which must have measured 2^m 60 by 0^m 27, and was intended to lie horizontally and be seen on three sides. It was certainly not an ordinary lintel; its length would have been excessive considering its height. Possibly it was supported at the middle by an upright that divided into two parts the opening over which it was placed. Certainly it must have

belonged to a magnificent building, which was not at Ramleh, but rather at Lydda, the great episcopal town, which possessed in addition to the old Basilica of St. George some other fine churches, two of which, notably, were dedicated to the Virgin.*

It has been supposed that the minaret might be the ancient belfry of the Crusaders. The thing is possible; the chief arch above the lintel, with its vertical joint in the middle, must be mediæval in its materials, if not in the arrangement or re-arrangement of them, but in any case this belfry must have been re-constructed, at least in part, by the Mussulmans. In fact, I noticed over the lintel described above an Arabic *tarikh*, which I unfortunately omitted to copy in full, saying that this minaret was built in the year 714† (= 1314 of our era), in the reign of Sultan Nâser ed Duniâ û'd Dîn, son of el Melek el Mansûr Kelâwûn. To this epoch perhaps we should refer the mutilation and appropriation of the carved lintel.



At Ramleh I saw a small tessera of terra-cotta in the hands of an Arab, and managed to acquire it. It is square and slightly concave; the side measures 0^m.035. One of its sides bears a representation rudely carved in relief, in which one can make out a bird with outspread wings pouncing on a running quadruped. This is probably the traditional subject of the eagle attacking the hare.

A Greek inscription said to exist.—I had been told in 1869‡ by a native of Jerusalem that there was at Ramleh, at the house of a Mussulman named Jaber, a kerb of a well with a Greek inscription. According to other information acquired about the same time, this object was at Lydda, with the Christian servant of Rabâh Effendy el Huseiny. I had not the leisure to verify these indications, but wish to point them out to future explorers.

* I find them mentioned in a synodal letter of 836, published a few years back by Sakkelion. One of these two churches must have been still in existence at the end of the 12th century, to judge by a passage in 'Aly el Hérewy quoted by M. le Strange without further comment: "Here too, is the house of Maryam, and this the Franks hold in great veneration." (*Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 494.)

† I am not sure as to the last of the three figures. Nâser ed Duniâ û'd Dîn is the same as the Sultan to whom Mujir ed Dîn expressly attributes the building of the great tower of Jâme' el Abiadh, which was completed in 718 A.H.

‡ 1869, Carnet III, p. 12.

BETWEEN LYDDA AND JAFFA.

We left Lydda for Jaffa on the morning of June 10th. We took a direct route for Sarfand (Surafend), and were not able to visit Sâfiriye. The name of the latter is pronounced *Sâf'riyeh*. The ethnic is *Sifrâny*, plural *Sâfar'neh*.

At Sarfand we found the fellahin for the most part living in huts of branches (*'arîsh*), recalling the *sukkoth* of the Bible. Had it not been for the difference of the season, we might have imagined ourselves at the Feast of Tabernacles.

In the village we went to see the sanctuary dedicated to *Neby Lokmân el Hakîm* and his son. In the interior of the Kubbeh is a large white-washed cenotaph, having an orientation quite different from that of the square chamber in which it is placed, lying diagonally across it. I noticed some fragments of columns near. Some people say, I was told, that this is the genuine tomb of Lokmân, others that it is merely his *makâm* or sanctuary. A similar division on this point was early manifested in the written tradition of the Mussulmans. Mujîr ed Dîn speaks of the tomb of Lokmân as existing in the village of Sarfand, and adds that, according to Kotâda, the tomb is at Ramleh.

It has been proposed, with much ingenuity, to recognize in Lokmân not only the personality but also the name of Bala'am, on account of the identity existing between the two roots *lakam* in Arabic and *bala'* in Hebrew, which both signify "to swallow."

It is undeniable that in the Mussulman legend of Lokmân a number of features have been evidently borrowed from the story of Bala'am; but it is equally certain that many others are borrowed from the story of Æsop, including the fables ascribed to Lokmân. The old Arab writers themselves appear to have recognized two distinct personages in Lokmân: Lokmân the 'Adite and Lokmân the sage. I am moreover of opinion that there lurks beneath their Lokmân a third personality, namely, the *prophet Gad*, who plays such an important part in the history of David. The question would be too long to discuss in this place, but any one can easily convince himself of what I say by considering all that the hadîths say about the relations between Lokmân and David. It is, I think, this third aspect of the heterogeneous personality of Lokmân that is the subject of the local traditions of Sarfand.*

* I need not remind my readers that Bala'am himself became in the eyes of the Talmudists an epigrammatic personification of Jesus, and was the germ of the Jewish notion of the anti-Christ, which was taken up by the Mussulmans and applied to the Dejjâl.

The inhabitants of Sarfand, who appear very proud of their makâm of Lokmân, informed me that his son was called *Mushkiâm*.

I saw near the village several fine pieces of white marble newly unearthed, comprising a carved capital, a fragment of a Kufic inscription, and an Arabic inscription of great size inscribed on a magnificent abacus. I could not copy it on account of the unamiable attitude of the inhabitants, who said to me ironically, "This inscription signifies, *Mal'ûn ibn el-mal'ûn elly bikaddem 'ala hal-beled 'el-m'hâdeseh*, which is to say: "Cursed son of a cursed father is he who comes into this country to make plans." I took the application to myself, and did not press them further, being rather anxious not to alarm their susceptibilities, as I wanted to ask them for a guide to take me to the places I am about to speak of.

I noticed some curious transpositions of letters in the dialect of the fellâhîn of Sarfand. For instance they say *bukbâ* and *kâby* instead of *bubkâ*, *bâky* (باقى, ب + يبقى), "he remains, remaining."

I obtained the desired guide after some trouble, and we set off. As we went along, the fellâh, who was at the outset uncommunicative, was pleased to break silence, and I got some information out of him.

He confirmed me in two points I had noted already at Lydda, the pronunciation *Surfand* for *Sarfand* and the legendary name of the village *Sarf el Mâl*.

He told me that at Kubeibeh (near Yebnâ) there was a *Neby Shem'ôn* (Simeon). To the east of Sarfand and quite near it, is a low mound of small size, called *Dhahrat Buseîleh*, where it would appear a great quantity of squared stones have been found. Possibly this is where those above-mentioned came from. Formerly this place was called *Dâr Melek 'Akâs*, "the house of King 'Akâs."

Sarfand el Kharâb.—After fifty minutes or so we arrived at *Sarfand el Kharâb*, "Sarfand the Ruined," lying to the south-west of the present village, which, for distinction's sake, is surnamed "The Inhabited" (*Sarfand el 'Amâr*). I find this double nomenclature repeated in the official lists of the local authorities, which certainly are copied from older lists. Here there is an authentic instance of the transference of a locality, along with its name, to another spot. It only shows how careful one has to be in making geographical identifications in Palestine.

The place presents unmistakable signs of antiquity. We contented ourselves with a hasty glance at it, just noting a few more or less significant names given to various parts of the ruins: *el Bauberiyeh*, *el Habës*, *Tâhûn't*

*el Hawâ.** Sarfand el Kharâb is probably of older date than Sarfand el 'Amâr, and ought, I think, to come in for a share of the many identifications, more or less plausible, that have been suggested for the latter. Native tradition attributes its destruction and subsequent desertion to Ibrahim Pasha, but I think it must date much farther back than that.

Lûlieh.—About half an hour to the south-west they say is *Kh. Lûlieh*,† with ruins of considerable extent. There used to be at Lûlieh a *Kasr bent Abu Sharbaj*,‡ “the castle of the daughter of Abu Sharbaj.” The princess’s name was *Lûlieh*. Her father had shut her up in his castle. She secretly desired to marry. Each day she asked her father for water from a new source; each day the king had a new well dug. At last it was told him: “What she wants is a husband,” and then he gave her in marriage. This is the origin of the “thirty wells” that are to be seen at Khûrbet Lûlieh.

'Ayûn Kârâ.—However, I hastened to verify the statement furnished me at Lydda, that there was in these parts a spot called *A'yûn Kârâ*. Either from ignorance or ill-will on the part of our guide from Sarfand, we had endless trouble in discovering the real place, but in the end we got there. The spot is marked by a number of holes in some sand-dunes, with fresh water welling up in them, and forming a little verdant meadow all round. We ascended a high dune near, from which the “Back” of Jaffa (a very small part of it) can be seen over another dune. Some ten minutes to the east of the springs is a certain *Khûrbet Kârâ*, which has given its name to the springs, or else borrowed it of them. The whole chain of sandy dunes bordering the road from Gaza on the west till the *beiyâra* of Shahîn Aghâ is called *Wâtât el 'Ayûn*, or *Wâdy 'Ayûn Kârâ*.

* I also find a *Birket Haurân* written down in my field book, but, from the indefinite character of the entry, I cannot tell whether this name is applied to one of the two *birkeh* visible at *Sarfand el Kharâb*, or to one of the places in the vicinity afterwards mentioned.

† See above, where the same name, *Lûlieh*, is ascribed by local tradition to *Yâlo*.

‡ I am not sure as to the exact form of the name, or rather word, which appears in this appellation. Can it be *Charbaj*, for *Karbaj*? *Kurbaj* signifies a wine-seller’s shop. I wonder whether *Lûlieh*, which is employed as a woman’s name in the legend of the peasants of Sarfand, may possibly correspond with *Julia* (Ἰουλία, Ἰουλίη)? It is well known (and I shall recur to this later on) that the Hellenising Jews had a habit of changing initial *i* into *l* in foreign names, such as *Julianus* (*Luliani*). We have, perhaps, in *Lûlieh* a survival of this phonetic permutation, possibly engendered by the presence of the *l* at the beginning of the second syllable. It will be noticed that precisely the same phonetic conditions are present in the case of *Yâlo*=*Lûlieh*. Many towns of antiquity bore the name of *Julia*: in Palestine even Bethsaida had received from Herod the name of Ἰουλίαις, in honour of *Julia*, daughter of Augustus. Another town of Peræa (*Betharamtha*) bore the same name.

The presence of the springs justifies the supposition that there must have been an ancient settlement here; but what was it? I have mentioned that, according to native Greek tradition, Kârâ would have been once a bishopric. There are several places in the old ecclesiastical lists of Palestine, such as Onous, Sozousa, etc., which have not yet been identified, and perhaps one of them corresponds to our Kârâ.

The idea also occurred to me—I put it forward with all reserve—that Kârâ, with its remarkable springs, might be the Danite city *Me-Jarkon*, “the green or yellow waters,” near Jaffa. This would involve the supposition of a change from ירקון to קָרָא, by syncope of the *yod*, aphæresis of the termination *on*, and metathesis of *koph* and *resch*, which are all common phonetic phenomena in Arabic. If the town of *Rakkon*, mentioned immediately after *Me-Jarkon* in the Book of Joshua, is only a doublet of this, as some commentators suppose, the identification with Kârâ will be still more seductive. But this I repeat is simple guess-work. Moreover, I am quite aware that *Tell er Rekkeit*, to the north of Jaffa, may also lay claim to be identified with Rakkon if not with Me-Jarkon.

Dâjûn.—I next went in quest of the *Khûrbet Dâjûn*, the name of which made a great impression on me when I heard it at Lydda. We discovered it upon a small oblong tell, lying between ‘Ayûn Kârâ and Beit Dejan, called *Dhah’rat Dâjûn*, not far from the wely of *Sittnâ Nefîseh*. Though the ruins are not particularly conspicuous, I have no doubt that the tell corresponds to the site of an ancient town, more ancient probably than *Beit Dejan*, which has adopted its name in a form slightly different, and further removed from the original. Apparently the same process has been gone through here as in the case of Sarfand el Kharâb and Sarfand el ‘Amâr, a transference from the south to the north. The cause was doubtless the same, the desire of the inhabitants to quit a too remote locality for one on the road between Jaffa and Ramleh. In the case of Dâjûn there was perhaps, in addition, the danger of encroachment from the ever progressing sand of the dunes lying to the south of Jaffa.

It would be obviously convenient to transfer to Dâjûn the identifications suggested for Beit Dejan, namely, with the *Kaphar Dagon* quoted by *Onomasticon*, and the *Beth Dagon* of the tribe of Judah.* Kaphar Dagon is marked as an important κώμη between Diospolis and Jamnia, whereas it is impossible to say as much of Beit Dejan, which is between Lydda and Jaffa,

* The name of the town mentioned in Joshua xv, 41, seems to me to be really *Gederoth-Beth Dagon*, and ought perhaps to be looked for further south.

and not between Lydda and Yebnâ. The difficulty is far from being fully removed by locating Kaphar Dagon at Dâjûn, but it is somewhat lessened, as Dâjûn, from its more southerly position, comes nearer the line joining Lydda and Yebnâ.* It should further be noted that Eusebius and St. Jerome employ the somewhat vague expression "between," instead of reckoning, as their manner is, by the milestones that marked out the routes in their day. This would tend to show that Kaphar Dagon was not actually on the road uniting Diospolis and Jamnia.†

If the Kaphar Dagon of the *Onomasticon* really answers to the Beth Dagon of the Bible, it is at Dâjoûn that the two of them should be located. By combining the more modern name *Beit Dejan* and the archaic name *Dâjûn*, which have belonged at different periods to a village that has gone through a process of removal, we get all the onomastic material needed to reconstruct a name *Beit Dâjûn*. This exactly corresponds to Beth Dagon, including the class-name "Beth," "house," which was replaced, at the time when the *Onomasticon* was compiled, by the class-name *Kaphar*, "village."

I attach particular importance to this agreement of names, as the equation *Dagon = Dâjûn = Dejan* completely justifies an identification which I have for other motives attempted to establish between the god Dagon and the monster *Dajjâl* of Arab legend.‡

Mukaddasi tells us that there is near Ramleh a town called *Dâjûn*, with a mosque, and that it is principally inhabited by Samaritans. This is beyond a doubt our *Dâjûn*, which consequently was still flourishing in the tenth century of our era. Yâkût even mentions a celebrated Mussulman doctor who came from this town and was called *ed Dâjûny*.§

* Especially if, as is probable enough, the *Onomasticon* is alluding to the Jamnia on the sea-coast, that is to say, the ancient port of Yebnâ, at Minat Rûbîn. Truth to say, the place which by its position would strictly answer to the definition of the *Onomasticon* is neither Kh. Dâjûn, nor, still less, Beit Dejan, but Sarfand el Kharâb, of which I have just spoken. It is curious to note that the terms of the problem are exactly the same for the undiscoverable *Pekûn* or *Bekûn* (פקיעין, בקיעין), to which the Talmud assigns the same position, half-way between Lod and Yabneh.

† A fact which seems to lend weight to this remark is, that the existence of a Roman way between these two towns is attested by a line in the Peutinger Table.

‡ It is of course a familiar fact that, at the end of words especially, *l* and *n* are constantly interchanged by the Arabs of Palestine.

§ And also *er Ramly*, clear proof that our Dâjûn is really the place meant, since it is close by Ramleh.

The existence, at this early period and in these parts, of an important Samaritan settlement, is a most interesting fact. The statement of Mukaddasi is fully confirmed by a passage in the Samaritan chronicles *El Tholidoth*, which speaks of a certain Abraham, son of Ur, who came from Dâgûn (דגון).^{*} We may henceforward expect that excavations at Dâjûn will lead to the discovery of Samaritan antiquities.

Mukaddasi further says that one of the gates of Ramleh was called the "gate of Dâjûn." Evidently it got this name from being the starting-point of the road from Ramleh to Dâjûn. The names of the eight gates of Ramleh, as given by the Arab geographer, are susceptible of a like explanation; *the gate of* (the mosque of) *'Annâbeh*; the Jerusalem gate; the Jaffa gate; the Lydda gate; the Egypt gate; the Dâjûn gate. Two only remain doubtful.

The first is the gate of *Bîr el 'Asker*, "the soldiers' well." We ought perhaps to understand by this the great covered cistern of el 'Aineiziyeh, situated about ten minutes to the north of Ramleh. In fact, Yâkût says that 'Asker was the name of a quarter of the town.

The next is the gate of *Bîl'a*; at least, this is how the name is read by Mr. Guy Le Strange. The latter, after M. de Goeje, the first and learned editor of Mukaddasi, fancies he can identify it with a certain "church of *Bâli'a*" (situated, it seems, not far from Ramleh and Lydda), and inclines to connect the two of them with the Baalah of the Bible (Joshua xv, 19). This conjecture seems to me inadmissible, for several reasons. In the first place, according to this view, the "*Bîl'a* gate" and the "Jerusalem gate" would be the same thing twice over, since *Kariet el 'Enab*, which is the place indicated in the hypothesis, lies just on the road from Ramleh to Jerusalem. Then again, there is nothing to show that *Bâli'a*, *بالعة*, and *بيلة*, *Bîl'a*, are the same name. I question, even, whether *bâli'a* is a proper name at all, and not rather a simple epithet qualifying the "church" (بالعة?). What is certain, at any rate, is, that the manuscripts do not agree in the readings of the name of the "*Bîl'a*" gate. A MS. of Mukaddasi, that I had occasion to consult in 1872 on this and many other points, gives *بيلة*, without diacritical marks, which

* The same document shows that there were also Samaritans established at Gaza, and this is confirmed by the discovery at Gaza of a Samaritan inscription which I saw there a few months later. At 'Amwâs likewise, not long ago, a Samaritan inscription was found, which reveals the presence of Samaritans at Emmaus, and may explain how the author of the bilingual inscription on the Byzantine capital discovered at 'Amwâs (in 1880) managed to get a model for the archaic Hebrew character used in it.

leaves room for many readings.* I, in my turn, will propose another, which has the advantage of satisfying at least the geographical requirements of this small problem, viz., نِيلَة, and even نَيْعَة. I find in these the name of the modern village of *Nî'âneh* (Nâ'aneh on the Map), to the south of Ramleh, the name of which is now written in various ways, among others, thus: نَيْعَة.†

The shifting of the 'ain, in combination with the two n's, was almost unavoidable considering the phonetic habits of the fellahin.‡

The subjoined diagram will show the relative positions of the eight gates of Ramleh in the 10th century, together with the origin of the names they received, according to the quarters of the horizon towards which the roads leading from them were directed (see p. 130).

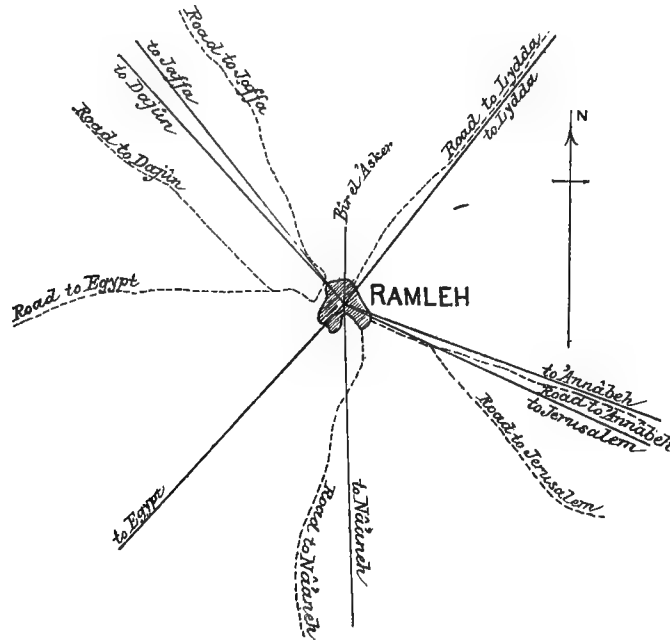
My only hesitation is about the *Bîr el 'Asker* gate, which may have been in a quarter quite different from the 'Aineziyeh cistern. One is occasionally tempted, out of regard for symmetry, to look for a point intermediate between the roads leading to Egypt and Dâjûn. Everything depends on the position of the quarter of 'Asker which had given its name to the cistern, and is perhaps still existing to-day.

* This is MS. B of M. de Goeje's edition: of the other two MSS., C has بَيْعَة and A بَيْعَة. This last reading is the one adopted by the editor, which does not make it the right one. As for the name—if name it be—of the church, the MSS. have بَالَة and بَالَة (على كنيسة). M. de Goeje says, quite rightly, that the place mentioned by Yâkût, بَالَة "*Bâli'a*," in the Belkâ, part of the region of Damascus, is out of the question. I must, however, point out to the reader a somewhat singular coincidence. The Arab geographer mentions this *Bâli'a*, a place far distant from the region now occupying our attention, as being the place where Balaam ("Bal'âm, son of Bâ'ûra") alighted. This legend is evidently the result of identifying the name of the place and that of the person. Now we have seen that the legend of Balaam (under the popular name of Lokmân) was localized at Sarfand; so it may be asked whether the church of Bâli'a mentioned by Mukaddasi might not be some church erected at Sarfand. But in this case the same objection would be encountered, namely, the existence of a gate at Ramleh, named after Sarfand, would clash with the existence of another gate called after Jaffa, Sarfand being on the road from Ramleh to Jaffa.

† *Name Lists*, p. 272. The name by no means signifies "the plant mint;" the word that has this meaning is نَعْنَع, *na'na'*. Sir Charles Warren proposes to identify this village with the *Naamah* of Joshua. This is ingenious and attractive—the change of the Hebrew *m* to an Arabic *n* is quite admissible. I question, however, whether the position of Nî'âneh does not take us a little too far north for this hypothesis. There is a place more to the south which it seems to me may have preserved the name of this Naamah in a still closer form—I mean A'râk *Na'mân* and Deir *Na'mân*, between Tell es Sâfy and K'zâzeh. The vicinity would suit perfectly well.

‡ It may even be that the third radical was a *lâm*, and that the reading of the MSS. was correct on this point. This *l* must easily have changed to *n* in the speech of the fellahin. This would take us to a primitive name *Nîl'a*.

In any case, that puts it beyond all doubt that there really existed an ancient town of the name of Dâjûn on the site that I discovered.



The straight lines indicate the distant places to which the roads lead, the dotted lines show the real position of the roads.

Kh. Jalûs.—On the completion of this little reconnaissance, we went back to Yâzûr on the high road to Jaffa. We made a slight deflection to the north, so as to take in Selemeh (Selmeh), where I discovered a place called *Kh. Jalûs*, quite near the village to the east, and finally arrived at Jaffa.

JAFFA.

Ancient Jewish Necropolis.—During the few days we spent at Jaffa I particularly busied myself with studying the ancient necropolis, the site of which I had only been able to reconnoitre hastily the previous November.*

At this first visit I found and brought away, as related above, a Judæo-Greek inscription; a reproduction and explanation of it will follow here immediately. The inscription is of great importance, as it forms a key, so to speak, to a whole group of related texts.

* See above, p. 3.

I first of all made my way to the little hamlet called Saknet Abu K'bîr, which formed, as near as I could judge, the centre of the region to be explored. It lies about 1,500 m. from the gate of Jaffa to the east-south-east, and is inhabited by a body of Mussulman Arabs of Egyptian origin, who have given it the name of Abu K'bîr in memory of the so-called Egyptian place they came from.

Many of them get a living by quarrying the beds of calcareous tufa round their village for building materials, of indifferent quality, it must be said, which they bring to Jaffa. In the course of some years of these operations they have brought to light several burial caves hewn out of the tufa. They have often found in them small marble slabs with inscriptions, generally set round with mortar on one of the walls of the cave near the entrance. It was one of these finds that afforded the Judæo-Greek *titulus* that I had acquired a few months before.

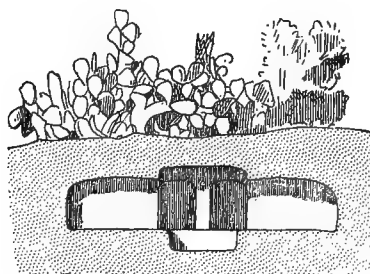
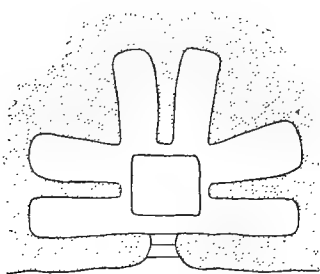
In pursuance of my usual practice, I instituted a minute inquiry among the inhabitants of the Sakneh, and thus procured some interesting information. Two of these inscribed slabs had been put into the tomb of a woman who died a few weeks before, by her son 'Aly el Jezâwy. He was a quarryman by trade, but was just now away harvesting. In the house of Abu Tâleb there were believed to be two inscribed slabs. Two others had been found in the garden of El 'Azab. In the house of Mahmûd Abu 'n Nil one half of a slab had been mixed up with the mortar and used in some repairs. As a matter of fact, I noticed a little later that several of these slabs were broken. This is no way surprising, as the marble of this thinness is very fragile, and the slabs often get broken through being carelessly removed from the wall of the tomb. Several of the tombs contained glass phials.

But I got more than mere information ; some of these tituli that were still in the possession of the inhabitants were brought to me, and I lost no time in securing them. Others had been sold already to the superintendent of the garden of the Russian Archimandrite, which lies near the Sakneh to the south in the quarter where the tombs are found.

I next went to see the open tombs and reconnoitre the ground. The necropolis extends to a considerable length, and occupies a conspicuous position between Saknet Abu K'bîr on the north, and Saknet el 'Abîd on the south. It consists of a series of banks and mounds, in the sides and bases of which caves have been hollowed for burials. I could see apertures or remains of vaults destroyed by the quarrymen as far as the house of El Ja'fary on the north. Probably the necropolis extends still further to the

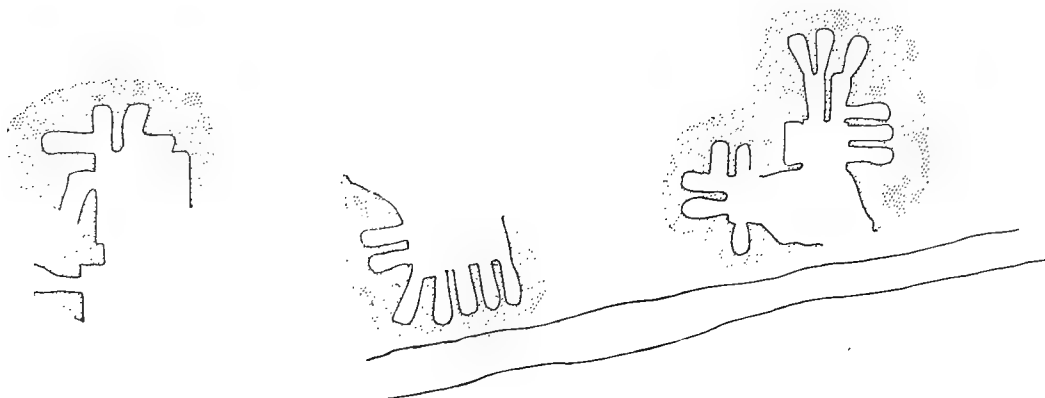
south, as it does to the north, but it is very difficult to trace it through these gardens overgrown with luxuriant vegetation and set round with thick hedges of cactus. There must undoubtedly be all over this neighbourhood a great quantity of tombs still untouched, which would furnish important results of an archæological and epigraphical nature. I should have liked very much to make some excavations there, but for that purpose I should have needed a permit from the Turkish Government, which, unfortunately, I have never been able to get at any time during my mission. I therefore perforce confined myself to this superficial, but yet not altogether fruitless investigation.

The following specimens will give some idea of these tombs, which are rudely cut in the soft sandy tufa of the hills surrounding Jaffa, after the usual plan of the ordinary Jewish tombs in the mountainous parts of Judæa.



NECROPOLIS OF JAFFA.—Rock-cut Tombs. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

The first is to be found in the Beiyâra of Nikûla Halaby under a cactus hedge. It consists of a small square chamber with a flat ceiling, and with two steps leading down to it. On each of the three available sides two kôkîm have been cut, with their openings on a level with a small bench of rock running round the chamber. Close by this we noted the remains of a similar



NECROPOLIS OF JAFFA.—Rock-cut Tombs. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

sepulchre, rather more complicated in structure, but half destroyed by the quarrymen.

Here again are two more that we noted in the Beiyâra belonging to the Russian Archimandrite, which is in the neighbourhood.

They likewise are alongside a cactus hedge.

The first, which is almost entirely destroyed, had four kôkim on one of its walls, with a fifth kok opening out of one corner. The second, which has likewise been subjected to ill-usage, was composed of two, perhaps three, chambers communicating with one another. At the back of three of the kôkim, and at right angles to the sides, there are visible other smaller loculi, too small to have admitted a corpse. These, I suppose, were recesses used as ossuaries, the remains of the first occupiers being heaped up in them to make room for fresh comers.

INSCRIPTIONS.

I now enter on the study of the inscriptions derived from this necropolis, with the aid of the actual originals either collected by myself or lying in the garden of the Russian Archimandrite. Their number has sensibly increased since 1874, as I copied other series in 1881 and 1886. These, however, I shall not now touch upon, not wishing to exceed the limits I have set myself. They will form the subject of a later publication. I shall only quote them incidentally with a view to making certain instructive comparisons.

1. Marble Titulus. Size 0^m·26 by 0^m·24. Below the inscription is the seven-branched candlestick, flanked by two palms and two zig-zag lines, of doubtful import.

Ἡζικία υἱὸς Ἰσα, φροντιστὴ, Ἀλεξανδρίας.

“To Ezechias son of Isa (?), phrontistes, from Alexandria.”

Ἡζικία is evidently the Jewish name *Ezechias*, generally transliterated Ἐζεκίας, Ἐζεκέιος, Ἐzechίας, Ἐζεκία. This new transliteration shows that the name was pronounced *Izikia*, in conformity with the Masoretic vocalisation *Hizekiyah*, the mute *sheva*, *e*, being replaced by a furtive vowel *i*, which takes its colouring, so to speak, from the reflection of the initial vowel *i*.*



* This law of the harmony of vowels may often be noticed in the transliteration of Hebrew names by the Septuagint.

The last letter, which also terminates the following patronymic, must be a small cursive capital *alpha*,* different from all the other capital *alphas* in the inscription. It would be wrong, I think, to regard this as a mark of abbreviation and to suppose that the name was Ἡζικυ(ήλ), for Ἰεζεκίηλ, "Ezechiel."

The patronymic Ισα also is certainly some Jewish name, but what one is it? It might possibly be Ἰσαάκ, Ἰσάκ, "Isaac," on the supposition that the final letter is a mark of abbreviation, which I doubt. It seems more probable that it is the name "Isaiah," usually transliterated Ἡσαΐας, "Isaias." Moreover, we should not lose sight of the possibility of its being some popular transliteration of the original form of the name "Jesus" (Ἰησοῦ), bearing in mind that very puzzling Arab form "Ἰσά," the origin of which is so obscure.†

Our Ezechias was a *phrontistes*. It may be asked if this should be taken to mean (φροντιστί Ἀλεξανδρίας) "*phrontistes* of Alexandria" or "*phrontistes*" absolutely, and "native of Alexandria." I incline to the latter view, as a simple genitive immediately after a proper name, with no word in between to govern it, usually indicates the place the person is native of.

This title *phrontistes* has not yet been met with in Jewish inscriptions, though other Greek titles appear in them, such as προστάτης, ἐπιστάτης,

* This shape of the *alpha* is also found in the Greek papyri from Egypt subsequent to the Christian era; indeed most of the palæographical peculiarities of the Judæo-Greek inscriptions of Palestine recall those of the Greek writing as used in Egypt. This form of the *alpha* seems also to exist in a Christian inscription at Gaza, of the sixth century perhaps, of which I shall speak further on. With Ισα we may compare the Talmudic name אִסָּא *Isa*, belonging to a rabbi who was a pupil of the rabbi Johanan (Tal. Jer. Ter. I, 40). I cannot say how far the latter name is related to another Talmudic name, אִסִּי *Isi*, which some have wished to identify with one of the numerous contractions which the name of *Joseph* underwent.

† An attempt has been recently made to explain it by a somewhat irreverent kind of assimilation supposed to have been formerly made by the Jews, and, after, by the Arabs, between *Jesus* and *Esau*, عيسى, and עשו. This comparison, which is more ingenious than plausible, is moreover not a new one. It has been already noted, in passing, by Guérin (*Samaria*, I, p. 42), who had probably taken it down from the lips of some Jew, without, however, attaching any particular importance to it. It would be most desirable to ascertain whether the fact of this quaint assimilation has really been handed down by Jewish tradition. However this may be, I find in the Jewish catacombs of Venosa (Ascoli, *Iscrizioni*, etc., p. 55) the epitaph of a certain *Faustinos son of Isa* (νῖος Ἰσας). The existence of a form *Isa*, whatever its origin may be, appears to me therefore to be henceforward established in Græco-Jewish onomastics of the first centuries of our era. The most likely thing is that the name *Isa* is a common abbreviation of the name *Isaiah*, but it is very possible that this form was not without its influence on the Arabic name of *Jesus*, Ἰσά, more especially as the Hebrew names *Yeshou'* and *Yeshu'yahou* (and other kindred names) are evidently related from an etymological point of view. It is well known that the Septuagint does not hesitate to transliterate the name of *Joshua* as Ἰησοῦς.

ἄρχων, etc. It is, however, of common occurrence enough in ordinary Greek epigraphy; as, for instance, a phrontistes of the Temple of Aphrodite at Denderah in Egypt,* and some more† mentioned along with other functionaries, the *phretarchos*, the *chalcologos*, the *dioiketai*, etc., forming part of the *phretria*. The phrontistes in matters civil was a sort of *curator*, appointed to superintend, inspect and manage certain departments of municipal activity. There were separate ones for games, water-supply, victuals, etc. There were similarly *phrontistai* in matters religious. If the title of phrontistes has not hitherto been met with in Helleno-Jewish epigraphy, I can point to the existence there of the verb *φροντίζειν* used in a way which tends to show that there was a *phrontistes* in the ancient Jewish communities; thus in an inscription from Rome, we hear of an ἀρχισυναγώγος φροντίσας;‡ in one from Ægina, another chief of a synagogue, or *neocorus*, is spoken of as φροντίσας for four years.§ So the title of phrontistes applied to our Ezechias ought not to occasion any surprise. Probably he was appointed to manage certain religious or civil concerns in the Jewish community at Alexandria. We know that this was numerous and flourishing. Flavius Josephus,|| speaking of the general expansion of the Jewish race, that *diaspora* which had disseminated them to nearly every spot in the ancient world, tells us that the Jews were especially numerous in Egypt and Cyrenaica; an extensive quarter had been assigned to them at Alexandria, which formed a kind of separate town, and they were there governed by an ethnarch of their own race who had all the attributes of an independent chief, and bore a special title, that of *Alabarch*, which has never been satisfactorily explained. The Alabarch was assisted by a *gerousia*, a Sanhedrim or senate on a small scale, consisting of seventy members, and modelled after the one at Jerusalem; in every quarter was a "house of prayer," in addition to the great synagogue.

Our Ezechias, in his capacity of *phrontistes*, must certainly have played a part in this powerful Jewish organization at Alexandria. He had wished, like so many of his countrymen who had settled in Egypt, to be brought back to Palestine after his death and buried in the land of his fathers. Another

* Letronne, *Inscriptions gr. d'Egypte*, I, p. 101, No. XII.

† *Corpus inscr. græc.*, Nos. 3612, 4716c, 5785, 5786.

‡ Schurer, *die Gemeindeverfassung*, etc., No. 45.

§ *Corpus inscr. græc.*, No. 9894. The person in question is a certain "Theodoros" (*Jonathan*, or *Nataniah*, *Nathaniel*), under whose supreme direction the synagogue of Ægina had been built and adorned with mosaics (ἐμυσώθη).

|| Flavius Josephus, *Ant. J.*, xiv, 7, 2. Cf. Strabo, Philo, and others.

inscription in the necropolis of Jaffa, which I copied in 1881, mentions two other Jews, also from Alexandria, called Kyrillos and Alexandros. Joppa, the port of Jerusalem, from its proximity to Alexandria, was obviously marked out as the landing-place for these dead from beyond the sea. This explains why nearly all the epitaphs in the necropolis at Jaffa are, as we shall see, those of Jews of foreign, and chiefly Egyptian origin. The more or less barbarous style and characters of the Greek inscriptions, often accompanied with Hebrew words, are just what one would have expected as soon as their origin was proved. The language of the Jews of Alexandria was Greek, but a very low Greek, a sort of dialect that has been called *Hellenistic*, and must have been rather like the Yiddish of the modern Jews. The same was the case at Cæsarea.

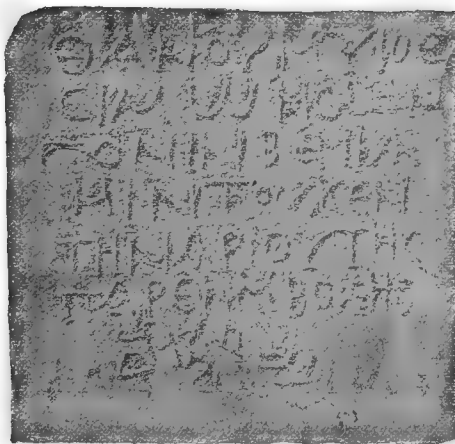
In addition to the religious attraction, which might have determined the Jews of Alexandria to come and sleep their last sleep in the country where they had not been able to live, there were further considerations calculated to attract them thither. The Jews of Alexandria had a reputation for skill in arts and industries. The Talmud tells us that they were often summoned to Jerusalem to execute work in the Temple. This former condition of things must have soon created a stream of re-emigration to Palestine, which continued to make itself felt after the destruction of Jerusalem. During the period of persecution, when the Jews were forbidden even to visit the Holy city, the towns of the coast probably still remained open to them. Among these towns Jaffa, from its position, was obviously marked out to receive these exiles, dead or alive, who wished to return to the native land of their fathers. This series of facts, which I content myself with briefly pointing out, is more than sufficient to explain the Egyptian, and particularly the Alexandrian origin of the Helleno-Jewish epitaphs in the necropolis at Jaffa. These moreover are all later than the Christians era, as the forms of the characters show. I shall presently discuss at greater length this question of date, when dealing with one of these texts that virtually contains a chronological indication.

Now for one last word concerning the customs of these Egyptian Jews. There is a very curious passage in the Talmud about the names borne by two Jews in Egypt, amounting in substance to this: a Reuben and a Simon keep their Hebrew names Reuben and Simon; Reuben is not called *Rufus*, nor Judah *Luliani** (Julianos), nor Joseph *Justus*, nor Benjamin *Alexandros*.

* Among the new tituli collected by me at Jaffa in 1881, there is one very curious one, in which I find in *Greek* this very transformation mentioned in the Talmud, of *Julianus* into *Lulianus*. The epitaph runs thus: Ἡσυχίου Πίναρα καὶ Λουλιανοῦ φροσιτῶν. Beneath is carved

Our epitaphs at Jaffa, as will be seen, do present a considerable number of Hebrew names transliterated without alteration, but with them we also find several of these Greek equivalents, which shows that the statement of the Talmud is only true in a general way.

2. Titulus of white marble: width 0^m·28, height 0^m·27.—Six lines of Greek characters. Below, the Hebrew word שלום *Shalôm*, "peace," flanked by a palm with eight branches. The Hebrew characters are of the square type, and extremely interesting to the historian of Hebrew writing. Especially noticeable are the *waw*, with its hook to the left, furnishing an intermediate between the Phœnician and the square type, and the final *mem*, with its apex which is an organic element of the Phœnician prototype; its long stem, bent at right angles, is not yet united with the upper part of the letter so as to form a closed character.



Θανοῦμ υἱὸς Σιμωνῶνος, ἐγγόνιον Βενιαμὴν, τοῦ κεντηναρίου, τῆς Παρεμβολῆς.

"Thanum, son of Simon, grandson of Benjamin, the centurion, from Parembolē."

Θανοῦμ is the regular transliteration of the Hebrew name *Tanhum*, תנחום, which means "consolation," and has been borne by several rabbis, either in this form or in an Aramaic form, *tanhuma*, תנחומא. The complete suppression of the guttural *heth* is the rule in Greek transliterations of Hebrew words and names. I find the same name transliterated in the same

a small vase with a spout between two palms. Of Isidoros (from?) *Pinara and Loulianos, phrontistai*." Φροσιτών is for φρο(ν)τι(σ)τών. These men were colleagues and co-religionists of the grandfather of our Ezechias. It is by no means proved that φροσιτών is the result of a mistake on the part of the carver—I am rather inclined to think that it is an exact transcription of the Greek word, which had already been thus disfigured in the jargon of the Hellenistic Jews. In fact, the title פרטאטא, פרטאט is found in the Talmud. It evidently comes from the Greek; some have tried to find in it πρώτος, or πρότατος; but is it not more likely to be the altered form φροσιτήρ, φροσιτάς, the existence of which is revealed to us by this Hellenic-Jewish inscription?

way, but with a declinable ending (genitive, *Θανούμου*) in an inscription from Tafha, in Batanæa.*

The Talmud speaks of a rabbi Tanhum of *Jaffa*, but this cannot possibly be our man, as will be seen.

Ἐνγόνιν is for *ἐνγόνιον*, *ἐγγόνιον*, *ἐκγόνιον*, diminutive of *ἐγγονος*, "grandson."† The Greek terminations *ιος*, *eios*, *ιον*, *eion*, were abridged in Syrian pronunciation to *is* and *in*. We have abundant proof of this in Greek inscriptions,‡ and also in the Semitic inscriptions (at Palmyra for instance), which contain words and names transliterated from the Greek. Quite possibly, in a few at least of the place names ending in *în* which are so common in Palestine, this termination might represent an old Greek ending *ion* or *eion*.

The grandfather of Thanum, Benjamin, had the title *κεντηνάριος*, *centenarius*, which after a certain date is equivalent to *centurio*, rendered into Greek at an earlier period by *κεντυρίων* and *ἐκατοντάρχης*. At first sight it suggests itself to understand the phrase thus: *τοῦ κεντηναρίου τῆς παρεμβολῆς*, "centurion of the camp;" and one calls instantly to mind how Paul was conducted to the *παρεμβολῇ* at Jerusalem, and how the title *שר הבירה*,§ "ruler of *Baris*, or of the Temple," still survives, having maintained itself, as a mere figment, of course, up to the third century of our era, and being still borne by one Rabbi Aha and a certain Rabbi Jonathan.|| Even without going thus far, one might easily call to mind the fortified camp (*στρατόπεδον*) which Vespasian had constructed on the acropolis of *Jaffa*.¶ But these comparisons, and others like them that could be made to any extent, would be, I think, deceptive and illusory. My opinion is that there is no connection in grammar between the words *τοῦ κεντηναρίου* and *τῆς παρεμβολῆς*, any more than between the words *φροντιστί* and *Αλεξανδρίας* in the inscription before. I regard *τῆς παρεμβολῆς* as the proper name of a *town*, put in the genitive absolute, as in the other

* Waddington, *Inscript. gr. et lat. de la Syrie*, No. 2169. The personage appears to me not of Jewish but rather of Nabatæan origin. This would prove that the name Tanhum did not exclusively belong to the Hebrew stock of names.

† For the use of this word in Jewish-Greek inscriptions, see No. 9900 of the *Corpus Inscr. Græc.*, an inscription found at Athens, and containing the names of *Jacob* and *Leontios*, *ἐγγονοι* of *Jacob*, of *Cæsarea*. Cf. also Ascoli, *Iscrizioni hebr.*, p. 49: *ἐνγόνιν* = *ἐνγόνιον* (not *ἐνγόνη*, as Ascoli reads).

‡ Here is one example out of a hundred: *λατόμιν* for *λατόμιον*, "quarry," in an inscription from Sidon.

§ Nehemiah ii, 8; vii, 2.

|| Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Pal.*, pp. 48, 49.

¶ Flavius Josephus, *Bell. jud.*, iii, 9, 4.

kindred inscriptions from Jaffa, to show the country that Thanum came from, and not the place where his grandfather Benjamin exercised his functions of centenarius. One should translate it, as I have done, "from Parembolē," and not "of Parembolē."

What was this Parembolē?—a town of Palestine? Such might be our first idea. There actually is, on the other side Jordan, in the land of Gilead, a town called Παρεμβολαί, "the Camps," in the Septuagint and in the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus, which repeats the Biblical narrative. This, however, is merely the Greek translation of the Hebrew name *Mahanaim*. It is open to doubt whether there ever was a town in these parts that really bore this Hellenic name and kept it. Eusebius and St. Jerome would not have omitted to mention it, and the *Onomasticon* passes over in silence this name of Παρεμβολαί under the headings Μαναείμ and *Maanaim*. We find, however, three bishops of Parembolē in Palestine (τῶν Παρεμβολῶν) who have appended their signatures in that style, namely: Peter, to the Acts of the Council of Ephesus in 431; Valens (Οὐάλης), to a letter of John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 518; and another Peter, to the Acts of the Council of the three Palestines held at Jerusalem in 536. We know, from a most curious episode in the life of St. Euthymius, the origin of this bishopric of Parembolē, which was situated on the other side Jordan,* and had been created by the Saint himself on the occasion of his converting a tribe of Saracens. Lequient supposes that what was meant was not a real town, but a camp of nomads without a definite resting place, whence this name *Parembolē*. It is doubtful whether this is the same as Parembolē—Mahanaim. The bishopric, which at the time of its formation was dependent on the Metropolitan of Petra, must have lain more to the south than Mahanaim is likely to have done. I am rather inclined to identify it with a place that figures in the *Notitia dignitatum imperii Romani*, where the "Cohors tertia felix Arabum" was in garrison "in ripa vadi Apharis fluvii, in castris Arnonensibus."†

Certainly the idea of identifying this Παρεμβολαί with the Παρεμβολή of our inscription is most alluring; but I do not think it desirable to linger over

* It was dependent on the Metropolitan of Petra.

† *Oriens Christianus*, III, p. 763, *et seq.* It was actually the chief of the tribe that became its Bishop.

‡ The Arnon, or Wady Môjeb, in Moabitis. The *Parembolē* of further Jordan and the *Castra* of the ford of the Arnon may possibly correspond to the *Camp* (mashrita) of Luhit and of Abarta, alluded to in a large Nabatæan inscription recently discovered at Madeba, in the Moab land.

it. In the first place, the name is not exactly the same, and I attach a certain importance to this discrepancy in number, the first being plural, the latter singular. My own conclusion is that the place alluded to in our inscription is in Egypt, the *Παρεμβολή* which was situated on the left bank of the Nile, between Syene and Taphis, in the direction of the Ethiopian frontier, where the Romans had a military establishment of the first rank. A Roman legion was still in garrison there in the fourth century. The Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries mention it. Meletios speaks of a *Πρεσβύτερος τῆς Παρεμβολῆς*. Note that it is always *Parembole*, singular. It is this *Parembole* in Egypt, and not the more or less problematical *Parembolai* of trans-Jordanic Palestine, that I propose to regard as the native land of our Thanum, he having come from Egypt, as well as all the little band of Jews buried in that part of the necropolis of Joppa whence our tituli proceed.

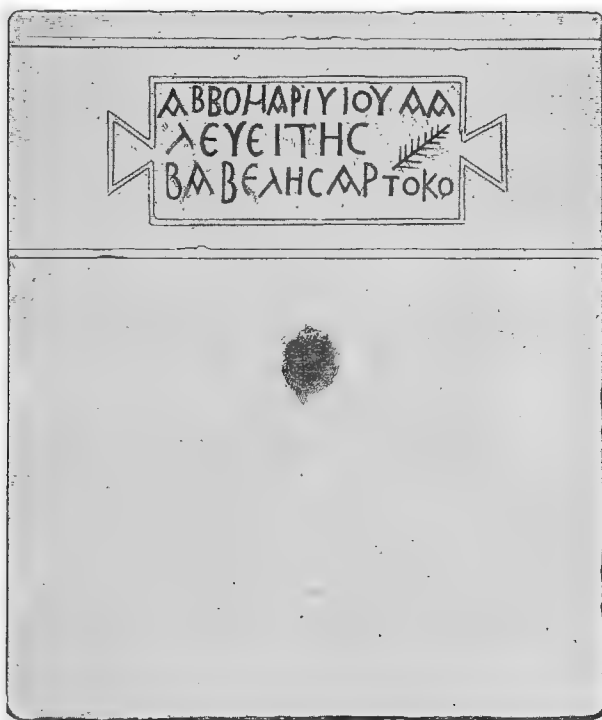
A most interesting question is raised by the title of *centenarius* borne by the grandfather of Thanum, since it would seem to imply the possession of military rank by a Jew. It is met with, in this same form *κεντηνάριος*, in several inscriptions from Syria.* What we want to know is exactly what the status of a *κεντηνάριος* had become at the period to which our epitaph belongs. It must have been comparatively recent, to judge by the shape of the characters, which are certainly a good deal later than the first century. It is probable that the *centenarius* exercised certain civil functions, and that the grade was assimilated to that of the army. He belonged to the *Schola agentium in rebus*, and the *agentes in rebus* were employed *in negotiis publicis exsequendis*. There certainly were several sorts of *centenarii* with quite different functions.† This point of Roman and Byzantine administration is one that has hitherto not been fully cleared up, but I cannot enter on it here. I will merely remark that in the Code of Theodosius II, the Jews and Samaritans are expressly debarred from exercising the functions of *agentes in rebus*, which would seem to show that they had previously been admissible to them. Elsewhere in the same document the access to an army career, *aditus militiæ*, is formally forbidden to Jews. There is, however, this restriction, that all those of them who are *agentes in rebus* shall be left in their places, but for the future the prohibition shall be absolute. We may suppose that the successors of Theodosius had to carry the law into effect. Consequently the grandfather of Thanum, being a

* Waddington, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2405, 2485.

† See the *Thesaurus* of Forcellini, and especially Gothofredus, *Paratellon ad Codic. Theodosianum*.

centenarius, must have lived not much later than 450 A.D.; and thus we obtain a terminus ad quem for the inscription of his grandson, and, generally speaking, for the other inscriptions of the same group at Joppa, which, as far as their palæography is concerned, might be of any date from the fifth to the seventh century.

3. Large Slab.—I include in this group a kindred inscription which was dug up some time later. I copied it and took an impression of it in November, 1874, just before I embarked on my way back to Europe.



Ἀββομαρί υἱοῦ Ἀαλεῦ, τῆς Βαβέλῃς, ἀρτοκό(που).
 "Of Abbomari, son of Aalevi, from Babel, baker."

It is a very large slab of white marble, about 0^m·05 thick, 0^m·80 high, and 0^m·54 broad, found in the Beiyâra of Nikûla Halaby, at a depth of about 6 "cubits." On the upper portion is an inscription of three lines enclosed in a cartouche with triangular auricles, ornamented on the right with a palm. Below the cartouche the slab is pierced with an irregular perforation.

Abbomari is a name of distinctly Jewish character; the Hebræo-Aramaic forms hitherto known are *Abmari*, *Abba Mari*, אב מרי, אבנא מרי, composed of the words *Abba*, "father," and *Mari*, "lord." One of the *princes of the exile*

bore this name, and it was not unusual in the Middle Ages. In the *Account of Benjamin of Tudela*,* I find several Abbamaris, one of whom was steward to Count Raymond at Bourg de St. Gilles. The vocalization *Abbomari* instead of *Abbamari* is interesting, and appears to be due to the change of *o* to *a* which was common in Syria, as is testified by the phonetics of the Syriac dialect and also the spelling of certain words in the Greek inscriptions of Syria. It is confirmed, in so far as relates to the proper name we are treating of, by another inscription belonging to the same Joppa group, which however does not concern me here, as I noted it later on, in 1881. In this another Ἀββομαρῆς appears, on this occasion with the Greek termination.

Ἀαλεὺτ is a curious transliteration of the onomastical appellative *Levi*, in combination with the article הַלֵּוִי, *Hallevi*. Hence comes the celebrated modern name *Halevy*, which means in reality "the Levite."

The town of *Babele* has nothing to do with the famous *Babylon*, in spite of the similarity of the name. The place here meant is the *Egyptian Babylon*, the deceased having doubtless been an Egyptian like the others that have come under our notice. This Babylon is frequently alluded to in ancient authors. It was built on the spot destined later to become the site of ancient Cairo, and the Arab authors speak of it under the name of *Babul* and *Babluk*, which has been preserved as the name of one of the quarters of Cairo. It played an important strategic part at the time of the Mussulman conquest of Egypt. Antoninus the Martyr also saw it, and calls it *Babylonia*. It is marked on the Peutinger map. Before the conquest it was the seat of a bishopric.† Eustathius, Denys Periegetes, Strabo, Ctesias, Ptolemy, Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, and others are acquainted with this Babylon in Egypt, and offer various explanations of its origin. I have collected a large amount of evidence on this question, which I consider of very great historical importance, and will reserve my treatment of it for another place. Suffice it to say that I have arrived at this conclusion: the Egyptian Babylon represents an old centre of Semitic colonisation dating back at least to the Achæmenid period; there was an Aramaic centre whose existence accounts for the unexpected discovery in Egypt of a series of Aramaic monuments, the real date and the character of which I elsewhere

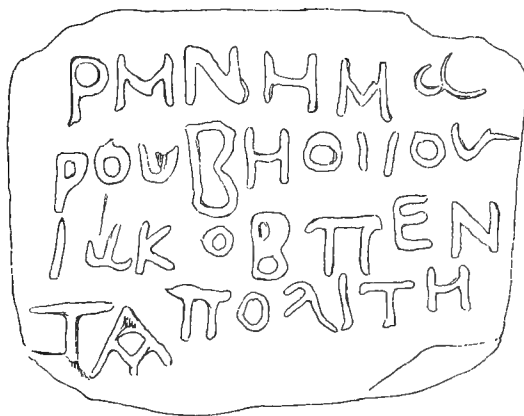
* Asher's edition, I, p. 36; II, p. 14, cf. 56.

† Cf., for instance, in a Coptic fragment recently published (Amelineau, *Journal Asiatique*, 1888, II, p. 372), Apâ Nûna, Bishop of the Castrum of Babylon. In this way one can easily account for the origin of the odd looking name of *Babilone*, *Babiloine*, commonly given by the Crusaders to Cairo; the *Sultan of Babiloine* in their records always denotes the *Sultan of Egypt*.

determined.* This Semitic, properly Aramaic settlement, never dwindled away, even after the ephemeral rule of the Persians, and naturally attracted to itself a considerable portion of the Jews who emigrated to Egypt. Under the Ptolemies this Jewish element kept its ground and even increased, up to the conquest by the Arabs; our Abbomari of Babele was a member of it.

For the rest, he was a humble fellow enough, a simple baker, as is shown by the word *ἀρτοκό*, which is short for *ἀρτοκό(πος)*; another epitaph in the Jaffa necropolis, which I noted in 1881, gives the word in full. Reference is frequently made to this occupation in ancient inscriptions, especially in Egypt.† I have noted a considerable number of examples of this in Greek papyri from Egypt, where it is in an abridged form‡ as here, *ἀρτοκό* and even *ἀρτοκ*. Abbomari, then, pursued the calling of *Nahtom* נחמ, which is frequently mentioned in the Talmud. Considering the manners and customs of the Jews, of which the life of St. Paul affords a typical instance, there was nothing to prevent Abbomari being at the same time a pious man, a rabbi even, who wished to be taken after his death to holy ground for burial. The Talmud mentions a Rabbi Juda who was a baker by trade. Moreover our Greek word *ἀρτοκόπος* is to be found in the language of the Talmud, in the form ארתוקופיון = *ἀρτοκοπέων*, "bakery."§

4. A marble titulus, entire, a very small size (0^m·14 × 0^m·11).



* Clermont-Ganneau, *Origine perse des monuments araméens d'Égypte*. Paris, 1880.

† For instance, an epitaph from Memphis (the No. 129 in the Louvre collection), Ἀπολλώνιος ἀρτοκόπος. These references to humble callings are common in the funerary *tablai* in Egypt: βουκόλος, "herdsman," γναφεύς, "fuller," and often in abbreviated form. Cf. also the Jew Samuel, "worker in silk," σιρηκάριος, in an inscription at Beyrouth (Waddington, No. 1854 c).

‡ *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XVIII, pp. 133, 136, 142, 145. Cf. 296.

§ In the passage of the Midrash, where the name *Bethlehem* is explained by "house of bread."

The characters strongly incline to the cursive; the language is barbarous:

P. Μνήμα 'Ρουβή οἰοῦ 'Ιακόβ, Πενταπολίτη.

"Tomb of Reuben, son of Jacob, the Pentapolite."

'Ρουβή is for 'Ρουβήν, οἰοῦ for υἱοῦ, etc. The isolated P before the word μνήμα is curious. I do not think it ought to be regarded as a *sigle*, still less as a rudimentary chrism, a disguised Christian symbol. It looks as if the carver had begun to inscribe the name *Reuben* at the top of the epitaph, P; then, turning the construction of the sentence, he did not finish it, but immediately carved the word μνήμα, "a tomb." The Pentapolis which was the native country of the Jew has, of course, nothing to do with the Five Cities of the Bible; it is most probably the region of that name in Cyrenaica, a province which, like Egypt, swarmed with Jews.

5. A small titulus of marble, entire, but irregular in form; ο^m·20 X ο^m·11; ο^m·0125 thick. Greek characters carelessly cut and difficult to decipher.

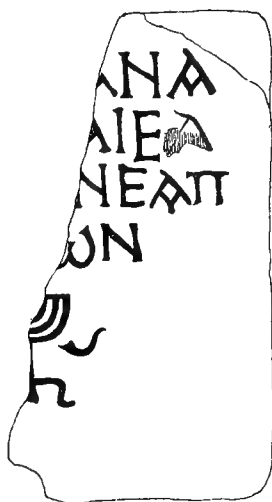


Μνήμα 'Ιούδα Ζαχαὶ, Ψιμιθη (?)

"Tomb of Juda (son of?) Zachai; of Psimithe (?)."

Zachai is an interesting Jewish name; it is the pure Hebrew form, without the Greek ending, of Ζακχαῖος, the name of the tax-collector at Jericho (Luke, xix, 2, 5, 8), and of an officer of Judas Maccabæus. The original form זכאי, which appears in the Bible (Ezra, ii, 9; Nehem. vii, 14, etc.), is thought to be derived from the root זכך, "to be clear" or "pure." In the language of the Talmud Zakkai, זכאי, זכאי, means "just." The Talmud mentions a *Rabbi Zakkai of Alexandria* (ראבבא זכאי); this takes us back to Egypt, as do most of the inmates of this necropolis. The last word is doubtful as to its reading. I suppose it indicates the name of some Egyptian village, the initial *Psi*, which can be read with certainty, being invariably significant of this. Compare the Egyptian place-names *Psinaphthos*, *Psinektabes*, *Psittachemmis*, all made up with the *Egyptian article P*.

6. Fragment of a marble titulus, with more than half the left side gone. Height 0^m.26, thickness 0^m.03. Consists of the ends of four lines of well-cut Greek characters.



. ανα
. αιεα (or λ)
. νεαπ
. ων

Below is the seven-branched candlestick, the right side only remaining, with the horn for holy oil at the side of it. Granting that the candlestick occupies the middle of the original slab, I should propose the following restoration, which just fills up the available space.

Μνημα Μ]ανα
[ήμου κ]αὶ Ἐλ
[. ου] Νεαπ
[ολίτ]ων.

“Tomb of Manaemos (*Menahem*) and of El, the Neapolitans.”

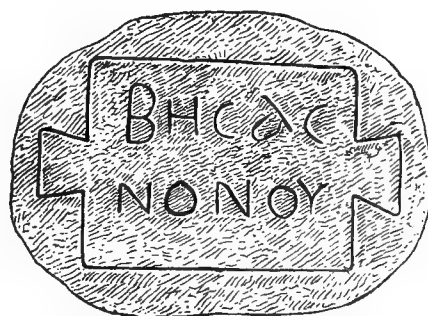
The name of the second personage might be Ἐλεάζαρος or Ἐλάζαρος, or some other name beginning with *El*. The Neapolis that was the home of these two need not necessarily be Sichem in Samaria; considering the Egyptian origin of the greater part of the Jews whose epitaphs I have found at Joppa, I should rather say that the Neapolis in Egypt, or better still in Cyrenaica, is here alluded to.

7. A quite small titulus of marble, cut in a roughly elliptical form.

Two lines, enclosed in a cartouche with auricles, merely marked in outline.

Βήσας Νόνου, “Besas, son of Nonos.” Besas is an Egyptian name.

Nonos is for Nonnos. Nothing in these names points to the Jewish nationality of the deceased. However, in another inscription at Joppa, noted by me in 1881, I have found a certain *Nonna, mother of Levi*, who consequently is a Jewess, which would seem to show that the names Nonnos, Nonos, were in use among the Jews. Despite the absence of any characteristic symbol, I am inclined to think that the titulus of Besas is of Jewish origin like the group to which it belongs.

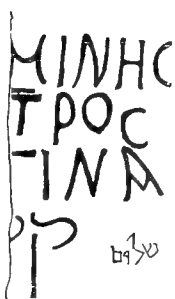


8. A titulus of marble, entire. Height 0^m.30, length 0^m.22, breadth 0^m.05.



Ἄννα Εἰλασίου, "Anna, daughter of Eilasios." Εἰλασίος is a new proper name. The name Anna is indication enough of the Jewish origin of the deceased.

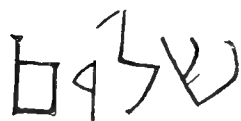
9. A titulus of marble, found in the gardens; it is broken, at least half of the left side being gone. Height 0^m.22, breadth 0^m.135, thickness 0^m.02.



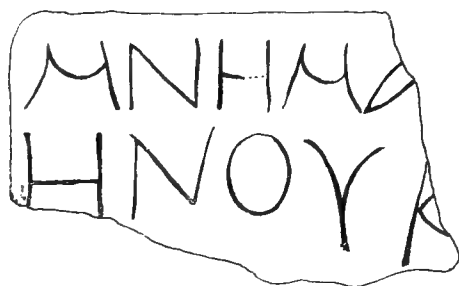
..... μινης
..... τρος
..... τινα (or γινα ?)
..... שלום ק

This seems to be the tomb of a woman: "Tomb of so-and-so, daughter (θυγατρός) of so-and-so." Beneath is the Hebrew word *shalôm*, "peace," in very small square characters. I give an enlargement of this.

It is followed by another Hebrew word in large characters, the first being a *koph* and the second perhaps a *shîn* or a *yod* (?). These forms are interesting for the history of the development of the ancient square Hebrew writing, which gave rise to the character now in use.



10. Fragment of a marble titulus, with an inscription in large characters. The letters are five or six inches high. Thickness 0^m.025.



The beginning of the first two lines is all that is preserved :

Μνῆμα
ηνου κ[αι]
. ?

A small curved mark, cut beneath the omicron, but omitted in the drawing, seems to show that there was a third line at least.

"Tomb of enos, and of ?"

11. M. Vidal, a French merchant established at Jaffa, told me that about three months before he had had offered to him for sale a fragment of stone found in the gardens. It was small and flat, and measured about 0^m·20 by 0^m·20, and had cut on it three (?) lines of Greek characters, the first of which ran thus :

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΚ

From these indications I suppose it must have been the right side of the funerary titulus, broken or cut in two, of the same character as those previously described, and beginning thus : Λουκιανὸς καὶ

Another Jewish Inscription.—To this series of Helleno-Jewish inscriptions, which I have, I may remark, considerably increased in the course of my later visits to Palestine, there should be added, I think, another fragment which from its nature is connected with them, though it does not come from Joppa. There is a quite small piece of marble that I saw in 1871 in the possession of the Rev. W. Bailey, at Jerusalem, who told me that it came from Cæsarea. In its then condition it was not more than four inches long. Some fragments of mortar still adhering to the marble pointed to the fact that the slab had been let into the wall of the sepulchre, like the Jaffa tituli. Here is a reproduction of it from a squeeze that I took at the time. The ends only are left of two Greek lines : [τέ]κνα χίας.



Below and separated from the Greek text by a border of small crossed strokes, are carved the Hebrew characters following :

[שלום על ישראל], “Peace on (Israel):”

I restore the formula in full from the inscription in the catacombs at Rome and Venosa. In front of the Hebrew epitaph there was doubtless the seven-branched candlestick—the upper part of the three branches on the left is still visible. Judging from the position of the candlestick, it seems probable that the epitaph inscribed above it was divided into two registers or columns ; the Greek characters remaining belonged to the left hand column. We know

from the Talmud that Cæsarea, like Alexandria, was an important Jewish centre, where the knowledge of Greek was so widely spread that the Torah was read there in a Greek targum.

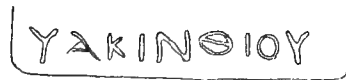
Stamped Amphora-handles.—I finally found the possessor of the amphora-handles with stamps on them, which I mentioned before (p. 3), and which I had not managed to get a sight of when passing through Jaffa in November of the year before. The owner in question was called Nikûla Beirûty. I secured these handles, which were found in a "cave" in the *Saknet Sheikh Ibrâhîm*, to the south of Jaffa. It appears that in the course of digging in the gardens on the hills to the east of the sakneh, ancient sepulchres are often brought to light. There must be hereabouts another burying-ground belonging to Joppa, distinct from the one on the east, and perhaps more ancient. These remains of amphoræ, in fact, belong to a much less late period than the Helleno-Jewish *tituli* of the eastern necropolis, which seem to have been set apart for a special class of persons.

These handles formed part of a large vase, which can be restored, in part at least, in shape and dimensions.

They have every feature of the Rhodian ware: square shape, greyish colour, fine paste. The stamps impressed on them go to confirm this diagnosis.



[Ἐπὶ . . .]ωνος.



Ἑακινθίου.

A name of a magistrate in the genitive case, ending in *ωνος*,* preceded by the preposition *ἐπὶ*, and the name of the Rhodian month Hyakinthios. The indistinct symbol accompanying the characters is elsewhere found as a mark on Rhodian pottery. At Jerusalem, about 1868, I picked up in the valley of the Kedron an amphora handle likewise of Rhodian make,

* Some such name as *Ἐρμῶνος*, *Ζήνωνος* or *Ἰέρωνος*, etc., which are to be found on other stamps on Rhodian pottery.

with the mark Δαλίου (the month Dalios) Πίστου; "emblem, an arrow-



head." It is interesting to note at two spots in Palestine positive indication of the importation of Rhodian pottery.

Various Inscriptions.—Now for a few other inscriptions, which I collected at Jaffa, but which do not belong there.



Profile and Section.



Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

Two objects now in the collection of the Russian archimandrite are said to have come from the ruins of M'khâled, which lies near the coast,

about twenty-four miles to the north of Jaffa. I have my doubts as to the authenticity, not of the objects themselves, but of their origins. It would not surprise me to hear that they came in reality from Cyprus. Later on I saw various antiquities at Jaffa which certainly came from that island. The shape of these two objects, the character of the stone, the appearance of the characters, and also the formulas used in the inscriptions, give me that impression. However this may be, here they are :—

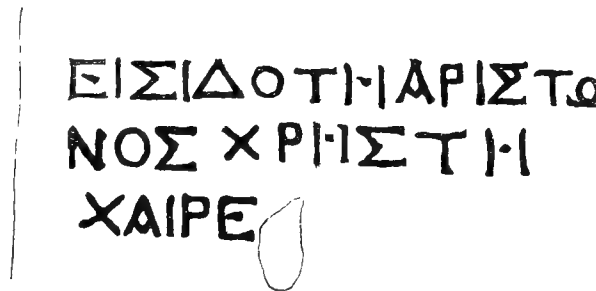
1. A funerary cippus of limestone, cylindrical, and moulded at the top and bottom. Height 0^m.58. On the upper and lower sides (at A and B) is a square hole for fastening. On the drum, in characters of the first century of our era, rather carelessly cut :

Πρωταρχὺς Τιτίου, χρηστῇ, χαῖρε.

“Protarchis, daughter of Titios, blessed one, farewell !”

Protarchis is a new female name ; it is the feminine corresponding to the common man's name *Πρώταρχος*.

2. A large slab of limestone, broken at the bottom, moulded in the upper part, the base a little wider than the top. Width on top 0^m.30, a little lower 0^m.30 ; height 0^m.77 ; thickness 0^m.06.



Characters of the first century A.D.*

Εἰσιδότῃ Ἀρίστωνος, χρηστῇ, χαῖρε.

“Hisidote, daughter of Ariston, blessed one, farewell !”

Above the name of the deceased the funeral cry χαῖρε occurs again, scratched in graffito. ΧΑΙ ΜΕ

Εἰσιδότῃ is for Ἰσιδότῃ, “Gift of Isis.” The purely Greek name Ariston has been borne by several Syrian personages of Semitic extraction. The funereal formula has nothing to mark it as Jewish.

* They are of exactly the same period as those of the *stèle* of the Temple of Herod.

The following inscriptions were similarly collected by me at Jaffa, but they do not belong there.

Roman Inscription.—A large block of marble, in shape a parallelopiped, 0^m·85 by 0^m·25, brought from Cæsarea to Jaffa, and now used as a step in the staircase of the house of the late M. Philibert, French consular agent in that town. It was most probably the base of a statue. The inscription, carved in very fine characters, may be of the period of Nero. It is enclosed within a cartouche with triangular auricles. In the centre of the auricles are seen two small knobs, representing the heads of the nails used in fixing the primitive wooden board of which this type of cartouche is a conventional representation.



Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Italico p(rimi) p(ilo). This is a dedication to Tiberius Claudius Italicus, primipilus of the Roman garrison of Cæsarea. This officer must have been rather an important personage to have such a fine monument erected to him. The primipilus was the chief centurion of the legion and ranked immediately after the tribune. He could even be called upon, in certain cases, to replace the tribune in his command.

Christian Inscription.—A broken piece of a marble column, in a house at Jaffa. From Cæsarea (?). On the shaft the following, in characters roughly and not deeply cut :



Κ(ύρι)ε, Ἰ(ησο)ῦ, Χριστ)ε, β(οήθ)ε(ι) τῷ
δο(ύ)λῳ σὸν.

“ Lord Jesus Christ, help thy servant.”

Copies of Inscriptions.—Jibrâil ‘Akkâwy showed me a rough copy of two Greek inscriptions taken by Martin.* In one of these I deciphered—

ΚΑΒΕΙΝΟCΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΟΥ
ΕΠΛΗΡΩCΕΝ.....

on the other—

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΝΟC
ΕΠΛΗΡΩCΕΝ.

* Probably Martin Eûlos, of Jerusalem.

Here evidently we have two epitaphs, with the mention of the number of years in the life of the deceased (*ἐπλήρωσεν*, "he accomplished, lived;" with letters standing for numbers); the first relating to Sabinos, son of Strategios, the second to Demetrianos. It remains doubtful whether these two inscriptions belong to Jaffa.

Slab from the tomb of a Bishop of the Crusaders.—While exploring the gardens round Jaffa to find the exact position of the ancient burying-ground, I



penetrated as far as the wely of Sheikh Murâd, which lies on the extreme edge of the gardens, in the north-east corner, about 2500 m. from the town. The Sanctuary is guarded by an old Mussulman, who told me he had found close to the Kubbeh a large inscription and bas-relief. The object had been removed by someone whose name he did not know. Finally, after much searching, I discovered that this someone was a converted Jew, and found the

stone in question at his house. Afterwards, in 1881, I again saw the original in the possession of Baron Ustinoff, who had acquired it meanwhile from its possessor.

This important fragment, for such it is, consists of a slab of veined white marble, measuring at the present time 0^m·70 by 0^m·55, and only 0^m·05 in thickness. Even this fragment is broken into two portions, which fit one another exactly.

Here we see, carved in outline, a full face representation of a man with shorn beard, with a mitre on his head, and holding in his left hand the episcopal crozier. It is hard to say, *à priori*, whether this is a bishop or an abbot with crozier and mitre, the rule as to the position of the crozier on the right or left side being far from absolute in the Middle Ages. The head and shoulders are surrounded with a trilobated arcade resting on a small column with a capital. In the right portion of the arcade there is represented a winged angel, with a nimbus, carrying incense, which he wafts round the head of the deceased. This bit is wonderfully life-like. The whole of the drawing is remarkably bold and decided, and recalls at first sight the 13th century style. Evidently we have here the remains of one of those flat tombs, sunk to ground level, that were so numerous at this period. I am much inclined to think that the slab was not only carved, but inlaid, as the grooves of the letters have vertical sides, and were probably destined to be filled with a hard coloured paste. One can further notice some deep holes on the mitre and the crozier, where enamel and coloured glass were let in, to imitate precious stones. This slab must have represented the deceased at full length, but all that is left of it is the left half of the head as far as the place where the shoulders spring from. The primitive slab must have been divided into five or six pieces; I shall endeavour presently to determine the date when this occurred.

All round the figure of the deceased there ran a Latin inscription in mediæval letters, forming a kind of border. This it is possible to restore in part. It commenced apparently at the left hand top corner of the slab, then turning downwards it passed along the right side, the long way of the stone, and continued along the other two sides till it ended where it started from.

The following is my reading, the parts that can be restored with certainty being enclosed in brackets :—

[✠ *Anno d(omi)ni millesim]o ducentesimo, qui(n)quagesimo octavo, in festo sanctorum (O . . . or C, perhaps M ?).*

“✠ In the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and fifty-eight, in the day of the feast of the saints . . . ?”

The day mentioned may be, according as the last letter, which is partly obliterated, is read *O* or *C*, either the feast of *All Saints* (*Sanctorum Omnium*), that is to say November 1, or else that of Saints *Cosme and Damian*, that is to say September 27. The date of the year is beyond doubt, it is 1258. What high functionary of the Church can this have been? A bishop, or an abbot with crozier and mitre? If a bishop, was he Bishop of Jaffa, and was there a bishopric of Jaffa at the time of the Crusades? Does the stone belong to Jaffa itself,* or was it, as so often happens, transported from some other place on the coast? I have elsewhere† entered into a detailed discussion of these different points. They are difficult to settle with precision, and I am not concerned to recur to them now—it would take me too far—but some day perhaps I will. There is however one peculiarity that I cannot refrain from mentioning, the stone is opisthographic. The back has subsequently been covered with an Arabic inscription, which I will merely give here in translation:—‡

“In the name of the forgiving and merciful God.—Of a certainty, he builds (or restores) the mosques of God, who believes in God, and in the day of resurrection, who prays, who gives alms, and fears God only; it may be that there will be among those that follow the right road (Koran, *surat* IX, verse 18).—The building of this blessed mosque (*mesjed*) was ordered by the humble Emîr and poor before God most High, Jemâl ed Dîn . . . son of Ishâk, on whom may God have mercy. In the year seven hundred and thirty-six.”

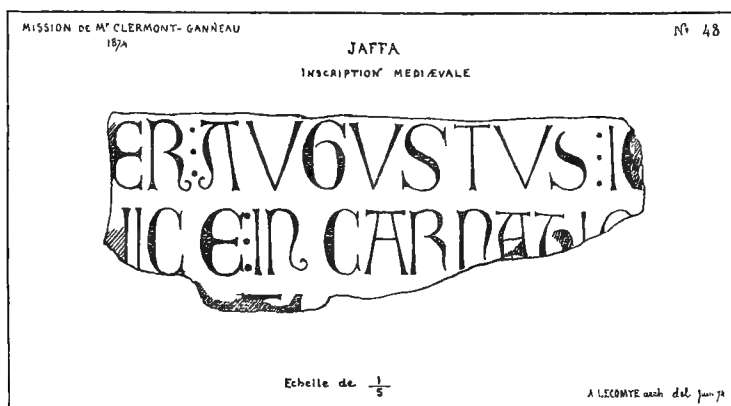
This Arabic inscriptions is arranged in such a way on the reverse of the fragment of gravestone, as to prove that the original slab was already divided into five or six pieces in the year 736 of the Hegira, answering to the year 1335–1336 of our era. It was about this date that a piece of the slab, in shape nearly square, was cut away and the Arabic inscription engraved on the back. It is most annoying that we have not the full name of the Emîr Jemâl ed Dîn, for this would enable us the more easily to find mention of him in Arab writers. Then it would appear if he was Emîr of Jaffa or of some other town on the coast, in which latter case Jaffa would not have been the first home of the stone of the Crusaders, and in this roundabout fashion we might perhaps succeed in establishing the identity of the deceased, who was contemporary with the Crusade of St. Louis.

* As far as history is concerned, there is no reason why not, as Jaffa only fell finally into the hands of the Mussulmans ten years after the date of our inscription, that is to say in 1268.

† Clermont-Ganneau, *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*. Paris, 1876.

‡ The Arabic transcription is given in the memoir quoted above.

Crusading Inscriptions.—Here is yet another mediæval inscription found at Jaffa. It is a fragment of a marble block, and was used to cover a sewer in one of the streets of Jaffa. (0^m·77 by 0^m·27, thickness 0^m·15.) The original was acquired by the Russian archimandrite. The characters are of the 12th or 13th century, and splendidly cut.



All that is left consists of two imperfect lines and the remains of a third. The upper line, to judge from a fragment of border, must have been the very first of this monumental inscription.

. [? semp]er Augustus I[mperator]
 [anno domin]ice incarnati[onis].
 ti ?

The second line doubtless contained the date, reckoned, as the custom of the Crusaders was, from the Incarnation of Christ.

The restoration of the first line was suggested to me by M. Schlumberger. This essentially Roman formula is found on medals of the Emperor Frederick II: *Fredericus Romanorum imperator semper Augustus*. It may accordingly be supposed that our inscription, which is certainly not funerary, but must relate to the construction or dedication of some great building, originates from the Emperor Frederick, who passed several months at Jaffa between 1228 and 1229. Yet the block may have been brought from Acre or Cæsarea. In any case, not only did Frederick stay at Jaffa long enough to make it possible for him to have had works carried out, but that town was one of the places which he induced the Mussulmans to cede to him after the "Evil Peace." In 1229 or 1230 the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had consecrated the Emperor Frederick King of Jerusalem, had built two towers at

Jaffa.* If this fragment of inscription is really to be attributed to Frederick, I would like better to restore the first line as follows, in exact conformity with the imperial formula :

[*Fredericus, Romanorum imperator semp[er] Augustus, I[erusalem rex]*], etc. . .

In fact, on examining my squeeze closely, the carved stroke following the I at the end of the first line looks to me like the remains of an **€** rather than an **Q** *m*, or an **O**.

Alleged Inscription.—I was told of another fragment of an inscription built into the wall of the town, and from the description given me, I suspect it also to be mediæval. Unluckily, however, I could not manage to test the truth of this statement. It may perhaps be a fragment that I found in 1881, referring to the King of England.

Miscellaneous Antiquities.—While ransacking the place right and left for antiquities, I found at the house of a Mussulman, one Hadji Mohammed Abu Kaûd, who conveys stones from the ruins of Cæsarea by sea to use for building in Jaffa, a fragment of a marble statue brought from the first-named town. It is a life-size statue of a woman, unfortunately much mutilated.



Side view.

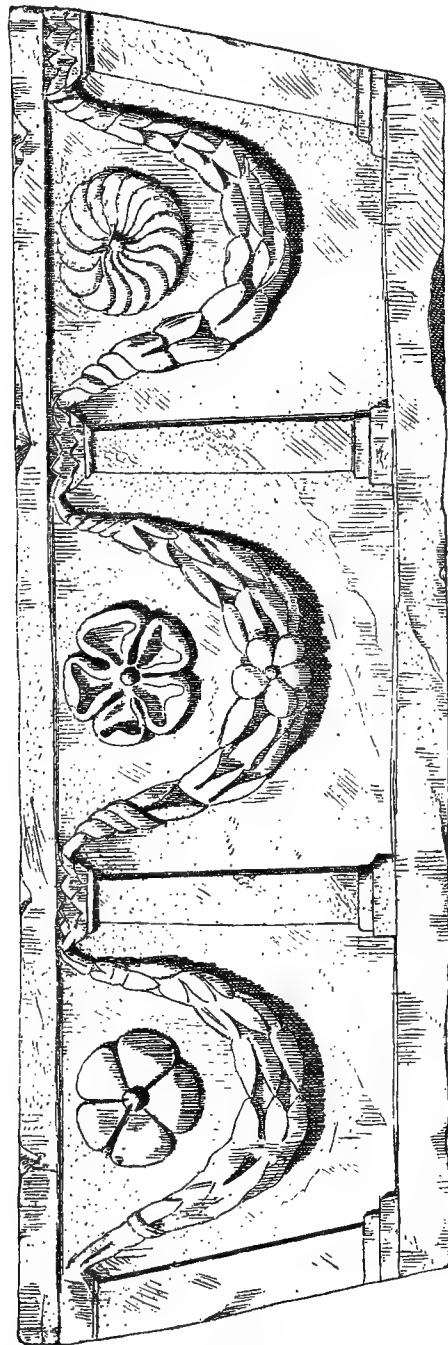


View from behind.

The head and the whole of the lower part of the body are wanting. The woman was draped in a peplum girt round the waist, and fastened by a fibula on the right shoulder, which is left bare. The carving is tolerably good Græco-Roman work.

* Philip of Novara, *Gestes des Chiprois*, p. 77.—In 1227 Frederick had had Jaffa "closed" (*Annales de Terre Sainte*).

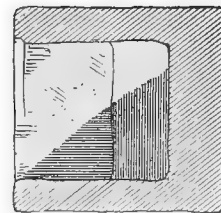
I bought the fragment for a trifle, in order to save it from utter destruction, for it was intended to be put in a lime-kiln or hidden away in some mass of masonry.



Elevation. Scale $\frac{1}{16}$.



Longitudinal Section. Scale $\frac{1}{32}$.



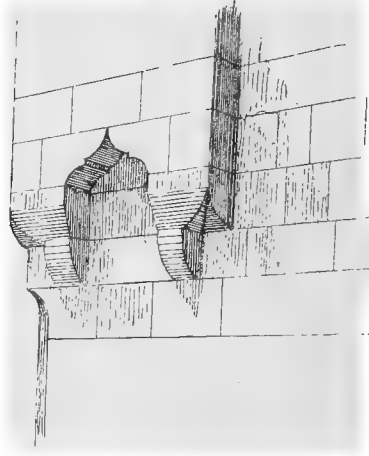
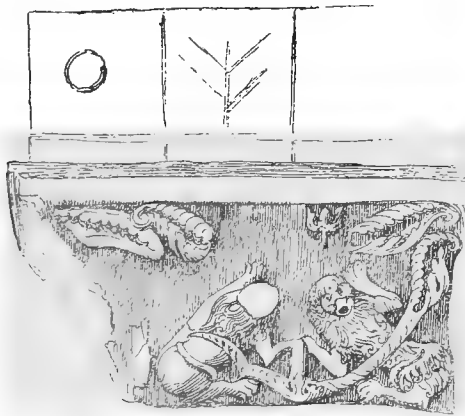
Transverse Section.

Ancient Sarcophagus.—We noticed in an Arab *sebîl* (fountain) on the

edge of the road to Jerusalem, on the right just before you get to Jaffa, a fine ancient sarcophagus used as a trough. This is the fate that commonly befalls sarcophagi; the Arabs make in this way what they call *mekër* (مكر) or *rân* (ران).* The front side is ornamented with festoons hanging on small columns, and surmounted by three flowers or ornamented disks of different patterns. Inside on the left the bottom is raised so as to form a *dormitorium* for the head of the deceased. This detail would of itself suffice to show the original purpose of this fine relic of antiquity.

Ancient base.—In a garden situated just a little to the east of the town, and belonging to the Greek convent, I saw a fine, large marble base, rectangular, with moulding at top and bottom, but no inscription. It was dug up in the garden itself, and at the same time a quantity of marble slabs, also devoid of inscriptions, was discovered.

Mediæval Sculpture.—Passing through the streets of Jaffa we noticed a piece of carving built into the wall of a house. The subject represented was original in idea, and should doubtless be referred to the time of the Crusades,



being two monkeys, one of them tied up by the middle, gambolling over what appear to be shells of some sort. The stone is a piece of a corner frieze.

The Bassa.—During the heavy winter rains, ponds of considerable extent are formed in the garden to the east of Jaffa. The largest of these marshy ponds, almost a small lake, lies between the town and the Saknet Abu K'bîr. It goes by the name of *Bassa* بصة, which is used in other parts of Syria for

* *Mekër* probably comes from the root *makar*, which means among other things "to water a field." The derivation of the word *rân* is extremely interesting, it being merely the old Hebrew word *arôn*, ארון, "ark, chest, sarcophagus," with the initial *aleph* removed by the usual apocope.

similar ponds. On seeking the signification of this word in Arabic, the very unsatisfactory one of "red-hot or burning coal" is all that can be found; but if, on the other hand, the Hebrew language be referred to, it will appear immediately that the word is one of the many old words that have survived in the speech of the natives of Syria. In fact, the very word, *בִּצְה* *bissah*, is found in the Bible, meaning a "lake" or "marsh." "Can the rush grow up in a place that is not marshy?" * *בְּלֹא בִצְה*, says Job (viii, 11). Further on (xl, 21) he describes to us the monster Behemoth resting "in the covert of the reed and fens," *בְּסִתְרֵי קִנֵּה וּבִצְה*. The same word occurs again in Ezekiel (xlvii, 11), in the form *בִּצְחַת*. It has been preserved in the language of the Talmud. Commentators and lexicographers (*cf.* Gesenius and Fürst) derive this word from a hypothetical root *בִּצַּץ*, to which, relying on the Arabic *بَضَّ* *badhdha*, they ascribe the meaning "paulatim fluxit et emanavit aqua." This supposition, it appears to me, is erroneous. Knowing as we now do that the word *bassa* exists in Arabic with the same meaning as in Hebrew, we cannot connect this word with the Arabic root *badhdha*. On the contrary, I am of opinion that these words, both the Hebrew and Arabic, which mean "pond," may be adequately explained by the Arabic root *bassa*, taking it in its ordinary acceptation, to "shine, gleam, sparkle." The connection in meaning evidently is the "sparkling" of a large sheet of water in the sunshine. This is precisely the idea which led to this word being used to mean a "burning or red-hot coal." We might pursue these comparisons further, and show that the word *'aîn*, which like *bassa* is common to the Hebrew and Arabic, and possesses in each language the two not less widely separated meanings of "spring" and "eye," has in its turn borrowed these from one and the same primitive idea. In any case, as we have seen, the *Bassa* of Jaffa furnishes us with a small lesson in practical and topographical exegesis which is by no means without its value.

Sundries.—I append some items of information gathered at Jaffa from the mouths of various inhabitants:—

At Neby Rûbîn, in the *mahjara* worked as a quarry, above *Halazôn*, there is "a stone with writing on it, and a head of a small statue of a man;"

At Mejdél Yâbâ there is an ancient inscription in the house of Mohammed es Sâdek;

* "Without mire," in note, Authorised Version.

At Sâferiyeh an ancient burial cave* has been recently found and opened ;

At Selemeh there are sarcophagi and inscriptions ;

At el Midieh there really is an inscription, but not at the Khûrbeh. It is quite near the village, by the side of a wely situated towards the north, on the door of an ancient sepulchre (?).

Selemeh.—On visiting for the second time the village of Selemeh, which we had passed through on our way to Joppa, and which is quite near that town, I noted nothing of any great interest, despite the glowing accounts I had heard of it. There is a wely taking its name from the place, and called *Sheikh Selemeh* (pronounce *Sălēmēh*, as a dactyl). *Khûrbet Jalûs*, a few minutes to the east, is situated on a low hill, from which quantities of ancient hewn stones and fragments of marble are got. We even saw there a capital, which would seem to show that some building of importance existed there. There are no inscriptions, but, however, it is a spot to be explored at some future time.

FROM JAFFA TO YEBNÂ.

We left Jaffa on Monday, June 15th. My plan was to make southwards as far as Ascalon, and from there to fall back on Jerusalem, crossing the region that may be called Samson's country.

Bîr edh Dhabē.—We started at 8.35 A.M. from our encampment, where for four days we had had a curious band of *N'war*, or Arab gipsies, as "next door" neighbours. We kept along the sea-shore, and at 9.55 reached the well of *Bîr edh Dhabē*, "the Hyena's Well," which lies actually on the beach.

A Sea Serpent.—From here we kept steadily southwards, making for the mouth of the Nahr Rûbîn, which we reached at noon. On our way we saw a small snake of no great thickness and of a greyish-yellow colour, diverting itself in a singular fashion. It was wriggling on the sand, with its head pointed seawards, and kept dipping itself into the small waves as they broke on the beach, looking for all the world as if it were taking a sea-bath, or was the creature engaged in catching its prey? So absorbed was it in these evolutions that it let us approach without moving, and not until it was almost beneath the horses' hoofs did it rear itself with a hiss, its eyes gleaming, to attack us. A blow from a kurbash cut short the reptile's aquatic

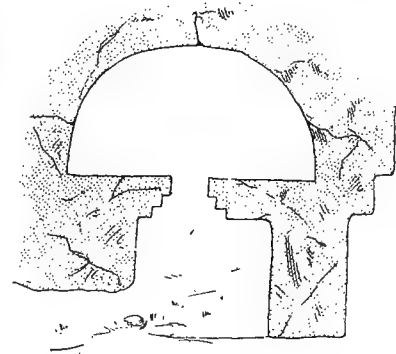
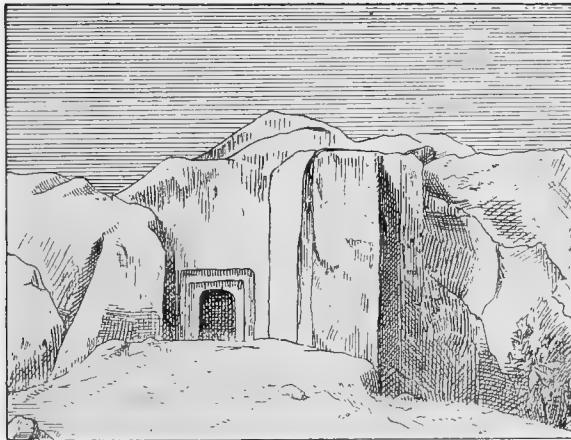
* I was able to test the truth of this statement in 1881. What is really there is a large sarcophagus with a cover, exactly like the one we noted at Neby Danian (see further on).

gambols. I can give no further indication of its species, and much regret that I did not bring away the body. I wish to direct the attention of naturalists to these facts, which may be unfamiliar to them.

'Ain ed Dekâkîn.—Just after fording the wide estuary of the Rûbîn by means of the bar that it forms as it falls into the sea, we found at the foot of the rocky cliff a spring of fresh water welling up from several holes in the sand of the beach, at about eleven yards from the sea. It is called *'Ain ed Dekâkîn*, "the spring of the arch-works," on account of the ancient tombs hewn in the neighbouring cliff.

The fellahîn, it should be said, give the name of *Dekâkîn*, the plural form of *Dukkân*, to the ancient tombs, on account of the loculi, whether *arcosolia* or *kôkîm*, which open into a sort of bench or platform running round the burial-chamber. They have thus preserved the primitive meaning of the word, which in the Arabic of the towns means nothing but "shop." This latter signification is derived from the conformation of Oriental shops, which consist of an arch with a bench beneath it. This sense of the word is quite ancient; it is the *dukan*, *dukana*, or *dakkon* (דוכן, דוכנא, דוכן) of the Talmud.

Quite near the spring, and a little to the south, there are, in fact, several tombs hewn out in the side of the low cliff, some accessible, others half buried in soil. Many others must be hidden under the sand. In past times there

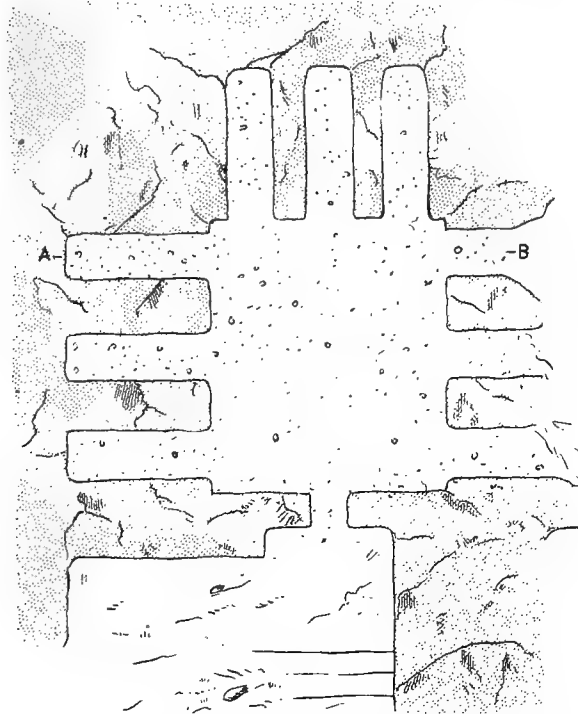


PLAN AND VIEW OF TOMB NEAR NAHR RÛBÎN. Scale 100.

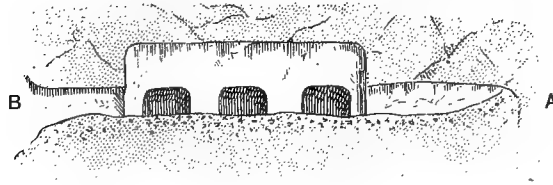
was quite a little necropolis there, extending to *Khûrbet ed Dabbeh*. Here are some specimens of these tombs, which are hewn with great care,* one with a

* In 1881 I collected rather a large quantity of objects that had formed part of the contents of several tombs in the necropolis of Neby Rûbîn. (See my *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie*, pp. 68-74.)

small semicircular chamber, the other with a square chamber, in three walls of which kôkim are hollowed out, three on each available wall.



PLAN AND SECTION OF TOMB NEAR NAHR RÛBÎN. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.



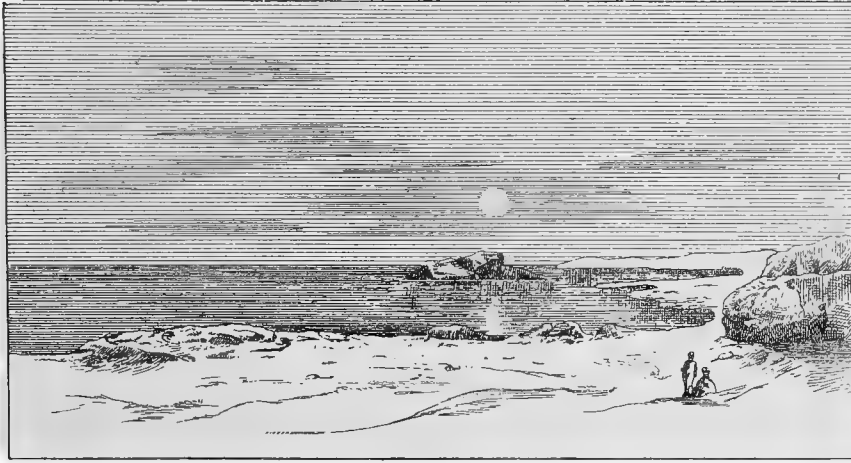
Section on A B.

The sea-shore forms at this place a small creek, where the ground rises in successive terraces like an amphitheatre. A huge pile of rocks is visible in the sea, that once served apparently for the mole of a harbour.

Ed Dabbeh.—The ruins are most conspicuous towards the south. In the direction of the promontory there are remains of an enclosure-wall, formed of stones of small size solidly cemented together. A little higher up, to the east, is a small rectangular birkeh of masonry, and a little aqueduct or canal, with pipes of terra-cotta, which starts from one corner of it, and after a course of a few yards opens on to a sort of square platform paved with flags.

A prodigious quantity of fragments of pottery, of marble slabs, columns, glass, mosaic-cubes, etc., lie scattered over the sand-heaps. One small tell in

particular is literally covered with them. The layer of sand is quite superficial, being not more than an inch or an inch and a half thick ; below it comes the



VIEW NEAR NEBY RÛBÎN.

black soil, also containing potsherds. In the course of turning over the rubbish, we came across a small piece of a terra-cotta vase, having scratched upon it, in Greek characters of the Christian period, the name of Athanasios,



Half the original size.



GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM KH. DABBÈ.

Ἀθανάσις, instead of Ἀθανάσιος, by virtue of the before-mentioned Syrian pronunciation of the finals, which converts *ios* and *ion* into *is* and *in*.

The promontory itself is called *ed Dabbeh*, the adjacent ruin, *Khûrbet ed Dabbeh*, and also *Ta'tûra* (particularly on the side fronting the spring of 'Ain ed Dekâkin). There seems to have been here a town with its burying-ground, and a little harbour defended by the belt of rocks which rise out of the sea some distance out, and a small sea fort, still called by the Arabs *Kal'at ed Dabbeh*, commanding the coast. From this there is a clear view of Jaffa to the north, and of Neby Yûnes to the south towards Esdûd ; and signals could be easily exchanged between the three points. The ruins are worked by the Arabs for building material, and the rocks forming the cliffs by the quarrymen. The latter form the quarry called *Mahjarat Rûbîn*. This spot might be worth excavating. It represents beyond doubt, as has been admitted long

since, the port of Jamneia, or rather the Jamneia on the sea coast mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, which formed a separate town, and played an important part in the time of the Maccabees.

Neby Rûbîn.—From here we deviated somewhat in a north-east direction as far as the wely of Neby Rûbîn. The place was utterly deserted at the time, and the wely shut, but it is the object of extraordinary veneration, and every year a great festival is held there, to which the Mussulmans crowd from several leagues round.* This most popular pilgrimage is doubtless connected with an ancient tradition relating to some old Semitic divinity under the guise of Rûbîn, which name to a Mussulman means Reuben, the son of Jacob. This is true in the case of the no less popular pilgrimage made every year to the *Haram* of 'Aly ben Ā'leim, at *Arsûf*, which, as I have elsewhere shown, is simply the sanctuary of the Phœnician god *Reseph*, who gave his name to the town of *Arsûf*.

What divinity is hidden from us beneath the mysterious form of Rûbîn? In answering this query, it has to be borne in mind, before all things, that the name *Rûbîn* is that of the river, the *Nahr Rûbîn*, near the mouth of which is situated the sanctuary of the homonymous, and probably eponymous neby.

There is nothing in the Bible, so far as can be seen, which appears to relate to this river, important though it was in the hydrographic system of Judæa. By means of considerations which it would take too long to set forth here, I have arrived at the conclusion that the river Rûbîn is actually mentioned in the Bible, but in such a way that it was, I admit, hard work to find it.

The end of the north border of the territory of Judah, coming over from Ekron way, crossed the "mountain of Baalah" before terminating at Yabneel and the Mediterranean.† All search made on the spot for this "mountain" has been vain, and naturally enough. For a long time past the border described by Joshua has left the mountainous region to pass through the lower lying region of the Shephelah and even the plain itself. Between Ekron and Yabneel ('Āker and Yebnâ) there is nothing but mounds of the most insignificant size, utterly unworthy of the name of mountain. I am persuaded that the primitive Hebrew text read not: *har hab-Baalah* הר הבעלה, "the

* At a later period, in 1881, it was my good fortune to be present at these festivities, and to observe the very curious ceremonies connected with them. Mujîr ed Dîn calls this annual festival a *mawsem*, and informs us that the sanctuary was built by Sheikh Chehâb ed Dîn, son of Arslân (*Bulak Text*, p. 420). He writes the name Rûbîn, Rûbîl.

† Joshua xv, 11.

mountain of Balaah," but [na]har hab-Baalak, [נַהַר הַבְּעֵלָה], "the river of Balaah." This confusion of *nahar*, "river," with *har*, "mountain," is a perfectly natural copyist's error, produced merely by dropping the initial *n*. This is just what has occurred, for instance, in Arabic, in the case of the name of the river هَرْمَاس *Harmâs*,* the ancient Mygdonius, which is a wrong reading in Assemani for *Nahar Mâs*, the river of the mountain of Masion (Μάσιον), above Nisibis.† The arm of the Euphrates which was deflected by Nebuchadnezzar, and is called in Ammianus Marcellinus by its real name, *Naarmalcha* "quod 'amnis regum' interpretatur," becomes in Pliny (VI, 26), *Armalchar*, "quod significat regium flumen," and in Eusebius‡ it is woefully mutilated into Ἀρμακάλην Ποταμόν. These are conclusive instances of the possible disappearance of the initial *n* from the word *nahar* alike on Semitic as on Greek and Roman ground.

Accordingly it is not a "mountain," but a "river" of Baal that we must look for between Ekron and Jabneel. The old god of Canaan, Baal, who gave it his name, has suffered the usual change; local tradition, faithful to his memory, I may add, to his cult, has transformed him into Reuben, son of Jacob. Precisely under the same circumstances the river *Adonis*, to the north of Beyrout, has been converted by the Arabs into *Nahr Ibrâhîm*, "river of Abraham." In this case Abraham takes the place of the Phœnician god Adonis§ for exactly the same reasons as Reuben in the present instance takes the place of the god Baal. It is a matter of common knowledge that rivers as well as mountains among the Semites were personified into divinities. I could cite case after case of this even on the coast of Syria, but will confine myself to a single one, which has the further advantage of proving at the same time that rivers were in existence called after Baal

* By a curious coincidence we happen to have in the neighbourhood of Nahr Rûbîn, to the north of Zernûka and quite near it, a ruin of the same name, *Khûrbet Harmâs*.

† Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Gesellsch.*, XXXIII, p. 328.

‡ *Prepar. Evangel.*, IX, 41.

§ To corroborate this substitution of the patriarch *Abraham* for *Adonis*, which is quite local and absolutely certain, I will venture to point out a rather curious fact, which tends to show that the identity holds good all along the line. Aelian (*Nat. An.*, 9, 36) tells us of a certain fish bearing the name of the Phœnician god (Ἀδωνίς, *Etymol. mag.*, Ἀδωνίς). Now all along the coast of Phœnicia there is found a fish of some rarity and held in great esteem, a kind of red mullet, I think, but I cannot state its species exactly, though I have eaten it several times. This fish is called *Sultân Ibrâhîm*, from which name, taking as our basis the conversion of river *Adonis* into *Nahr Ibrâhîm*, we get exactly the fish *Adonis*, with the addition of a reminder of the proper meaning of *Adon* ("Lord, master") in the word *Sultân*.

This is the famous *Belus* at Acre, with its much-venerated Memnonium; this Galilæan river *Baal* has been transformed by the Arabs into the river of *No'mân*. This latter again is a mythical personage with a very curious story of his own, but I cannot go into it here.

More fortunate than his namesake of the north, Baal has here preserved his Memnonium, and even his cult, in the shape of the wely of Neby Rûbîn and the great annual feast that takes place there.

And now we have to consider why local tradition selected Reuben from among so many popular Biblical characters as a fit inheritor of the old Baal of Phœnicia, when his connection with this part of the country is nil. There was Abraham equally available as in the case of the river Adonis, or No'mân, as in the case of the river Belus. Why did the choice fall rather on Reuben? It may be—I make the suggestion with all due reserve—it may be that it resulted from the alliterative likeness to the name of *Jabneel*, which became in Arabic *Yebnâ* (يبني), and in early times *Ubnâ* (ابني). The Nahr Rûbîn is, hydrographically speaking, the “river of Yebnâ.” The usual practice among the Arabs of Palestine is to give to rivers the name of the chief town situated near their mouths.

Accordingly either they or the previous inhabitants must have said, at one time or another, *Nahr Ubnâ*, “the river of Ubnâ,” and *Nahr Ubnâ* in popular pronunciation would naturally give rise to the form *Nahr Rubnâ*, where the final *r* of the word *nahr* looked as if it belonged also to the beginning of the name *Ubnâ*. This corrupt form *Rubnâ*, I take it, gave rise to the *Reuben* and *Rûbîn* of native tradition. In this connection I may remind the reader that Stephen of Byzantium speaks of a certain mythical *Jamnos* as having given his name to *Jamnia*, the ancient Jabneel. In reality the reverse was probably the case; the name of the town was the parent stock that produced the name of the eponymous hero whose cult lies concealed beneath the devotion of the Mussulmans to Rûbîn, the inheritor of that Baal in whom the river was personified.

From Neby Rûbîn we went down again to Yebnâ, where we were to pass the night.

Tell es Sultân.—As we followed the southern bank of the river, we passed a bridge called *Jisr Rûbîn*, near which I noticed a tell of regular shape, called *Tell es Sultân*, which seems at one time to have been the site of a fortified camp.

Neby Kandeh.—On the other bank, towards the south-east, we perceived the well-known village of el K'beibeh, but were not able to visit it. It

contains a sanctuary dedicated to a certain *Neby Kandeḥ* (*Kundeḥ*), who is accounted a son of Jacob and brother of Rûbin. My guide, however, assured me that this neby was not a man but a female sheikh, called *Sheîkha Gandeḥ*. I have my doubts as to his accuracy about the sex of the person in question, who is commonly supposed to have been a man. Can there be, by chance, a female personage associated with the male, as is often the case in the tradition of the fellahîn? This would have to be investigated on the spot; but a point worth preserving is the pronunciation *Gandeḥ*, which I particularly noted in my note-book. It implies an original form *قندة*, *Kandeḥ*, with the emphatic *kâf*, and not *كندة* or *كندا** with the soft *kâf*. If the form *Kandeḥ*, with the *kâf* corresponding to the Hebrew *koph*, were definitely established, one would be tempted to find in this name a reminiscence of the undiscoverable town of *Makkedah*, which must have been hereabouts. *Kandeḥ* may easily, considering the common phonetics of fellâh speech, be an inversion for *Nakdeḥ*, and *Nakdeḥ* (*نكدة*) might be connected with *Makkedah* (*מקדה*), either directly, by change of *m* to *n* (though this mostly takes place at the end and not at the beginning of words,† or what is perhaps better, indirectly, the Hebrew *Makkedah* being for *Mankedah* (*מנקדה*), and a derivative from the root *nakad*.

YEBNÂ.

At Yebnâ we pitched our tent near the wely of Abu Horeîra. Inside this we noticed numerous fragments of marble, several stones with the



mediæval tool-marking, and two marble columns surmounted by their capitals. The outside of the building is rather a picturesque sight, with its *lewân* of three arches, its cupolas and its courtyard planted with fine trees.

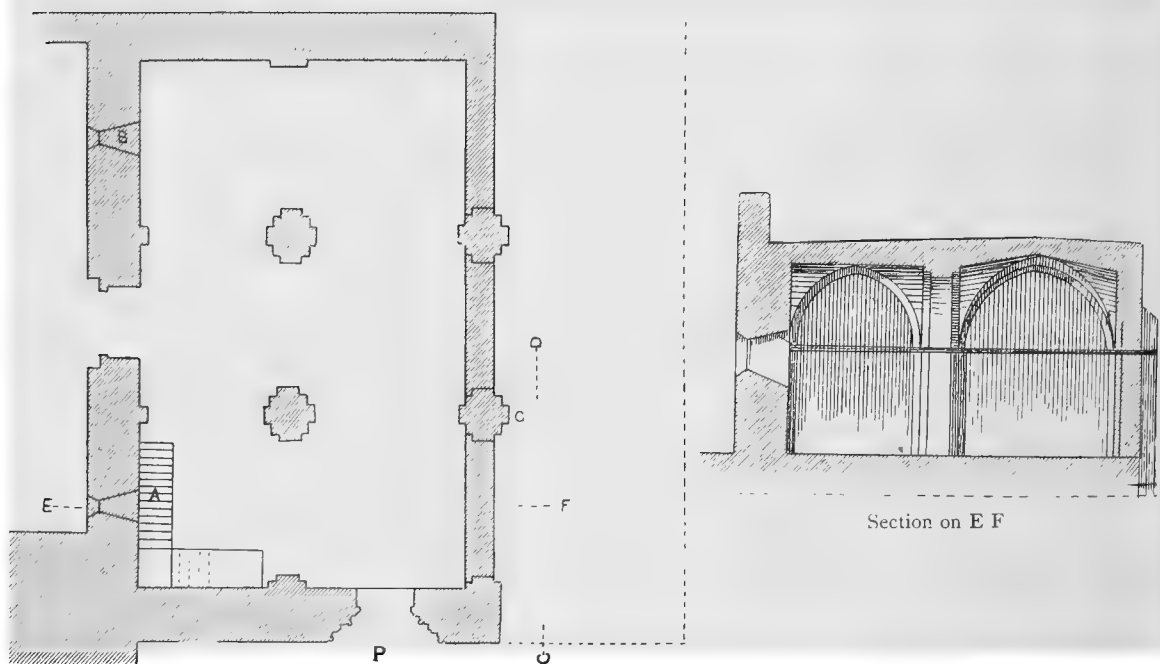
* This is the spelling of the *Name Lists*, where the word is transliterated *Kunda*.

† On this hypothesis we should have to admit that the change from the Hebrew *m* to the Arabic *n* took place while the name was actually undergoing the process of transformation, *Kamdeḥ*; it is the contact with the dental *d* that would turn the *m* into an *n*.

The consecration of the Sanctuary to the famous Abu Horeira, "the father of the little she cat," the companion of Mohammed, though it can be and has been disputed, and is certainly spurious,* must date very far back. Several old Arab writers mention it. At all events the inhabitants are very proud of it, and it would be most unwise to discuss its authenticity with them.

Mediæval Church.—Beyond the wely, which I shall shortly have occasion to speak of again at greater length, there is in the village itself a mosque (*Jâme'*), which is part of an old Crusaders' church, and is very interesting. I had made a hurried sketch and plan of it already in 1870,† but this time we made a detailed and leisurely survey. There is really nothing left of it now but the north-west corner, which the Arabs have arranged as a mosque, at the expense of some disfigurement. The rest of the original nave has utterly disappeared, razed to its foundations. These foundations might perhaps be discovered in the adjoining houses. This demolition had an extremely practical end in view, and I shall presently show why and when it was effected.

But first of all, here is a plan of the building in its present state, with a



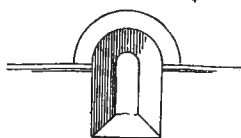
PLAN AND SECTION OF MEDIÆVAL CHURCH AT YEBNÂ. Scale $\frac{1}{800}$. Bearing 109° .

* Mujir ed Dîn (Bulak Arabic text, p. 233) says in so many words that it is not he that is buried at Yebnâ, but one of his children. Tradition points out the tomb of Abu Horeira at other spots, for instance near Tiberias (*Quarterly Statement*, 1887, p. 89).

† Carnet III, pp. 34, 35.

section from E to F. This section is at right angles to the east and west axis of the church, and passes through the northern aisle and the nave.

The Arabs, it will be noticed, have built firstly a south wall, blocking up three bays in the south arcade of the nave, and secondly an eastern wall, at right angles with the foregoing, blocking up a transversal bay of the nave and a transversal bay of the north aisle. Three of the four pillars that are built into these walls can still be traced inside. Two others remain, isolated in the middle of the present nave, and supporting six groined vaults. Two of the primitive windows of the church still exist in the original north wall, to the right and left of the modern door. This latter is pointed, and was probably built by the Arabs, perhaps rebuilt not from their own materials.*



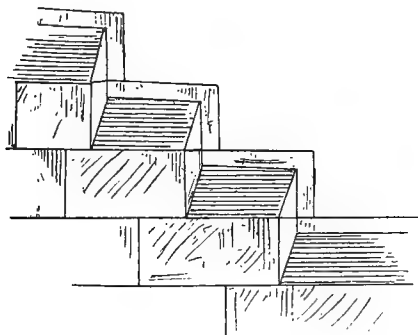
Present level of the floor.

Next follows the inside elevation of one of the windows, which is splayed.†

It is marked B on the general plan.

The level of the floor inside the mosque is appreciably higher than the primitive level of the church, so that the bases of the pillars are hid from view.

In the north-west corner a staircase (A), consisting of three flights at right angles, affords access to a minaret with a large square base, which projects outwards, and seems to correspond, in its lower part at any rate, to an old belfry of the church. The steps are formed of fine stones carefully set, and were probably built by the Crusaders.

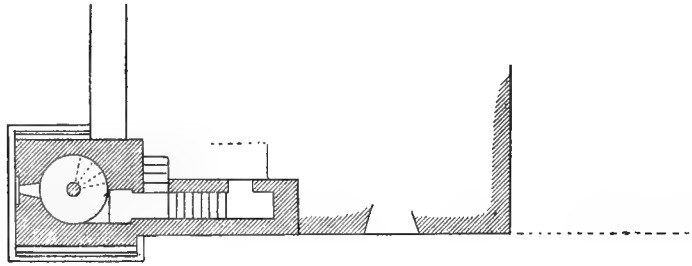


The plan next following, taken at the level of the terrace of the mosque,

* Unless they utilized some side door by which the church communicated with a monastery lying to the north.

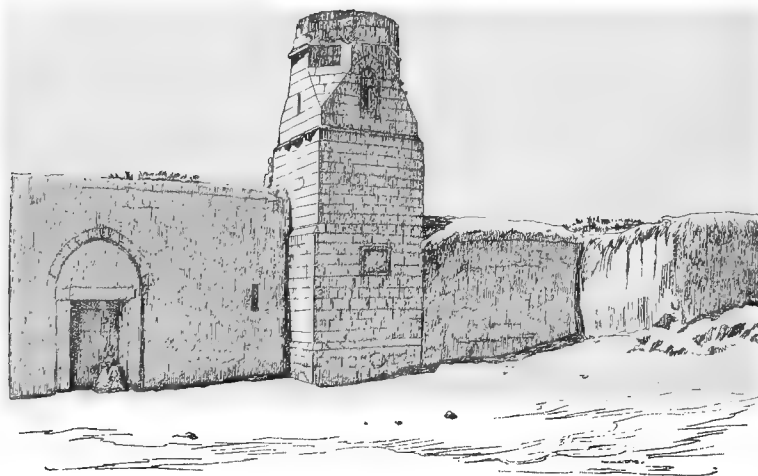
† This window wrongly appears in the engraving as having a semicircular top. The windows are in reality pointed, but the arc is slightly broken.

shows the exterior configuration of the staircase and the minaret to which it leads.



Scale $\frac{1}{800}$.

As one looks at the mosque on its north face from the outside, it appears as below.

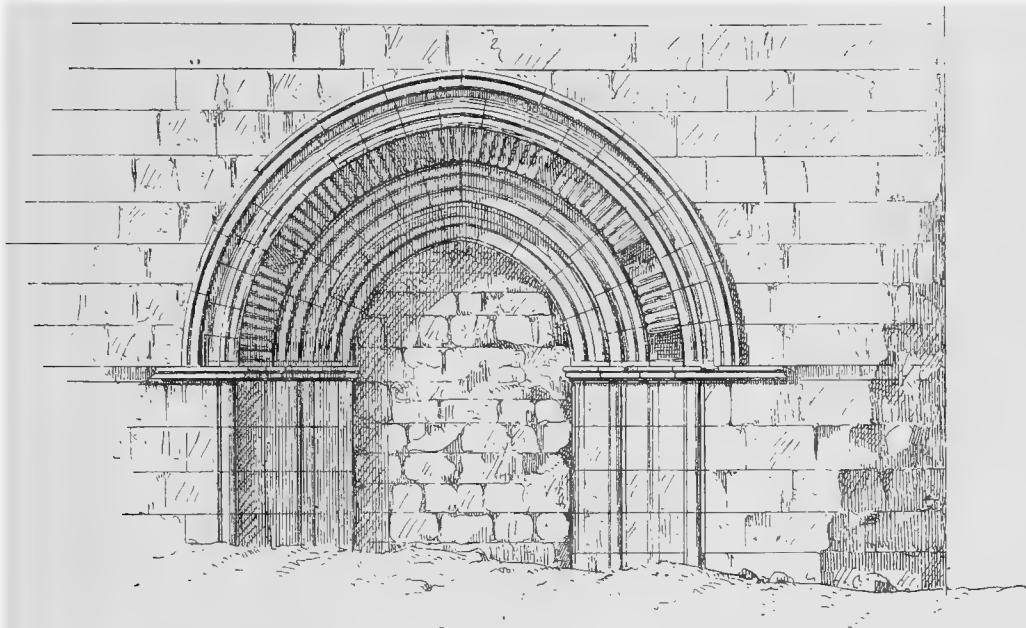


VIEW OF MEDIÆVAL CHURCH AT YEBNÂ.

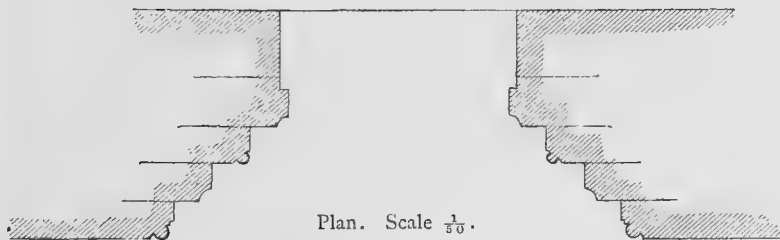
In the above engraving are visible :—the Arab door ; to the right, the base of the minaret essentially mediæval in outline, with an ill-built Arab wall leaning against the right of it.

There has been subsequently built into the north side of the base of the minaret an Arabic inscription. The rectangular border enclosing it can be seen in the engraving. A translation of it will be found in the *Memoirs* (Vol. II, p. 441). It states that the minaret was erected in the year 738 (1337 A.D.).

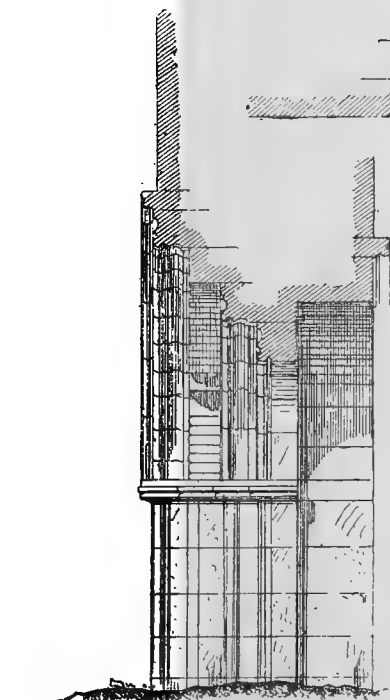
On penetrating into the courtyards and rooms of the Arab houses clustering round the mosque, we discovered on the outer west side the primitive door of the church, which the Arabs have blocked up with rubble. This is a perfect gem of Gothic architecture. The curve of arch is so slightly broken that at first glance it looks almost a semicircle.



Elevation.



Plan. Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.



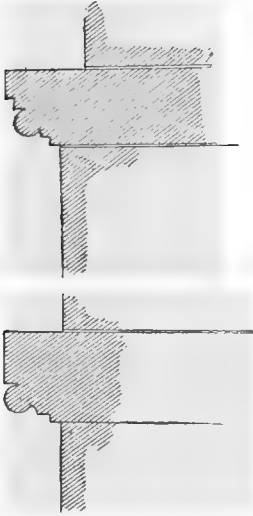
Section.



Detailed Section. Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.

This door is composed of one archivolt and a series of recessing members. The details of these will be better understood from the accompanying section than from a long description.

These arches rest on a simple abacus supported by pillars without capitals. The bases of the latter are hidden under the soil.



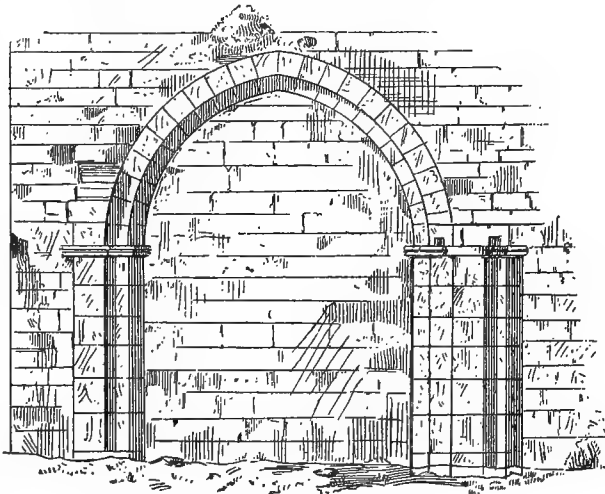
Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

I should like to draw special attention to the idea of the ornamentation of the large arch. It is grooved with *canaliculi*, presenting the appearance of tiny arch-stones or rather small tablets with their edges only showing, radiating from the same centres as those of the arch. This idea seems to have been a favourite one in the architecture of the Crusaders, and is found, among other places, in the arches of the doors of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of St. Anne at Jerusalem,

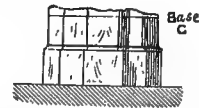
To complete our study of these details, I give two sections showing the outline of the string-courses running inside and outside along the walls at the same elevation as the abaci.

Our investigations among the Arab houses took us to the outer south wall of the mosque. This is of Arab construction, and forms a right angle with the primitive western wall, which has been destroyed from a point a few yards from the axis of the mediæval door. In this wall we discovered a large pointed bay facing south, and now walled up (at F on the plan).

This bay, which has been blocked up afterwards by the Arabs, I think, consists of an arch supported by two pillars with moulded abaci, formed of a group of engaged pilasters. We were even able to distinguish the base of the pillar G, which furnishes an important feature in the architectural scheme, and determines the original



Elevation on C D, showing the walled bay. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.



Base C

level of the church. This bay belongs to the first transversal bay of the church, and separates the nave from the southern aisle.

It is now easy to form a general idea of the plan of the church, and by estimating its whole extent to make out what parts have been destroyed. The axis of the church, which is orientated nearly from east to west, passed through the middle of the western door (P); to the left of this door there stood the belfry, forming a projection on the north-western corner of the church. The north wall of the mosque is the northern boundary wall of the church. This wall was continued towards the east, comprising one or perhaps two transverse bays, as far as the beginning of the apses, of which there are now no signs to be seen above the surface of the ground. If we start from the middle of the door P, which marks the central axis of the church, and draw a line to the south equal in length to the distance from the middle of the door to the north wall, it brings us to the dotted line indicating the boundary of the row of houses abutting on the mosque. The walls of these houses must be built over the foundations of the south boundary wall of the church, and have had probably their alignment determined by these foundations. We thus obtain the total breadth of the building, which must have been about thirteen yards. The length must have been proportionate. It becomes evident therefore that the whole of the south aisle has been destroyed, and also the transverse bay, forming a transept, the whole width of the three aisles, not to mention the apses, which have totally disappeared.

The bridge.—In the immediate vicinity of Yebnâ, in the *Wâd et Tâhînât*, “valley of mills,” may be seen a bridge with three arches and cut-waters, like the one at Lydda,* with which it has much in common. At first sight one would say it was a bridge of Arab construction;† but on closer inspection I noticed that the arches were formed of arch-stones with the mediæval tool-marking. In this case also the Arabs must have availed themselves of materials borrowed from some erection of the Crusaders. It would not surprise me—unluckily I had not the time to settle it—if the building thus laid under contribution were in this case also the fine church at Yebnâ. This would account for the disappearance of a considerable part of its naves; for only two triforia (transversal bays) have been preserved, and converted into a mosque; the remainder has been probably utilized for building the bridge,

* See *supra*, p. 110 ff.

† And such is the opinion of the authors of the *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 443, “probably Saracenic work.” Irby and Mangels (*Travels*, p. 182) thought it to be Roman.

and also most likely for building or repairing the wely of Abu Horeitra. In particular I suspect that the three handsome ogive arches forming the porch or lewân of the Wely* were borrowed from the church of the Crusaders.

There is one indication which appears to me to transform these two conjectures—at any rate the former,† concerning the bridge—almost to certainties.

The Survey Party‡ noted in the courtyard or area of the wely an Arabic inscription to the effect that this blessed “cloister” was founded by Sultan Beibars in 673 (1274 A.D.), under the superintendence of “Khalîl ibn Sawîr,” wâlî (governor) of Ramleh.

This inscription is, as I shall show, much more instructive than it looks. It will be remembered that the bridge of Lydda was built by order of Beibars in 671, that is to say two years before the “cloister” of the Sanctuary of Yebnâ. Now an Arab chronicle which I have quoted from in this connection informs us that Beibars, in 672, had *two bridges* built of a strategic nature, “in the neighbourhood of Ramleh.” I have shown that the first of these was that at Lydda, and it becomes to me extremely probable that the second is the one at Yebnâ. The object of Beibars was, as I have explained, to keep open his communications at all seasons along the high road from Egypt which passed through Yebnâ, Ramleh, and Lydda. The bridge of Yebnâ was intended to play the same part to the south of Ramleh as that of Lydda to the north. It was another fruit of the same idea, and, what is most interesting, made with materials of similar extraction. The same course was pursued at Yebnâ as at Lydda, and in each case it was the arches of the two churches of the Crusaders close at hand that were laid under contribution for the bridge. The whole proceeding was in pursuance of a system—the construction of the two bridges was ordered and probably carried out almost at the same time. The bridge at Lydda was constructed in 671, as the *tarîkh* built into it bears witness, while the Arab chronicler assigns the date 672 to the construction of the *two bridges*. It may be supposed that this slight discrepancy of a year is due to the fact that the second bridge, the one at Yebnâ, was built a year after the

* See the picturesque view already given, p. 167.

† For the second, it would have been necessary to examine the arches in question with this idea in view, to see whether they did not present some detail indicative of the mediæval origin that I assign to them. I regret now that I did not do this, and recommend the point to future explorers to settle. I only made a vague note in my note-book about the existence in the wely of some stones with the mediæval tool-marking.

‡ *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 442.

one at Lydda, but the chronicler only took into account the date of the one finished last (672).

A further proof that the bridge of Yebnâ is really the second bridge built by Beibars, "in the neighbourhood of Ramleh," lies in the mention on the inscription of the wely of the *governor of Ramleh*, who built the "cloister" there in 673. Thus at the very time when the two bridges near Ramleh were in building, which operation would naturally fall to the care of the governor of that town, we see this governor carrying out some important operations at Yebnâ. It seems well nigh certain that the governor killed two birds with one stone, and that after having taken part of the church at Yebnâ to make his bridge, he conceived the idea, which Beibars approved of, and for which the governor gives him all the credit, of utilizing the rest to adorn the Mussulman sanctuary with the "cloister," probably the three arcades we see there to-day. It is very possible that a diligent search may bring to light in the bridge of Yebnâ, as in that of Lydda, some *tarik*h declaring that it was built in 671, 672 or 673, at the bidding of Sultan Beibars and under the direction of the governor of Ramleh. It should be noted that the bridge of Lydda was not constructed under the direction of the governor of Ramleh, but of another personage, who doubtless was placed under his orders. They probably shared the work; and perhaps the construction of the two bridges, which are some distance apart, was carried on simultaneously.

The inscription in the wely of Abu Horeira happens also, unexpectedly enough, to be, as I will show, a document of the highest interest for the history of England; this governor of Ramleh there called "Khalil ibn Sâwîr," being in fact none other than the Emir of Ramleh, who, three years before, had attempted to procure the *assassination of Edward Prince Royal of England*, when his forces were threatening Lydda and Ramleh. Feigning a desire to be converted to Christianity, he had entered on secret negotiation with him, and had despatched two emissaries, agents of the Old Man of the Mountain, who wounded the Prince with daggers in five places. This dramatic incident made an immense sensation at the time in the Christian and Mussulman worlds. The Eastern and Western chroniclers, who relate it in detail, do not give the name of this Emir of Ramleh, some even make him Emir of Jaffa. The only one who gives his name is Ibn Ferât,* and he simply calls him by his patronymic, *Ibn Shâwer*, "the son of Shâwer," wâly of Ramleh. It is

* See the passage in Defrémery, *Recherches sur l'histoire des Ismaéliens*. (*Journal Asiatique*, 1885 Vol. II, p. 69.)

clear at once that it is our man, "Khalil ibn Sâwir, *Khalîl son of Sâwir*, governor of Ramleh. There is a slight difference in the spelling of the patronymic, it being *Sâwir* in the translation of the inscription given in the *Memoirs*, and *Shâwer* according to the manuscript of Ibn Ferât. It is difficult to check the transliteration Sâwir, as unfortunately the actual text of the inscription has not been reproduced in the *Memoirs*. This transliteration implies an original form, ساوير; but in an inscription where the diacritical marks are perhaps rare or even absent altogether, the editor of the *Memoirs* may very well have given this reading of the combination of letters which, on the authority of Ibn Ferât, ought really to be read شاور, *Shâwer*, which form is moreover well known.

Thus the inscription of Yebnâ reveals to us authentically and fully the name of the man who instigated the assassination of Edward Prince Royal of England.

These pages, devoted to the description of Yebnâ, were already gone to press when I had sent me a series of observations of the highest interest, which serve to remedy the incompleteness of my own, and confirm on several essential points the archæological and historical conclusions I had drawn from them. M. Max van Berchem, whose name I have already mentioned in speaking of the Lydda bridge, has been so kind as to undertake to supply the *desiderata* I had pointed out to him for the description of the monuments of Yebnâ. He has studied them on two occasions, in 1893 and in 1894, the first time with the assistance of his young and courageous wife, whose untimely loss his friends unite with him in deploring. In the following lines I give the substance of the precious notes that he has placed at my disposal, and I am happy to thank him publicly for this graceful act.

The Church.—"The outer facing of the walls is much worn away; there are shafts of columns built in the walls through the whole thickness. . . . The window has a charming profile; it has a median joint (vertical) and the diagonal striæ (mediæval toolmarks) on the voussoirs. . . . The minaret has a square base, and the body of it is octagonal, after the style of the Egyptian minarets of the thirteenth—fifteenth centuries. It appears to be partly constructed of mediæval materials; on some of the largest stones traces of diagonal striæ are still visible. On the north front of the minaret, at about 13 feet from the ground, is a limestone slab about 0^m·70 long by 0^m·50 high, built into the wall, with an Arabic

inscription in *neskhy* Mameluke characters, of average size and pleasing style, but rather indistinct:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بعمارة هذا (sic)
 المأذنة المباركة المقرّ العالى المولوى
 الاميرى الكبيرى السيفى نيشتاك (sic) الناصرى
 فى مستهل ربيع الآخر سنة ثمان وثلاثين وسبع مائة*

“The person spoken of is evidently the Emir Saif ed-dîn Bashtâk en Nâsiry, who played a part in politics under Sultan Mohammed En Nâsir and built a mosque at Cairo, which has now disappeared, and a great palace of which some traces remain, which was terminated this same year, 738”

The Wely.—A. “On the door of the enclosure of the wely, east side, is a large marble slab (1^m·05 by 0^m·70), with five lines of fine old Mameluke *neskhy* characters; the letters are flat, white on a yellow ground, and have a few diacritical marks.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بإنشاء هذا الرواق المبارك مولانا السلطان
 الملك الظاهر ركن الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح بيبرس قسيم امير المؤمنين
 اعز الله انصاره وكان الفراغ منه فى شهر ربيع الاول سنة ثلاثه (sic)
 وسبعين وستمائة وتولا (sic) عمارته خليل ابن ساور (sic)
 والى الرملة غفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المسلمين†

“The proper name is as a matter of fact written *Khalîl ben Sâwr* (ساور);‡ but as many diacritical marks are wanting, there is no objection to reading *Châwer* (شاور).”§

* That is to say: “In the name of the merciful and pitiful God. Ordered the building of this blessed minaret, his exalted and lordly Eminence the great Emir Saif (ed-dîn) Bashtâk, belonging to (Sultan) En-Nâsir, at the beginning of the month Rabi’ II, in the year seven hundred and thirty-eight.” As will be seen, the tenor of the inscription, as copied by M. van Berchem, is appreciably different from the one given in the *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 441. The same remark applies to inscriptions A and B, reproduced further on; c is a new inscription.

† The above transcription of the text is made from the copy and squeeze taken in 1893 by M. van Berchem. Here is the translation: “In the name of the merciful and pitiful God. Gave the order to begin building the blessed porch (*rewâk*), our master, Sultan El-Malek edh-Dhâher, pillar of the world and of religion, Abou’l Fath (the father of conquest) Beîbars, co-sharer with the Emir of the Believers, may God exalt his victories! The completion of it took place in the month Rebi’ I, in the year six hundred and seventy-three. Was entrusted with the building Khalîl son of Châwer, Governor of Ramleh, whom may God pardon, him, his father and mother, and all the Mussulmans.”

‡ Not ساویر as implied by the transcription *Sâwir* given in the *Memoirs*.

§ Thus there is no longer any doubt remaining as to the restoration of this name, which I proposed on the basis of the defective reading given in the *Memoirs*, nor, consequently, as to the historical results that spring therefrom; our personage really is, as I recognized, the presumed

B. "In the base of the doorway, consequently under the porch that is in front of this, on the lintel of the door and on the sides of the bay. Length of front side 2^m·20, length of the sides, 1^m·10. Two lines of fine *neskly* Mameluke characters; letters of medium size, numerous points, few vowels; the inscription is whitewashed and very indistinct, though very well preserved:—

(Line 1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أَنْشَى (sic) بِهَذَا الْمَشْهَدِ الْمُبَارَكِ مَشْهَدَ أَبِي هَرِيرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ صَاحِبِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَيِّدِنَا وَمَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْأَعْظَمَ الْعَالِمَ الْعَادِلَ الْمُجَاهِدَ الْمُرَابِطَ الْمُؤَيَّدَ الْمَطْفِرَ الْمَلِكَ الْأَشْرَفَ صَلَاحَ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ سُلْطَانَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ سَيِّدَ الْمُلُوكِ وَالسُّلَاطِينَ أَبِي الْفِدَاءِ خَلِيلَ قَسِيمِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

(Line 2) أَغْرَزَ اللَّهُ نَصْرَهُ وَلَدَ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الشَّهِيدَ الْمَلِكَ الْمَنْصُورَ قَلَوْنَ الصَّالِحِي سَقَى اللَّهُ عَهْدَهُ صَوْبَ الرَّحْمَةِ وَالرِّضْوَانِ وَنَعَمَ الْغَفْرَانِ وَأَسْكَنَهُ جَنَّاتِ الْخُلُودِ وَكَانَ لَهُ عِدَّةٌ فِي الْيَوْمِ الْمَشْهُودِ وَجَعَلَهُ فِي ظِلِّ مَعْدُونٍ وَمَاءٍ مَسْكُورٍ وَفَاكِهِةٍ كَثِيرَةٍ لَا مَقْطُوعَةَ وَلَا مَنُوعَةَ (sic) وَأَجْرَ لَهُ الثَّوَابِ وَالْحَسَنَاتِ وَأَعْلَى لَهُ الْمَنَازِلِ وَالدرجاتِ فِي [] مَاتَ

"Underneath the lintel, on the right and left sides of the door, are two lines":

(Line 1) أَمِينٌ وَكَانَ الْفَرَاغُ مِنْ عِمَارَتِهِ فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ اثْنَيْنِ وَتَسْعِينَ وَسِتْمِائِهِ وَتَوَلَّى عِمَارَتَهُ

(Line 2) أَيْدَمَرَ الدَّوَادَارَ الزَّيْنِي غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَلِذُرِّيَّتِهِ وَلِجَمِيعِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ*

"Sultan Khalil Abu 'l-Fedâ is the conqueror of Acre (690 A.H.). Perhaps the works mentioned in this inscription were executed in consequence of a severe earthquake which did great damage all along the coast of Syria (*see* Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, II, A., p. 146)."

author of the attempt on the life of Prince Edward of England. It will be further noticed that the *governor* of Ramleh bears exactly the same title (*wâly*) in the inscription and in the passage from Ebn Ferât that I quoted in comparison with it.

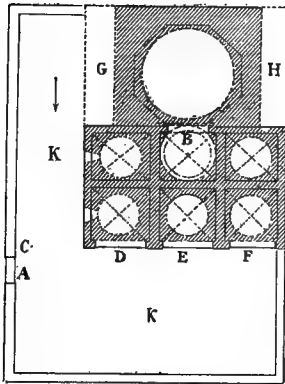
* "In the name of the merciful and pitiful God. Began to build this blessed sanctuary (*meshhed*) of Abu Horeïra, may God receive him, companion of the apostle of God, on whom be prayers and salvation, our Lord and our master the very great, learned, and just Sultan, resolute champion and guardian (of Islam), victorious, El-Malek el-Achraf, prosperity of the world and of religion, Sultan of Islam and of the Mussulmans, lord of Kings and Sultans, Abu 'l-Fedâ Khalîl, co-sharer with the Emir of the Believers, may God exalt his victory, son of our master the Sultan, hero of the holy war, El-Malek El-Mansûr Kelâûn es-Sâlehy, may God water his reign with the rain of his mercy and his grace and the benefits of his indulgence, may he make him to dwell in the gardens of Eternity, may he come to his aid on the day of resurrection, may he make him a place under a wide shade with abundant water and quantities of fruit without stint, may he grant him the reward and the delights he has deserved, may he raise his places and degrees into the . . . Amen! The building of it was finished in the months of the year six hundred and ninety-two, and there was entrusted with its building Aydemir the *dewâdâr* ("bearer of the inkstand") Ez-Zeiny (? may God pardon him, him and his descendants, as also all Mussulmans."

c. To the left of the great inscription of Beîbars (which is above the door of the enclosure) there is built into the wall another inscription consisting of three lines cut on a marble slab, length 0^m·46; height 0^m·22. Small characters, in cursive Mameluke *neskhy*.

جدد هذا الحوض والقناة والساقية الجنب الناصري محمد انر؟ بن؟
انر؟ والجنب العلى يلغا ملاك قرية يبنا اثابها الله الجنة بمنه وكرمه
امر بتاريخ شهر ربيع الأول سنة ست وثمانمائه*

Being exposed at each of his visits to the hostility of the fellahîn, who were set on him by the sheikh, M. M. van Berchem was unfortunately unable to carry out all the archæological observations in the wely which I had requested him to make in order to ascertain whether there really were, as I supposed, materials in the structure borrowed from the old Crusaders' church. On the first occasion his suspicions were aroused, on the second he managed to note certain details which seem to me to give support to my conjecture.

Here, firstly, is a small sketch made from his notes in combination with



our own, and giving a plan of the sanctuary, approximately correct, and showing the position of the three inscriptions reproduced above (A, B, c).

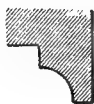
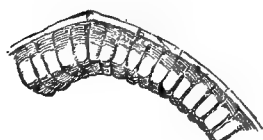
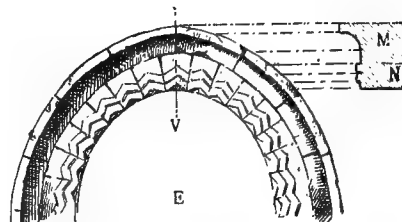
* This inscription, which was not noticed by the Survey, presents a few doubtful words. The translation is as follows:—"Renewed this pool, the conduit and the *sâkia*, his Excellency En-Nâsery (= Nâser ed-dîn) Mohammed Anar (?), son of Anar (?), and his Excellency El-'Alây = 'Alâ ed-dîn) Yelboghâ, possessors (?) of the township of Yebnâ, may god in his grace and mercy grant to both of them Paradise as a reward. Ordered at the date of the month Rebî' I, in the year eight hundred and six (1403 A.D.)." There is an 'Alâ ed-dîn Yelboghâ el-'Alây who appears on the brief list given by Mujîr ed Dîn (*op. cit.*, p. 612) of the nâibs of Jerusalem, some

κ κ is an enclosure open to the sky. I add to this a partial view of the edifice made from two small photographs which M. M. van Berchem succeeded in taking, in spite of riotous opposition, which at one time nearly took a fatal turn.

The *rewāk* mentioned in inscription A is evidently the porch with three arches D, E, F, and two bays (each about 10 feet wide), which stands in front of the sanctuary proper. The whole is formed of six groined compartments, and each surmounted by a small cupola. M. M. van Berchem estimates the width of the façade at about 32 feet.

Here follow the notes made by M. M. van Berchem :—

"I searched for Crusaders' blocks in the side and rear walls (G, H, I), and I think I saw some in the front wall H, but I am not certain. Here are some details concerning the arches, D, E, F, of the portico. The central arch E, which, "*brisée*" at the top, is composed of two quite distinct parts: 1. A moulding M, formed of a fillet and a cavetto; middle joint at the top of the arch; lengthened voussoirs. This moulding appeared to me *Gothic*, but I cannot assert as much, not having been able to examine it closely. 2. An archivolt N placed against the intrados of the preceding, with narrower voussoirs, and a voussoir at the top (key-stone) v. The front of the



voussoirs is ornamented with a zig-zag line cut in the stone, and following the curve of the arch... The joints of the upper moulding do not coincide with those of the lower archivolt.

The two side arches, D, F, have the "pudding" ornamentation.*

"At the top of the shorter front (about 20 feet above the level of the ground) runs a cornice, which in its profile recalls the moulding of the central arch."

I consider that these three arches are sufficiently established as being of mediæval origin by their shape, the profile of the mouldings, the patterns

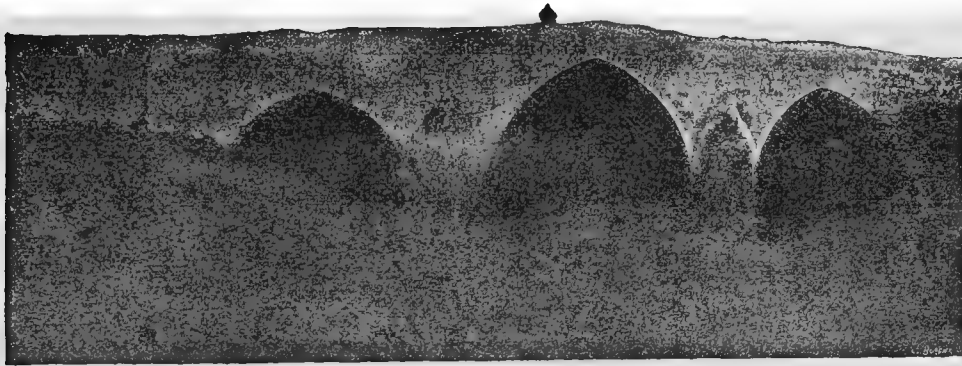
of whom were at the same time inspectors of the two Harams, from about the year 800 to 840 or 850 of the Hegira; this Yelboghâ occupies the fourth place on the list. The names and dates are sufficiently in accord to tempt us to identify him with the second of our personages; in this case, however, one would have expected him to put into the inscription the titles of his high offices, if he really exercised them. As is shown by the appearance of the names, these two personages must have been of Turkish origin, at any rate the second of them, for the name of the first is still very doubtful, and would require to be verified from the original.

* M. M. van Berchem gives this name to the ornamentation, consisting of *canaliculi*; see above the picturesque view of the monument.

of their ornamentation,* and the placing of arches with vertical joints over arches with keystones. The two latter characteristics are notably present in the door of the church at Yebnâ which I have given above. The arch of the latter, moreover, shares with the two arches D E, of the wely, the peculiarity of being very slightly broken. I will add further, that the profile of the cornice that runs along the top of the façade, simple though it is, is in no way Arab, and bears a much greater resemblance to a Gothic string-course.

It will be admitted that these facts add considerable weight to the notion I put forward, that the portico built by order of Beîbars was for the greater part constructed from materials taken from the Crusaders' church†, which at the same time, doubtless, was drawn upon for the bridge, situated not far away. The commemorative inscription was probably built in the first place into the portico itself, either on the front or under the arcades, and afterwards, upon occasion of some rebuilding, it was transferred to the place above the lintel of the door of the outer enclosure, which it occupies to-day. The sanctuary proper, or *meshhed*, which was built nineteen years later—in pursuance perhaps of some original plan left unfinished by Khalîl ben Shâwer—must correspond to the part of the structure marked B, C, I, H, which is surmounted by the principal cupola.

The Bridge.—M. M. van Berchem was also kind enough to make a



special study of the bridge, which confirms my conjectures as to its origin.

* The *canaliculi*, as I have already said, are again met with in the arches of numerous Crusaders' buildings. As for the zig-zag ornament, it would be wrong to reckon this an indication of Arab work, for although rarer than the ornament just mentioned, it exists in Crusaders' buildings; for instance in the archivolt of the church of Jebeîl, which belongs to the 12th century.

† It is possible, of course, that certain other architectural materials were borrowed by the Arab builders from another erection of the Crusaders which lay to hand at Yebnâ, namely, the *castrum* and *presidium*, flanked with its four towers, which King Fulk had had built at Hibelin, as Yebnâ was then called (*William of Tyre*, XV, 24).

He satisfied himself that, as I supposed, "Crusaders' arches undoubtedly form part of it" (I quote his own words). The analogy with the case of the bridge at Lydda is a striking one, and it now seems altogether probable that at Yebnâ, as well as at Lydda, Beibars, or rather his agents, laid the church under contribution for the building of the bridge. I now give a suggestive view of this bridge, from an excellent photograph taken by M. M. van Berchem, from the side of the village, *i.e.*, from the south-west, and some items extracted from his note-book.

"Bridge with three '*briseés*' arches" (arches with broken curves), "resembling the bridge at Lydda; brown tufous limestone. The central arch is wider. The heads of the arches are of more careful workmanship than the other part of the soffits, and have *diagonal striæ throughout*; the vertical joint is at the top . . . The soffits, apart from the groins, are of porous rubble as at Lydda. The difference between the two materials is very noticeable. On the side facing up stream (south) the central arch has only a few voussoirs with striæ at the springing; the rest is of small porous rubble; here the difference strikes the eye at once. However, the vertical joint is also found on this arch, which is the only one not entirely constructed of material bearing Crusaders' tool-marks. On the up side are two pointed cutwaters, as at Lydda. The intrados of the central arch is made of materials carefully dressed as far up as the springings, where the small rubble begins. There are traces of cement, especially on the intrados of the eastern arch. Above the central arch, on the north side, in the crowning of the parapet, is a breach, which might have contained an inscription. . . . The *flèche* of the bridge is very conspicuous. Length about 48 m., breadth 11^m·50; width of the central arch 6^m·80; width of the side arches, about 5 m. The height varies, the base of the bridge being buried in mud. I found masons' marks on several voussoirs, and Madame van Berchem made squeezes of them for you. Some of these marks are doubtful."*

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Here are a few notes that I took of conversations with the fellahîn of Yebnâ:

Hibelin.—The town used also to be called '*Ebellîn* عيبلين or عبلين.† The tradition of the fellahîn is curious, when compared with the well-known passage in William of Tyre, from which it appears that in the time of the Crusades, Yebnâ, then supposed to correspond to Gath, was called *Hibelin*. The presence of the '*ain*' in the Arabic name tends to show that this must be a genuine case of native name, and not, as might have been supposed, of a name manufactured or mutilated after the Crusaders. The H in *Hibelin* similarly

* There are six of these. See the Special Table of Vol. I. I shall direct attention to one of them, a splendid **A**, quite Gothic.

† I noted this name before when I visited Yebnâ in 1870. (Carnet III, p. 34.)

seems to prove that there was a guttural at the beginning of the name that the Crusaders heard. That they found the name already attached to the locality William of Tyre expressly testifies. However, Benjamin of Tudela and the Jewish authors write *איבלין* or *אבלין*, but they perhaps do but give a direct reproduction of a western pronunciation of the word. It is difficult to explain the origin of this mysterious name; but it may be useful to compare with the passage from William of Tyre one from Foulques of Chartres, which assigns to this same town the name of *Ibenum*, and identifies it not with Gath, as does William of Tyre, but with Ashdod. These Biblical identifications are equally arbitrary and of no value; what we should seize upon is the form *Ibenum* (if the reading of the MS. be certain), corresponding to the *Hibelin* of William of Tyre.* In any case there is no doubt as to the relation between *Ibenum* and *Hibelin*, for the chroniclers of the Crusades mention the two names in connection with the same episode in the war. The form *Ibenum* might easily be reduced to the Arabic form *Yebnâ*. We ought also, however, it seems to me, to take account of the singular fact that the Jews of the Middle Ages—as their itineraries expressly state—placed the Yabneh of the Bible in *Galilee*, at a village called then as now *‘Abellîn* *عبلين* (quite near Shefâ’amr to the north-east). Can the name of *‘Abellîn* have been transported by a reverse operation to the real Yabneh, *Yebnâ*, of Judæa, and have been treasured up by the local tradition of the place? In this case we should ascribe the origin of this name *Hebelin*, *‘Ebellin*, applied to the *Yebnâ* of to-day, to Jewish intervention. It was a confusion of the same kind that caused the Jews of the Middle Ages to identify for instance Ekron with Acre, whereas it certainly is at *‘Âker* quite near *Yebnâ*.

The identification I have just made removes at all events any lingering doubt that there might be as to the identity of the *Hibelin* of William of Tyre with *Yebnâ*, since by the current convention of the time, *‘Ebellîn* was reckoned to be *Jabneh*.

Topography.—Various localities mentioned to me by the fellahîn of *Yebnâ*:

Khûrbet el Fatûna, to the north of *Beshshît*;

Khûrbet edh-Dh'heîsheh, near *K'beîbeh*;

Dh'hûr el Ghozlân, “the crests of the Gazelles,” between *Yebnâ* and *‘Âker*;

Hebreh, towards *Moghâr*;

* And the *Abilin* of Albert of Aix

Sukreîr, between Esdûd and Yebnâ; between Bechchit and Yâsûr, according to others;

Be'élia; to the north, in the mountains, four hours' journey;

At *Beshshît* there is a *Neby Shît*;

'*Oyûn Gâra*, a pronunciation of the name '*Oyûn Kârâ*, proving that *Kârâ* really begins with the emphatic *Kâf*, and should be written قارا;

Khûrbet Sukriyeh, two and a half hours to the south of Yebnâ.

The ethnic name of the inhabitants of Echû' (اشوع) is, in the singular, *Yeshû'âny*, and in the plural *Shewâ'neh*. The discrepancy between the singular form يشوعانى and the plural form شواعنة is very interesting. *Yeshû'âny* is an archaic form, and credits the locality with an ancient name يشوع, which onomastically, if not topographically* is identical with the *Jeshua* (ישוע) of Nehemiah (xi, 26).

FROM YEBNÂ TO ASCALON.

Our examination of the church at Yebnâ having taken us no inconsiderable time, we were rather late in starting for Esdûd, which was to be our resting-place for the night.

Sukreîr.—About midway on our journey we inspected the ruins of *Sukreîr*, which was a little to the west of our road. Here there are visible the remains of a sort of Khân, with a deep cistern and a small birkeh; an aqueduct led the water from it to a fountain right on the edge of the road; opposite this, on the other side of the road, in a field, is a piece of a column, belonging perhaps to a milestone, and some fragments of marble. This must have been the site of some ancient *manzel* or posting-house, on the Arab route from Egypt to Syria.

I have come across this place *Sukreîr* in an important episode of the history of the Mameluke Sultans. Makrîzî narrates that in the month Moharram, in the year 696 (October, 1296), at the camp on the 'Aujâ (to the north of Jaffa), the Emir Lâjîn, having conspired with some other Emirs, attacked his master, Sultan Ketboghâ. The latter managed to elude his attack, and fled towards Damascus, over the bridge of the 'Aujâ. The Egyptian army then left the 'Aujâ to return to Egypt. On their arrival at Yâzûr, in front of Jaffa,

* From the context at any rate it looks as if the town in Nehemiah must have been much more to the south.

the Emirs proclaimed their colleague Lâjin as Sultan, under the name of El-Malek el Mansûr. From Yâzûr the new Sultan moved to Gaza, passing by *Sekrîr*. It appears to me certain that the name سكرير, which is thus read by Quatremère, ought to be vocalized *Sukreîr*, and that this locality corresponds to our *Khûrbet Sukreîr*. This historical testimony is doubly valuable, as it guarantees at the same time the comparative antiquity and the exact spelling of the name *Sukreîr*.

The ruin, when all is said and done, is insignificant, but the name attached to it is extremely interesting. It has been variously transliterated, and in most arbitrary ways, e.g., *Suk-rheir*, *Suk-kheir*, *Sugheîr*, *Tokrair*, etc. (Rey, Guérin, Tobler, Richardson, etc.). The true form in reality is *Sukreîr*, سكرير. As early as 1861, Knobel* proposed to identify it with *Shikronah* or *Shikron*, a landmark on the northern boundary of the territory of Judah, towards its western extremity. I was still very uncertain on this question, and rather inclined at the time, relying on faulty transliterations, to *Shikronah* with *Zernûka*, near Yebnâ and to the north-east of it. Three months later, on revisiting these parts, I gave up the latter conjecture and went back to Knobel's, in consequence of two new observations that I made there. The name *Zernûka* is written with the emphatic *kâf*, زرنوكا, and consequently can have nothing to do with *Shikronah* שכרונה. On the other hand I have actually heard on the lips of the fellahin of Berka the variant *Sukreîn* for *Sukreîr*, which is a complete justification of the hypothesis that this name may represent *Shikron*.

My only doubt is whether there ever was a town—an ancient one, I mean—on the site of *Sukreîr* or *Sukreîn*. But then I am equally doubtful whether the place-name *Shikron* is applied, in the passage of Joshua, to a town. The name *Sukreîn*—we are sufficiently authorised to give the preference to this form, now that I have shown that it really exists—the name *Sukreîn*, I say, is properly the name of the small river, the *Nahr Sukreîn*, which flows by Esdûd and falls into the Mediterranean about opposite *Sukreîn*. It is, I think, as a river that *Shikron* figures in the delimitation of Judah, and not as a town. This problematical town is mentioned nowhere

* *Exeget. Handbuch*, xxx, p. 419.

† *Zernûkâ* signifies properly "an apparatus for raising water;" Mokaddesy says that it is a *dolâb*, "machine for irrigating." It is the Aramaic word *Zarnûka* זרנוקה, which has the same meaning, and is itself probably nothing else but the Greek *αἰσμη*, genitive *αἰσμητος*, "pipe," whence on the other hand is derived our word "syringe." There actually is in the village of *Zernûka* a water-wheel which raises water for irrigation purposes from a deep well.

else, which is very odd, for if it really existed it must have belonged to the territory of either Judah or Dan, the towns in which are mentioned in detail. In support of this theory I will adduce two facts: (1) the etymology of the name *Shikron*, which evidently comes from the root *shakar*, שָׁכַר, *shishkâr*, הַשִּׁכָּר, "to water;" (2) the fact that there is in Spain a river of the same name, called by the ancients *Sucro* (by Ptolemy, Σούκρων;* now the *Jucar* or *Xucar*). This name is of Phœnician origin, just like that of another river in Spain, the Βέλων, which is the same as the *Belus*, "the river of Baal," in Phœnicia, and the *Nahar Baal* in Palestine, represented by the *Nahr Rûbîn* mentioned a short time previously.

And now, if we identify *Shikron* with the *Nahr Sukreîr*, and the "mount," i.e., the "river," *Baal* with the *Nahr Rûbîn*, how are we to follow out on the spot the marking of the boundary of Judah as described by Joshua? This presents serious difficulties, I admit; but these difficulties are equally to be found in all the other theories hitherto propounded which involve the existence of a *town* *Shikron* and a *mount* *Baal*. I cannot enter here upon a discussion, which would require a thorough working out; I will content myself with remarking that we have to take into consideration a possible change in the course of these two small rivers, on account of their having to make a way through sand-dunes in order to get to the sea.

Esdûd.—Before reaching *Esdûd*, you cross the *Sukreîr* by a bridge with three arches, which seems to be of Arab construction. I omitted to see if by chance it contained any mediæval materials, like the bridges at *Lydda* and *Yebnâ*. If so they could not have come from *Esdûd*, for the Crusaders, so far as we know, had no important post in this neighbourhood.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the village of *Esdûd*, and to the west, is a high hill, covered with gardens enclosed within hedges of cactus, which makes it difficult to get about. I noticed here a considerable quantity of potsherds, some fragments of marble, some wells, and so on, indicating the existence of a town, which must have been the *Ashdod* proper of the Bible. This commanding height is called *er-Râs*, "the head," and also *Jâlûd er Râs*, "Goliath of the head." According to the fellahîn, *Jâlûd* was a Sultan of the *Kuffârs*; his daughter was *Hilânè* (*Helen*), and his town was built on the hill *er Râs*; a subterraneous passage placed the town in communication with the *Mînat Esdûd*, "the harbour of *Esdûd*," which is on the sea-coast to the west of the village, and is also called *el Mîna* for short. I was told that a carved

* With a town of the same name situated on its banks and called after the river.

block of marble had been found at el Mîna, and I made up my mind to go and see it next day.

The ancient name of Estdûd, according to the fellahîn, was *Sidd er Rûm*, "the barrier of the Rumis." This latter legend contains a curious play on the ancient name of *Ashdod*, and has reference to the root *shadad*, *shadd*, with which it is connected.* It confirms me in the notion I have formerly expressed, that the name of *Ashdod* stands probably in the same etymological relation to that of the god *Shaddai* and *Shed* as the name of the town of *Arsûf* does to that of the god *Reseph*.

From Estdûd to Ascalon.—Next day, Wednesday, at a quarter past six, we were in the saddle, as we had a long day before us. My idea was, in fact, to go down as far as Ascalon, then to come back along the coast as far as the port of Estdûd, and from there to make straight for el Moghâr, where I had sent on the tent.

Tell el Kurzûm.—We cast a glance in passing at the great ruined Arab Khân near Estdûd, but did not spend any time over it. To the south there is a tell called *Tell el Kurzûm*.

Folklore.—We left on our right, some distance from the road, the wely of *Abu Jahan*. A little while afterwards we met a worthy fellâhah from one of the neighbouring villages, mounted on a small donkey. She was going like ourselves to Mejdél, to sell vegetables and fruit. She was a very good sort of woman, quite chatty, and received our advances in a friendly spirit that strongly contrasted with the distrust and ill-will we had nearly always experienced at the hands of the fellahîn of the south. She had the gay good humour, the honest prepossessing face, and even the manners of a good substantial farmer's wife such as we see at home in Europe. She insisted on our tasting her fruit, and gave me as we went along some interesting information into the bargain. She could not be prevailed upon to accept the smallest bakhsheesh, and when I pressed her, she told me that we should see one another again at Mejdél, and that then I might if I liked buy some apricots of her.

There is, she said, at Hamâmeh a sanctuary of Seiydna ("Our Lord") Abu 'Arkûb, who came flying through the air from afar, and lighted there. None knew of his presence there, which was only revealed at his death. He was buried where he lay, and the place is every year the object of a great

* It must not be lost sight of that the Arabic name is in reality سدود, *S'dûd*, and that the initial *elîf* that is heard in the native pronunciation is in fact prosthetic, *Ēs'dûd*. In the ancient Arabic form *Azdûd*, the *s* has been changed into *z*, from immediate contact with the *d*.

pilgrimage from the country round about. The real name of Abu 'Arkûb was *Sheîkh Ibrâhîm*, and he was the son of 'Aly *ibn* 'Ā'leîm (the much venerated neby of Arsûf, who entered into the inheritance, mythologically speaking, of the old Phœnician Reseph). This series of names and surnames therefore gives a regular genealogy of this branch of fabulous nebys: 'Ā'leîm, father of 'Aly, father of Ibrâhîm, father of 'Arkûb. The sanctuary of the founder of this little mythological dynasty is venerated at the present day at Dûrâ, in the direction of Hebron. I have collected various legends about these flying nebys at other places in Palestine, especially at Nâblus.* Here the characteristic feature of the tradition seems to have reference to the name of *Hamâmeh*, which means "pigeon" or "dove," and has been suspected, not I think unreasonably, to contain a reminiscence of the divinity worshipped under the form of a dove† at Ascalon near Hamâmeh.

Tell el Farâny.—A little before you reach Hamâmeh you see on the left of the road *Tell el Farâny* (or *Farâneh*), having on it ruins containing hidden treasure, so our travelling companion assured us.

Hamâmeh.—We stopped a few minutes at Hamâmeh with an old native



SCULPTURED HEAD
IN WHITE MARBLE.
One third the
original size.



goldsmith that she told us of, one Yusef Abu 'Isâ. He had a few rather

* See *infra*, ch. VI.

† This bird figures on the coins of Ascalon. Compare what Philo, quoted by Eusebius, says of the worship of the dove-cote at Ascalon, and the legend, localized at Ascalon, of Semiramis, daughter of Derceto, who was fed by doves. Derceto was changed into a fish, and Semiramis into a dove. Ibrâhîm became the fish *Sultân Ibrâhîm* mentioned already, and the sanctuary of 'Ā'leîm at Dûrâ is by the side of that of Noah,

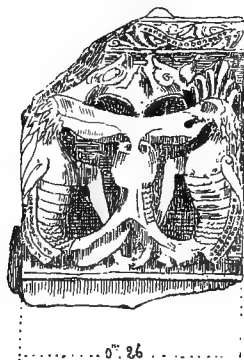
interesting antiques in his possession, and let me have them for fifteen francs or so. Among them, a pretty head of Athene, with helmet, in white marble, half life size (see p. 188); and a piece of carved ivory 0^m ·14 high, representing a woman in a peplum, elegantly draped and holding a crown in her left hand. Unfortunately the face is mutilated. At the back the ivory is traversed lengthwise by a hollow groove. These two objects, and most of the other antiquities, were got, it seems, from the ruins of Khalasa, the ancient Elusa, to the south of Gaza.

I also saw in his possession a fragment of white veined marble, very finely carved, but unfortunately mutilated, having in one of its sides a representation of two fantastic creatures of the bird-kind, with crests of five feathers, and bodies in the shape of a fish or snake. To judge from its general shape, of which some idea may be got from this side view, this fragment appears to have formed part of an architectural scheme, and may have been perhaps a corbel. I cannot decide whether the style of it is Byzantine or Romanic. In any case the tool marks on the blocks are not mediæval.



IVORY FIGURE.
Half the original size.

FACE.



SCULPTURED MARBLE
FRAGMENT
FROM HAMÂMEH.

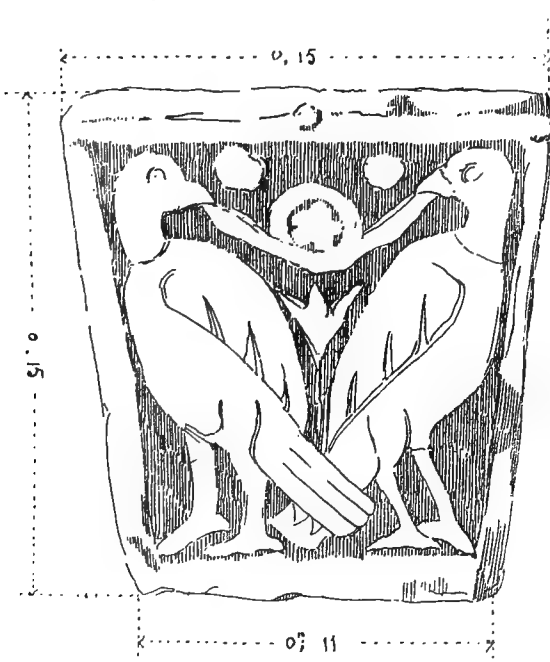
SIDE.



Here is another fragment, similarly of white marble, with a yellow tinge and blue streaks, which was offered me at Jerusalem as coming from Ascalon, and bought by me. It is a slab 0^m ·025 thick, a trapezoid in shape. On it are carved in low relief two doves back to back, with their heads turned to look at one another, and holding in their beaks a fillet or garland from which a small disc depends. In the disc, which forms a central part and probably leading idea of the whole, there is inscribed a sort of rosette, of

ill-defined shape, perhaps a star or a cruciform emblem. Above are two small plain discs, below, a lotus-flower.

The question presents itself whether we should recognize here the



eucharistic doves and bread, or merely a subject of a purely ornamental character. At all events the presence of the doves is noteworthy, considering that the monument, as it is said, comes from Ascalon.

Mejdel.—We stopped for lunch at Mejdel, where we found our worthy peasant-woman. Her apricots formed the staple of our dessert, and very good they were.

We started immediately after for (Jaura) Jûrah, without having time to visit Mejdel. Here follow a few notes that I made there during a previous journey, in 1870:*

I noticed in the houses at Mejdel a sort of receptacle for corn, made of clay, and called *khâbieh* (خابية). The fellahîn call them *sâum'a* (صومعة, *sauma'a*). These are filled with grain through a wide opening in the top, and when grain is wanted, it is let out by a sort of bung-hole, like wine out of a cask.

They told me at Mejdel that there were several places of the name: *Mejdel 'Askalân*† (where I was), *Mejdel Yâbâ*, *Mejdel Ba'na*.‡

Furthermore several localities were indicated to me in the west of Mejdel, the names of which I took down: *Khûrbet Gamâs* (قماص) and *Khûrbet Fîtlân* (فيتون), *Bazzeḥ*, *Bashsha*.§

* Carnet III, p. 34, *et seq.*

† Mujîr ed Dîn (p. 484 of the Arabic text of Bulak) calls it *Kariat Mejdel Hamâmeh*. *Mejdel*, "the fortress," probably belongs to the *πλησίον ὀχυρώματα* of Ascalon (I Macc., XII, 33).

‡ *Mejdel Ba'na* is evidently the locality that appears on the Map (III Nf) under the name of *Mejd el Kerûm*, just by *el Ba'neh* and to the south-west of it. According to my information, this transliteration is wrong; it ought to be *Mejdel Kerûm*, as the author of the *Name Lists* (ch. 52) rightly supposes, or perhaps better *Medjdel el Kerûm*.

§ These localities have been since noticed by the Survey, with the exception of *Fîtlân*, which I have not been able to find on the Map. *Fîtlân* cannot be far from *Khûrbet Gamâs* (*Kemâs*

Jaura.—At Jaura we had a lively altercation—a regular *barrûf*—which threatened to have a serious ending, with some ill-conditioned fellahîn, about an absolutely trivial matter. I record the incident, as it was very rare for me in my many wanderings in Palestine to meet with open hostility. The ethnic name of the inhabitants of Jaura is *Jaurâny* in the singular, *Jawâr'neh* in the plural.

FROM ASCALON TO KHULDÂ.

Time pressed, and we would not stop to explore the ruins of Ascalon. I felt some interest as I again beheld the high walls overhanging the sea, at the foot of which I and my horse were nearly drowned in the winter of 1870. We traversed the gardens, planted on the actual site of the old town, so as to get a general idea of it, without being able to enter into details.

At 3 o'clock we left the beach of Ascalon and turned northwards, following the coast line as far as the harbour of Eṣdûd. I give a summary account of the points observed during this hurried journey.

At 3 past 3, a low mound covered with potsherds and ancient *débris*, with some walls. No name ascertained.

At 3.35, some walls of small stones: two large columns.

At 3.57, a small ruin of no importance, perhaps Arab; some tells covered with potsherds.

At 4.30 we arrive at last at the *Mînat Eṣdûd*, where there are ruins comparatively important, great quantities of potsherds, a rectangular fort built of small stones, which must have been a marine defence. Quite near, on the west, is a group of small mounds with numerous architectural fragments of marble, pointing to the existence of an important building, and quantities of mosaic cubes. This part ought to be explored. Having no guide, we were quite unable to find the sculptured block which the fellahîn of Eṣdûd had particularly told us of.

I should have liked to push to the north as far as the Sanctuary of Neby Yûnes, which is at the mouth of the Nahr Sukreîr, and is perhaps connected

of the Map), to judge from the appearance of the names on my list, where they are united by *and*. I propose to identify *Fitûn* with *Phetora*, a mediæval casal near Ascalon given to the Hospital by Jean d'Ybelin in 1256, and not found by Rey and Röhricht. *Phetora* must be a copyist's error, or perhaps a wrong reading on the part of the editor Paoli, for *Pheton*. This must not be identified—the resemblance of the two names being the merest chance—with the *Fathura*, Φαθούρα, of the *Onomasticon*. The latter is a village close to Eleutheropolis, on the road leading from that town to Gaza, and is perhaps identical with Tôr *Furut* and Khûrbet *Furut*, four miles west from Beit Jibrîn, supposing a displacement of the *r*, which is of frequent occurrence in the pronunciation of the fellahîn.

with the river by the same mythological bonds as unite the sanctuary of Neby Rûbîn with the Nahr Rûbîn. However, we had to give up the idea, for the sun was already very low in the sky, and we had still a good distance to cover before reaching Moghâr, where our camp awaited us. It was even a longer distance than we thought, for, deceived by Van de Velde's map, the only one we then had at our command, we steered, or better, we believed we steered, for Berkâ, to the east, and became involved in an interminable tract of moving sand-dunes, where it was impossible to get on in places. Our horses, slipping over these mounds of sand as they gave way beneath their feet, sometimes sank in up to their chests, and we had to alight and extricate them. The poor creatures were worn out with fatigue and thirst, and their riders were almost in as sorry case. We had nothing all round us but an horizon of high dunes, which we had to climb and descend one after another, without a landmark in sight to steer by. The fact was that we had deviated a little to the north, and taken a diagonal course through this sandy belt, which was wide enough in any case, instead of cutting straight through it. At last after this toilsome journey, more like sailing through sand than a ride, we got to the end of the dunes and reached the river Sukreir, where both beast and men assuaged their thirst with delight.

It was pitch dark. We directed our course towards Berkâ (Burkah), the lights of which were now visible, but only stopped there a moment to ask our way, and then went on towards Beshshît. At Berkâ, the name of which is pronounced *Bergâ*, I made a flying note of the name of an anonymous neby, *Neby Berg* or *Neby Berëg*, son of Jacob as usual, of course. We reached Beshchît with some trouble, for we went rather out of our way in the darkness, and here I persuaded a fellâh to guide us to Moghâr. It was after midnight when we got back to our tent. Here everything was ready for our reception, and we enjoyed a well-merited rest.

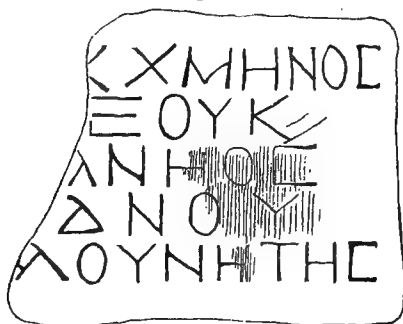
Moghâr (El Mũghâr).—Our tent was pitched about twenty minutes to the south of the village, near a well with *sâkia*, the pivot of which rested on an ancient white marble capital. The very spot is called *Khũrbet Hibreh*. The *beled*, "country, town," of Moghâr, so the fellahîn told me, was formerly some twenty minutes to the north, at *Khũrbet Summeil*; it was called *Summeil el Moghâr*. Five minutes north of the village is an ancient quarry. The village is called *Moghâr*,* because all the houses are built on *m'ghâir*, "caves." The wely of Moghâr is called *Abu Lamûn* and *Abu Tâka*. He

* Evidently the *Moghâr* mentioned by Yâkût as a village in Palestine.

is called Abu Tâka, "father of the window," because, finding himself *mahshûr* (thrust) in a cave, he got out of it by a miracle, God having made an opening (*tâka*) through which he flew. This is the legend of the flying neby over again.

I was told of several inscribed stones, among others of a column to the left of the road to 'Âker. This may be a milestone. A fellâh also brought me a fragment of a Greek inscription on a small slab of white marble. As he wanted a good deal for it, I contented myself with taking a squeeze of the text.*

It is difficult to get anything certain from this mutilated text, the ends of five lines being all that is left. Perhaps the first two should be read :



..... κχ', μηνος
ὑπερβερετ]έου κ'

"..... the year 620 (?) the
20th of the month of Hyperberetæos."

The third line contained perhaps at the beginning the year of the indiction, followed by a verb *ανη(?)ε*, or a name in the nominative ending in *ανηος(?)*, and the fourth the final syllable of a patronymic in the genitive terminating in *δνον(?)*. In the fifth, *λουνητης* may perhaps be the remnant of [*Ἀσκα*] *λουνήτης*, for *Ἀσκαλωνίτης*, "the Ascalonite." These however are mere queries. The date should perhaps be reckoned according to the era of Ascalon, which I shall refer to later on *à propos* of the inscriptions of Gaza. The 20th of Hyperbereteos of the year 620 (there may have been in the lost portion of the inscription a letter expressing additional units) in the Ascalon era would correspond to November 16th, 515 of the Christian era, which date is pretty well in accord with the shape of the characters.

Summeil el Mughâr.—Next day we went to see the ruins of *Khûrbet Sallûjeh*, about an hour to the south of el Mughâr. They seemed to me to be considerable importance.† From here ‡ we proceeded to Summeil el Mughâr,

* The inscription afterwards came into the hands of M. Philibert the younger of Jaffa; I found it at his house in 1881, acquired it, and took it to the Louvre.

† There is an entry in my note-book about this, but it is illegible.

‡ Between Mughâr and Katra is a small tell, indicated on the Map without a name. It appears from a note of mine, which I cannot discover the origin of, but which certainly belongs to this journey, that this tell is called *Tell el Fulûs*.

a namesake of another Summeil to the south, called for distinction-sake *Summeil el Khalil*, "the Summeil of Hebron," or "of Abraham."* This name occurs at several spots in Judea. Thus there is yet another Summeil to the north of Jaffa and not far from it.

Summeil el Mughâr is on a small low hill, with no ruins to be seen; here and there are scattered stones. At the foot of the hill, to the east, towards the road to 'Âker which skirts the chain of hills, is a beiyâra well. Some way off we perceived, though we were unable to visit them, the yawning apertures of some caverns.

'Âker.—At 'Âker the fellahin told me that the village was also called 'Akrîn by the Franks, which unfortunately shows that the peasants are already beginning to be informed by thoughtless travellers as to the ancient identity of their villages. This is a symptom of a malady that will cause trouble hereafter, for the end of it will be that this pure spring of real indigenous tradition, which has hitherto been drawn upon with confidence, will be contaminated. The village has its eponymous Saint, *Neby 'Âker*, whose name is by some pronounced 'Âkel, "the wise." 'Âker was anciently a large *beled* extending over the whole *dhahra* (the brow of the hill). To the . . . † of the village, about five minutes away, there have been found in a field a number of tombs built of stone, and covered in each case with one or two large slabs with "writing on them;" they contained bottles of terra cotta, and *sahâtît* (coins). This field is worked by one 'Aly Abu Mouâfy. There must have been a burying-ground here, one that would be very interesting to excavate, and might perhaps tell us something about Ekron, at any rate during some period of its existence.

* This Summeil is too far from Hebron for the origin of its surname to be ascribed to its proximity to that town. I suppose that some part of the territory of Summeil was assigned as *wakêf* to the sanctuary of Hebron. In fact, as Robinson (German edition, III, 628, 736, 746) had already noticed, *Summeil el Khalil* is none other than the *Castle of St. Samuel*, which the western pilgrims in the fifteenth century came across on the road from Dhikrîn to Gaza; they fancied they detected in *Summeil* the name of *Samuel*. They expressly state, moreover, that this village paid a yearly contribution of 2,000 ducats to the support of the "Hospital of St. Abraham," otherwise called Hebron. This institution was probably the *Bimârestân el Mansûr* founded in 680 by Sultan El Mansûr Kelâîn, as we are informed by Mujîr ed Dîn (*op. cit.*, p. 426); or we may perhaps take it to be the famous *semât*, or Holy Meal of Abraham, which was given away daily at a fixed hour, without distinction of religion, to all strangers who happened to be at Hebron. Among the very numerous villages standing to Hebron in the relation of *wâkef*, there are several that we know, for instance *Kariet Zakariyâ* and *Deir Astiâ*, in the territory of Nablous, mentioned by Mujîr ed Dîn.

† The indication of the direction has been omitted in my note-book.

Amsâb'ra.—To the east of Mansûra and north of Khuldâ is a ruin called *Amsâb'ra* (=Musâbara?).

The ancient name of Ramleh, according to the fellahin of 'Âker, was *Frantîs*; others say *Falastîn*, and *Falâstîn el Kubra* (the Great).* Can this queer name *Frantîs* be a corruption of the well-known name *Falastin* (which comes directly from the Greek Παλαιστίνη)? *Falastîn*=*Farastîn*=*Farantis*=*Frantis*.

Am Kelkha.—At el Mansûra the inhabitants told us that the ancient *balad* was at the ruins of *Am Kelkha* (*M'kelkha*?), a quarter of an hour to the south, on the further side of *Wâdy 'Ain el Mansûra*.

K'zâzeh.—To the south of Am Kelkha is *K'zâzeh*, at about an hour's distance.

The site of *K'zâzeh* sorely tempts one to identify it with an ancient locality. The name at first blush looks like a purely Arabic one, meaning "glass." We know however from the case of *Tibneh* and others, that one has to be careful about these seemingly Arabic place-names, which often contain old Hebrew names brought into Arabic forms by folk-etymology. I wonder whether, by virtue of this principle, we ought to recognise in *K'zâzeh* the name of the town *Makaz*, mentioned along with a group of Danite towns in the jurisdiction of Ben-Dekar, one of the twelve *niççâbim*, or governors, of Solomon (1 Kings, iv, 9).

قزاة and כקז (from the root קז) contain the same radical elements, granting the generally admitted equivalence of the ק and the ز.

El 'Um'ganna'.—Half-an-hour west of *K'zâzeh* there is a ruined town called *Khûrbet el 'Um'ganna'* (=el *Mukanna'*). The town was anciently surrounded by seven towers, and was the residence of a king of the name of *Melek el Mugna'*. The name of this fabulous king, المكنع, is evidently derived from the same root as the name of the town, المكنع; the difference between the two verbal forms is to be noted. *El Mugna'*, otherwise called *el Mukna'*, signifies in Arabic not merely "he who has his head veiled," as it is translated in the *Name Lists*, but also "he who wears a helmet." This recalls a detail in the description of Goliath and his helmet of brass in the Bible. Native legend therefore would tend to localise Gath in the environs of el *Um'ganna'*. The problem of Gath is so hopeless, and so many different solutions have been suggested, that this one of the fellahin is really as good as

* As will be seen further on (ch. VI), the name *Falâstîn the Great* is, on the other hand, attributed to Sebaste by the inhabitants of that town.

most, and might, if need were, be supported by topographical and historical arguments.* At all events Um'ganna' cannot for a moment be taken for the *Mechamim* or *Machamim* (eight miles from Eleutheropolis, on the way to Jerusalem),† which St. Jerome has in view when he speaks of *Bethmaacha*; neither distance nor direction would suit. Still less is it the *Mechonah* of the Bible, which is written with letters radically different (מכנה).

Khuldâ.—From Mansûrah (Mansûra) we proceeded to Khuldâ (Khuldeh). Here we found an inhabitant of Ramleh, a good-natured, chatty fellow, by name As'ad Efendy Abu Ja'far, who had come to settle some business connected with loans to the fellahîn. The following are notes of my talks with him :—

Kal'at ed Dabbeh,‡ the port of Yebnâ, was called *Rubîl* like the wely and the river ;

* As an opportunity is now offered, I will draw attention to a more important point, which may perhaps rank as a factor in the problem of Gath, at any rate from the onomastic standpoint. In the marginal annotations to the *Merâçid*, Yâkût mentions a *karieh* in the Gaza country, which he calls *Jiteîn*, observing that this name is the dual of *Jit* (= "the two *Jit's*"). This locality appears to me to be identical with the one which Khalîl edh Dhâhery, in his *Description of the Empire of the Mamelukes*, places between Gaza and Beit Derâs. The name is barely legible in the MS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale (حنين); it has been incorrectly read *Habnîn* by Quatremère and *Jênîn* by M. Ravaisse, but it is evidently the *Jiteîn* (جيتين) of Yâkût. It is also the *Jatîn* (جتين—to be vocalized *Jateîn*) spoken of by Makrîzy as being on the road from Gaza to Ramleh. (*History of the Mameluke Sultans*, I, 239.) This name *Jiteîn* or *Jateîn*, "the two *Gîl's*" or "the two *Gat's*," recalls in striking fashion, it must be admitted, the name of the celebrated Philistine town. I have long searched in vain for it on the Map, and am at length convinced that it is represented by *Ejjeh*, quite close to Barbara. The real name of this locality, written جيه in the *Name Lists*, is really, as appears from Robinson's lists, الجية *el Jieh*, and the regular dual form of this must have been formerly used to denote a pair of places, the second being perhaps that now called *Barbara*. It is perhaps the ἀλλή Γεθείμ spoken of by the *Onomasticon* (s.v. Γεθθα) in reference to Gath. It is a rather curious coincidence that there exists a place of the same name *El Jieh* (or *El Jiye*) between Saida and Beyrout, which is also called Khân Neby Yûnes. Now Jonas, whose name has a connection with the place in legend, was born at Gath Hefer in Zebulun, so that the two Hebrew homonyms had two Arabic homonyms corresponding to them. I will add the final remark that the modern Arabic form *el Jieh*, for the village near Barbara, is vouched for by a mediæval charter of 1126 (Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, I, No. 74), which, as I think, actually alludes to our village in these terms: "casale nomine *Algie* . . . in territorio Abscalonis (*sic*)."

† *Mesbanum*, the form adopted by the generality of topographers after Reland, is a bad reading, invalidated by the MSS. St. Jerome means, when he quotes this name *Machamim*, the *Beth Maacah* of 2 Sam. xx, 14, 15; moreover, with him it is a mere identification of names, valueless from the topographical point of view.

‡ See *supra*, p. 163.

Benjamin has a makâm near Deir Turîf, in the plain ;

Sultân edh Dhâher (Beîbars) conquered the King of Jaffa, *Yafîl*. There was at Lydda at the same time a king called *K'fir el Luddy*, at Ramleh a king called *Filastîn*, brother of Constantine ; he it was that built Ramleh.

El Fenîsh was king at el 'Arish. Ibrahim el Haurâny, vizir of el Melek edh Dhâher, fought him and pursued him as far as Jaffa, where he took refuge. Ibrahim el Haurâny entered the city secretly. He was recognised by a tavern-keeper, who said to him, "Thou art a Mussulman. What dost thou here ?" "I am come," Ibrahim replied to him, "to cut off the heads of the three kings." The tavern-keeper told him to wait till the morrow, hid him at his house, and gave him food. Then he pointed out to him a way by which to penetrate to the citadel. Ibrahim made his way in, and cut off the head of King Yafîl, but el Fenîsh and the other king managed to get away. The proclamation of edh Dhâher, victor of Jaffa, is still extant, written on a large marble slab, in the Jâme' el Abiadh, and a detailed account of these events is given in the book entitled *Futûhât edh Dhâher*, "the victories of edh Dhâher."

This narration is the oddest medley of history and legend—I give it for what it is worth. Here and there in it I seem to catch an echo of the old Pharaonic story : "How Tutii took the town of Joppa."

The fellahîn of Khuldâ, who were there in company with As'ad Efendy, gave me the following information :—

At *Deir er Ruhbân*, half-an-hour east of Mûsa Talî'a, there is an ancient inscription ; at *Sejed* (to the south of Khuldâ) is another ; north-west of Deir er Ruhbân is *Deir Zâker* ;

Between Beit Fâr and Beit Sûsîn is the sanctuary of *Sheikh N'dheîr* ;

Near 'Ain Shemës there is a large threshing-floor called *el Meîsh*, together with the well of *Bîr eth Themed* ;

The ethnic name of the inhabitants of Beit A'tâb is '*Atâby* in the singular, and '*Atâb'neh* in the plural ; that of the inhabitants of Deir Ebân is *Deîr Ebâny* in the singular, *Deiâr'beh* in the plural.

SAMSON'S COUNTRY.

From Khuldâ we proceeded to 'Artûf, where we were to stay the night. Following the road which runs along the high ground, parallel with the Wâd es Serâr, we reached '*Ain Tarîf*, to west of Râfât and quite near it. A little

further on, in the Wâdy Râfât, I noticed a well, with a vaulting and a defaced base of a column, called *Bîr el Keba'*.

Sûrîk and *Sorek*.—Only a few minutes north from here there is a ruin of no great importance in itself, but extremely interesting, as will be seen, on account of its name, which greatly struck me. The fellahîn of Râfât told me that it was called *Khûrbet Sûrîk*. What I had done was nothing more or less than to discover the *Caphar Sorech* of the *Onomasticon*, looked for in vain down to our day, and at the same moment to get proof that at the beginning of the fourth century the Wâd es Serâr was supposed to be identical with the valley of *Sorek* where Delilah dwelt. I have already briefly mentioned this discovery at the time of making it.*

The various questions raised by it are of some consequence, and will repay a moment's attention.

Eusebius says, *s.v.* Σωρήχ, "a torrent (valley) whence came Samson's Delilah; there is a village on the borders (ὁρίους) of Eleutheropolis called Βαπήχ (*sic*) near Saar, where Samson came from."

This passage has evidently been tampered with by copyists. We certainly ought, as has been proposed by Vallarsius, relying on the version of St. Jerome, to correct ὁρίους into βορείους (northern); Βαπήχ into καφαρσωρήχ, and also Σαάρ to Σαπαά. St. Jerome does in fact amend the passage, and makes it precise, as follows: "..... there may be still seen at the present day, to the north of Eleutheropolis, a village named *Capharsorech*, near the town of Saraa, where Samson came from."

There can be no doubt as to the identity of the village spoken of by St. Jerome with our *Sûrîk*, which is situated less than two miles from Sar'a, the ancient *Zorah*, the home of Samson. The name and the position are in absolute accord, the more so as we are sure, from another passage,† that the *Onomasticon* located the *Zorah* of the Bible, as modern commentators do, at the present village of Sar'a.

Elsewhere, under the word Σωρήκ,‡ the *Onomasticon* says: "in the territory of Dan, where Samson was, near Esthaol." The Danite towns

* In a letter to the Committee, dated 25th June, 1874. Extracts from this were published in the *Statement* of the same year.

† *Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Σαπαά (*sic*), *Saara*: "On the borders of Eleutheropolis, on the north, as you go to Nicopolis" ('Amwâs), "at about the tenth mile." The distance is rather too short, but the regulating expressions ὥς ἀπὸ and *quasi*, sufficiently show that it is only meant to be approximate. See my remarks in a note further on, concerning *Esthaol*.

‡ Note the spelling, a κ this time, instead of an x; St. Jerome keeps to his *Sorech*.

Eshtaol and Zorah, according to the indications given in the Bible, must have been tolerably close together ; so there is nothing surprising in the fact that the *Onomasticon* at one time places Sorech near Saraa, at another near Eshtaol. Moreover, in another passage the *Onomasticon* ascribes to Esthaol a position and a distance which again brings us to the environs of Sar'a : "at the tenth mile from Eleutheropolis, to the north, as you go to Nicopolis."*

The Wâd es Serâr, which passes by the foot of Sûrik, undoubtedly the Caphar Sorech of St. Jerome, may perfectly well at some period have given it or have borrowed from it its name, as is constantly the case with valleys, and may have been called in the fourth century the valley of Sorech, and later on the valley of Surik.

Is it then to be supposed that this valley of Sûrik, or *Sorech*, is really the ancient valley of *Sorek* of the Bible ? That is quite another question.

The purely topographical view presents no difficulty, as this identification brings us right into the middle of the zone of operations of the Danite hero.

From the onomastic point of view, there are certain doubts which I cannot pass by unexamined. The Biblical name is written with the *koph*, שֹׂרֵךְ. How did they write this Semitic name *Caphar Sorech* which St. Jerome preserved, and how ought the Arab name Sûrik, which I have noted, to be written ? In

* This time the distance is expressed without any approximatory qualification, there is no *ὡς ἀπὸ* or *quasi*, the calculation is rigid. Taking it literally, one arrives at the conclusion that the Esthaol of the *Onomasticon* was at Beit el Jemâl, where likewise a legend of the fellahin, which I shall treat of later, would place the Eshtaol of the Bible. This of course is not to say that the data of the *Onomasticon* and local tradition are to be taken for gospel. Enough for us to bear this in mind, that Sar'a and Beit el Jemâl, being separated by the Wâd es Serâr, and this valley being in the eyes of the *Onomasticon* the Biblical Valley of Sorek, it would say with equal justness that Sorek was near Saraa or near Esthaol.

In support of the identification of Beit el Jemâl and the Esthaol of the *Onomasticon*, I will quote another passage of the same work which is quite conclusive (*s.v.* Ἰαβεῖς, *Jarimuth*), "Jarimuth" (the *Onomasticon* means the Jarmuth of Joshua x, 3), "about four miles from Eleutheropolis, in the neighbourhood of the village of Esthaol." Jarimuth, or Jarmuth, is certainly *Khûrbet Yarmûk*; the distance mentioned by the *Onomasticon* is incorrect, but the position is beyond doubt ; moreover, the *Onomasticon* corrects itself about the distance under the word Ἰερμούς, *Jermus*, saying that *Jermucha* (Ἰερμοχῶς) is the place situated at the tenth mile from Eleutheropolis on the road to Jerusalem. Now Beit el Jemâl, as a matter of fact, is just about an English mile from *Khûrbet el Yarmûk*.

Under the word Ἀσθαλ, *Asthaol*, the *Onomasticon* suggests another, totally different, and evidently erroneous, identification with a village called Ἀσθῶ, *Astho*, between Azotus and Ascalon. It is superfluous to remark that this village, whatever it may be, can have nothing in common with Eshtaol of the Bible.

the transliteration of Eusebius, [Σω]ρήχ, and in that of St. Jerome, *Cap̄har Sorech*, the presence of the χ and the *ch* would rather seem, to judge from the practice of these two authors, to imply the existence of a *kaph* rather than a *koph* in the name which they noted and compared with the Hebrew name; and in fact we have seen that when they do quote the real Biblical name they usually write it Σωρήκ and not Σωρήχ. It is therefore a fair objection that the name of the place noted in the *Onomasticon* was שֹׂרֵךְ and not שֹׂרֶךְ. If so, this would be a case of one of those arbitrary identifications which the authors of the *Onomasticon*, anticipating the hardihood of certain modern commentators, sometimes did not scruple to make; consequently, though we might have found the valley of Sorech of the *Onomasticon*—which would be interesting enough—we should not any the more for that have found the valley of Sorek of the Bible, which would be much more so.

The knot could be cut if we knew the exact form of the Arab name *Sûrîk*; but unluckily the same doubt confronts us on this very point. Is it سوريك? or سوريق?

I was not able to clear up the matter on the spot, and I recommend the filling up of this lacuna to future explorers. Everyone knows how difficult it often is when dealing with the fellahîn dialect to distinguish between an emphatic *kâf* and a natural *kâf*, since in some parts they pronounce the first in the same way as the second; on the other hand, it must be said, they frequently pronounce the second like *ch*, though not invariably. All I can say is that I have heard and noted *Sûrîk* and never *Sûrîch*, so the chances are in favour of the emphatic *kâph*, and, consequently, of the real onomastic identity between the Arab *Sûrîk* and the *Sorech* of St. Jerome, on the one hand, and the *Sorek* of the Bible on the other: שֹׂרֵךְ = سوريك

The Survey Party, which noted the name some time after I had pointed out its importance, writes it سوريك. But this transliteration in the *Name Lists* is open to the same doubts as I have already enumerated, and these doubts seem to me to be substantiated by the following observation, which I think the more necessary to be made, as it will lead me directly—putting aside all questions of phonetics—to certain topographical and historical indications which are not without importance in the solution of the geographical problem.

At some distance from *Khûrbet Sûrîk* there is a village that seems to me homonymous with the place we are dealing with. These cases of homonymy are frequent in Palestine, as everyone knows. This village is *Beit Sûrîk*, in the direction of Kûlônîeh, to the north. Now the name of this village, well-

known as it is, is involved in precisely similar difficulties of orthography. In Robinson's lists it is written سوريك; in a MS. official list which has been in my possession for the last twenty years, and was issued by the office of the Serâi at Jerusalem, it is written, on the contrary, سوريق; the *Name Lists* give the two spellings. It is clear that only one of these radically different forms can be right. But which is it? This brings us back to the very same question that confronted us in treating of our *Khûrbet Sûrik*.

This onomastic identification of *Kh. Sûrik* and *Beit Sûrik* leads us to another of a different kind, one that tends to prove that at one time the Wâd es Serâr may have borne the name of the Valley of Sûrik, which is a strong argument in favour of its identity with the Valley of Sorek of the Book of Judges. The village of Beit Sûrik lies just at the entrance of a short but deep valley which, joining the Wâdy Beit Hanîna (a little above Kûlônîeh), helps to form the Wâd es Serâr. This branch may perfectly well have been regarded as the real head of the valley which further on assumes the name of Wâd es Serâr; and I am not even convinced that this view is not hydrographically admissible.*

In this case a most natural explanation would be that *Kh. Sûrik* and *Beit Sûrik* have taken the same name, since, in spite of the distance they are apart, they are intimately connected by the same valley, and have each of them borrowed its name in the same way. It would follow that this valley from its head to *Kh. Sûrik* at least, and possibly beyond, was at one time called the Valley of Sûrik.

It must be admitted that, if this view be taken, the probability of the geographical identity of the Wâd es Serâr and the Biblical Valley of Sorek, and also consequently of the onomastic identity of Sûrik with the Sorech of the *Onomasticon* and the Hebrew Sorek, is sensibly enhanced.

Lastly, then, is another consideration which strikes me as calculated to turn the scale in favour of this view. It is a matter of common knowledge that, in Hebrew, the word *sorek* (שֹׂרֵק) signifies a vine of a superior quality, characterised by the particular colour of the grapes it bears. The word is rendered in the old Arabic versions of the Bible by سوريق and سريق, which is identical with one of the forms of the name of the two modern localities already treated of. The valley of Sorek must have been so called from being

* In spite of the course laid down on the Map, and the considerations of M. Trelawney Saunders, it may be said that the Wâd es Serâr begins at Beit Sûrik and receives the Wâdy Beit Hanîna as an affluent.

planted with numerous vineyards, which were its characteristic feature.* Now, it is very impressive to notice, that, in the environs of this very Kh. Sûrik, one finds at every step magnificent wine presses cut out in the rock,† the most remarkable perhaps in all Palestine, and bearing witness that vine-growing was practised to a high degree on the slopes of the Wâd es Serâr at an early period.

For all these reasons, and for others, too, that I could not give here without increasing this volume beyond measure, I incline more and more to the belief that the Kh. Sûrik, discovered by me, and identical with the Caphar Soreh of the *Onomasticon*, has really preserved for us the name of the valley of Sorek, and that this valley is none other than the Wâd es Serâr which runs below Sûrik.

Râfât.—At Râfât we came upon a commemorative funeral ceremony, an extremely curious one, accompanied by songs and dances. Some peasants from Beit A'tâb, ensconced beneath a great *ersh* of leaves supported by a stone pillar, gave us a most hearty welcome. In addition to the name Sûrik, which has just dragged me into this long but necessary digression, I got some more items of information from them :

At *Râfât* there is a *Sheikh Râfâtî*; at Sûr'ah (*Sar'a*) there is the *Sheikh Sâmêt* (صامت or سامط); at Eshûa' (Eshû') is *Neby Shû'ă*,‡

About a quarter of an hour west of Deir Abân is the place called *Tantûra*, beside which is the well *Bîr ez Zurrâ*; eighteen men once were massacred there.

Sar'a.—The sun was about to set as we reached Sar'a, behind a hill shaped like a promontory. I noticed on it numerous rock-hewn vaults. From the sanctuary of Sheikh Sâmêt, which rises to the south of the village, we had a glorious view over 'Ain Shemës, Deir Abân, 'Artûf, and so forth, and over the Wâd es Serâr, which here extends to an imposing breadth. On the further side of the valley, to the east, we descried by the last beams of

* Samson, accompanied by his father and mother, goes down to the vines of Timnah (Judges xiv, 5)=Tibneh, a little lower down, in the Wâd es Serâr.

† Several examples will be found reproduced with great fidelity by M. Schick in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, X, p. 131, *et seqq.*, 1887. Compare those that we noted in the direction of Beit Nettîf, which are engraved later on in the book.

‡ Or *Neby Ishû'ă* (*Eshû'a*); it is well-nigh impossible to make out from the pronunciation of the fellahîn whether the name begins with an *i* or not, as this letter, if it exists, is merged into the final *y* of *nehy*.

the setting sun, numerous mouths of tombs hewn in the side of the hill. A quarter of an hour later we had reached our camp at 'Artûf.

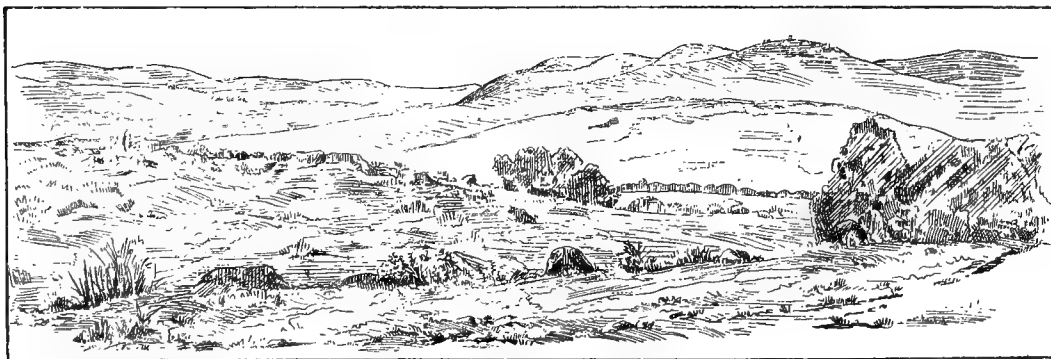
'*Artûf*.—'Artûf has every appearance of being an ancient place. Its name, however, recalls no memories of the Bible, and is moreover difficult to explain in Arabic, whether we write it عرطوف, with Robinson, or عرتوف, with the *Name Lists*. In the latter case one might suggest عتروف, "stout," "strong," turned into عرتوف by a metathesis similar to that which has transformed *Latrûn* into *Ratlûn* in the dialect of the fellahîn. If, on the contrary, the name is written with an emphatic *t*, we may, perhaps, regard the *r* as an epenthetic letter (equivalent to reduplication by *daguesh*; cf. in Aramaic ערטל for עטל); in which case 'Artûf would be instead of 'Attûf; 'Atûf means "curved," 'Âtûf, "a harpoon." However, none of these various conjectures lead us to any etymology that clears up the ancient toponymy. I thought at one time that 'Artûf might possibly represent, topographically at any rate, even if not onomastically, the town of *Tappuah*, תפוח, which is mentioned along with Zorah in this same group of the Shephelah. It must be allowed that the name would have changed remarkably on the way. Still, it is to be noted that in the ancient Syriac version it has already begun to undergo a marked change, *Pathuh*; on the other hand, the *h*, especially when final, easily becomes 'âin in Arabic; witness the name of the neighbouring town of *Zanoah*, זנוח, now *Zanû'a*. We should have then the following process, every step of which would have its phonetic justification: *Tappuah* = *Pathuh* = *Pattû* = 'Attûf = 'Artûf.* It is a rather curious coincidence that Robinson was once led to identify an homonymous Tappuah (*En Tappuah*) in the neighbourhood of Sichem, with a place called 'Atûf, the name of which seems to be related to 'Artûf. Nevertheless, the question seems to me far from settled, and I shall return to it anon when dealing with En Gannim, with which the Tappuah of Judah seems to be closely connected.

Places around.—Next day, before starting on our way to Jerusalem, I devoted part of the morning to examining certain spots near 'Artûf that especially interested me. I should have greatly liked to explore thoroughly this most curious region, forming as it does the heart of the primitive territory of the tribe of Dan, and the scene of the traditional history of Samson. But for this purpose we should have had to stay there a day at the least, and I was

* As for the change from *t* natural to *t* emphatic (if there really be one in the name) this would be explained by the influence of the guttural 'âin at the beginning of the word. This latter phenomenon is frequent in Arabic.

obliged to return to Jerusalem on urgent business. I resolved to confine our explorations on this occasion to 'Ain Shemës and Deir Abân, promising myself to complete them later on by a special excursion, which, unluckily, I was prevented by circumstances from carrying out.

Before leaving 'Artûf, I had a small conference on archæology and topography with the village fellahîn, in the course of which I gleaned various scraps of information; I will lay them before the reader just as I received them. We had before our eyes, as we talked, the panorama of the places to which the information related; this served as a text, so to speak, to these artless but interesting commentaries, which checked, completed, and sometimes even contradicted one another, according to the turns of the conversation or the personal character of the speakers. The eye beheld at one glance from the heights of 'Artûf: *Eshû'a*, *'Aslîn*, *Sar'a*, *'Ain Shemës*, *Deir Abân*, etc. Here is a small view taken from 'Artûf looking towards *Sar'a*, which is separated from it by the *Wâdy Mutlak*.



VIEW FROM 'ARTÛF LOOKING TOWARDS SÛR'AH (SAR'A).

I now let my fellahîn speak for themselves :

The locality situated not far to the west of 'Ain Shemës, and which figures on the map of Van de Velde—the only one I then had at my command—under the name of *'Ain Jîneh*, “the spring of Jîneh,” is really called *Umm Jîna*, and there is no spring there. This piece of information was opposed to a conjecture that I had formed for some time past, relying on the erroneous transcription of Van de Velde, which consisted in identifying this spot with the town of *En Gannim*. However, as I shall presently mention, the notion is still tenable. At Umm Jîna there is the sanctuary of *Neby Heïdar* (حيدر is one of the names of the lion in Arabic).

— At 'Ain Shemēs there is the sanctuary of *Abu Meîzar*, brother to *Sheikh es Sâmet*, whose sanctuary is at Sar'a, opposite 'Ain Shemēs. Abu Meîzar is a nickname, meaning "the father of the woollen mantle or head-dress." One Christian feast day Abu Meîzar penetrated into the church, disguised as a monk. He seized hold of the central column sustaining the building, crying : *Ya Kudret Allah*, "O power of God," and overthrew the church, which fell in ruins and crushed the congregation. He had said to the Mussulmans, "You will find me lying on my back, on the door post (*'adhîdeh*) ; bury me near it, on the western side."

— The saint of Sar'a, *Sheikh Sâmet*, brother of Abu Meîzar, was fighting against the infidels (*Kuffâr*). He had been asked where he was to be buried. "At the place," he replied, "where my *rekîz* (javelin) shall stick into the ground." He was at 'Ain Shemēs at the time. He hurled his *rekîz*, which planted itself in the soil to the south of Sar'a, where his makâm stands to this day.

— At 'Eselîn is the sanctuary of *Sheikh Gherîb*. The fellahîn, those at least with whom I talked, knew of no legend relating to it.

— At Deir el Hawâ, to the east of Deir Abân, there is a sanctuary of *Sheikh Selmân el Fâr'sy*.

— Between Umm Jîna and Tibneh is a *bîr* (well or cistern) called *Bîr el Leîmûn*, but no spring ; above, to the east, is a ruin of the same name. In old times a certain personage desiring to withdraw his daughter from the attentions of her lover, built for her a stronghold (*kasër*) right over the well. I was not able to get a complete account of this long and involved legend. The girl's name was *Jamla*, the lover's *Jemîl*. *Jemîl* is buried at Râfât, to the west of Sar'a.

— Between 'Ain Shemēs and Deir Abân lies a ruined place called 'Ellîn ('Alîn).

— Between Sar'a and Râfât is *Deir et Tâhûneh*, where one may see enormous stones, columns, and a door, still in position, said to be the church door.

— Between Deir Abân and 'Ain Shemēs, at the foot of the hill, is a sort of rocky pier hump, a *wa'r*, called *Tantûra*. A very long time ago the soldiers of the "government" cut off there the heads of forty-five fellahîn ; "eighteen pairs of brothers were massacred on these rocks." From thence forward it passed into a by-word, *dabhat et Tantûra*, "a Tantûra slaughter," being used to express a great massacre.

— East of Tantûra, between 'Artûf and Deir Abân, is a ruined spot called *Kh. Jenna'îr*. A musket shot to the east of Jena'îr is *Kh. Harâzeh*. Not far to the east of this, between Deir el Hawâ and Harâzeh, is *Kh. Merj*

'*Ellîn*, "the ruin of the meadow of 'Ellîn;" to the north of this last named ruin is *Kh. Rabî*°.

— Beit Ā'tāb, to the east of Deir Abân, belonged of old to the *Fenîsh*. There is still to be seen, to the north of Beit Jibrîn, at *A'râk el Finsh* (=Fenîsh), an immense cave with an inscription carved over the doorway saying: "We have filled it with black *zebîb dŭrŭmly*, do you fill it merely with chopped straw (*tibĕn*), and grain." It is a sort of challenge; *zebîb* is dry grapes; as for *dŭrŭmly*, I take it to be an adjective composed of the word *dŭrŭm* and the Turkish termination *ly*, and signifying a particular sort of grape, I cannot tell which.*

Wād es Serâr.—After this long conversation, we took leave of our 'Artûf villagers, and directed by one of them, whom we had chosen as guide, we descended into the Wād es Serâr, on our way to 'Ain Shemĕs. Several minor valleys join the main one at this point; it is quite wide, and affords a level surface adapted for corn-growing. The harvest had been already gathered in when we passed, but the long stubble was left standing. The whole answers to the description in 1 Samuel vi, 13; this valley bottom is the *emek* where the people of Beth Shemesh were getting in the harvest when they saw the cart bearing the Ark arriving. Somewhere hereabouts must have been the field of Joshua the Beth-Shemite, whose name has perhaps been handed down in that of the place and *neby* called *Eshû'ā*. Numerous hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of this latter, but this, the simplest and perhaps the most probable, has not been thought of.

Boundary.—Our guide pointed out to me in the distance the boundary of the territory of 'Ain Shemĕs, which descends from south to north, passing by a landmark situated to the east of 'Ain Shemĕs on the side of the hill, towards the outskirts of a small grove of olives.

Thus 'Ain Shemĕs has a regular boundary, a *hadd*, exactly as Beth-Shemesh, which it represents, had its *gebul*, its "boundary;"† up to this *gebel* the lords of the Philistines walked behind the Ark, when they brought it from Ekron. I could not get anyone to show me which way the *hadd* went that bounded the territory of 'Ain Shemĕs on the west. It would be

* For a moment I thought I could recognise in *dŭrŭm* the name of the district of Darom, to which Eleutheropolis belonged. But in this case one would have rather expected to find a long form, such as *dŭrŭm*, *dŭrŭm*. Besides, the name Darom has been modified by the Arabs in quite a different way, viz., *Dârîn*.

† 1 Samuel, vi, 12.

interesting to verify this on the spot, since it is on this western side that we must look for the boundary at which the Philistines, who came from the west, stopped their progress. It should be noticed, moreover, that the field of Joshua the Beth-Shemite, which I shall have occasion to speak of again shortly, was situated further to the east, since the Bible narrative (v. 13) says that the cart bearing the Ark still continued to proceed after the Philistines had stopped at the frontier.

Rujûm.—In the midst of the valley formed by the confluence of the Wâd es Serâr and the Wâdy Mutlak, between Sar'a, 'Artûf, 'Ain Shemës, and Deir Abân, I observed a low flat mound, covered with small stones, called *Khûrbet er Rujûm*, and also *R'jûm 'Artûf*, "the heap of stones of 'Artûf." I thought to myself how well adapted the spot was for the scene of the holocaust offered by the Beth-Shemites to celebrate the return of the Ark. Kh. er R'jûm, our guide told me, was formerly "a *Kal'a* (fortress) like a church."

En Gannim.—In speaking to me of *Kh. Kheîshûm*, he told me that it used to be the *beled* "country, or town" of a King called *Sultân el Jânn*. This name, *Jânn* جَان, is a rather curious one. At first sight it appears to be merely the Arabic word signifying "demon, genie," but I should not be surprised if in reality it was a modification of the name of the ancient town of *En Gannim* עֵין גַּנִּים, "the spring of the gardens," which I have already mentioned in speaking of Umm Jîna, near Kheîshûm. What made me hesitate to identify Umm Jîna with En Gannim was, as I have said, my noticing that the word 'ain, "spring," formed no part of the modern name, and, more serious still, that there was not even a spring at Umm Jîna. However, this last objection which I raised to myself loses much of its potency from the following fact: at 'Ain Shemës, well-established as the counterpart of the Beth-Shemesh of the Bible, there is no spring either, any more than at Umm Jîna, despite the word 'ain, "spring," which enters into the composition of the modern name. It is, however, probable that there must have been at one time a spring at 'Ain Shemës to justify this significant appellation. The spring must have disappeared, no rare occurrence in Judæa or elsewhere. The case of Umm Jîna may have been similar. I revert, then, to my original idea, confirmed as it is by the mention of this *Sultân el Jânn* localised at Keîshûm. I am inclined to believe that the town of En Gannim, mentioned in Joshua as being in the district now under consideration, was situated on that remarkable ridge on the north of which Umm Jîna was built, and to the south of which Kheîshûm stretches, "the country of the

King of el Jânn;" *Jîna* and *Jânn*, I think, preserved the name *Gannim* (plural of *Gan*) in two slightly different forms depending one on the other. The memory of the "gardens" that gave the place its Hebrew name has also perhaps been preserved in a material way in the names of *Bîr el Leîmûn*, Khûrbet *Bîr el Leîmûn*, which presuppose the existence of groves of citron-trees.

In the passage of Joshua (xv, 34) in which En Gannim appears, there is an anomaly calculated to arouse our attention. It is well known that there is a fundamental principle in this long list of the towns belonging to the various tribes of Israel; the towns are grouped by threes in the verses, the few exceptions to this general rule having in every case their *raison d'être*.

Now in v. 34 the rule of three is broken, at least if the received translations be admitted, and we have four towns instead of three: *Zanoah En Gannim, Tappuah, and Enam*. A close inspection of the Hebrew text will reveal the fact that, owing to the peculiar employment of the conjunction *and*, the verse really contains only three towns, not four: *And Zanoah, and En Gannim Tappuah, and Enam*. The absence of any conjunction between En Gannim and Tappuah would seem to show that the two places are really one, and that, consequently, if En Gannim is at Umm Jîna, it is at the latter place also that Tappuah should be located. This conclusion would at the same time remove all possibility of placing Tappuah at 'Artûf.*

The *Onomasticon* places En Gannim near *Bethel*, which is a violation of all probability; we should probably correct *Bethel* to *Bethsames*.

Various Notes.—As we climbed the slopes of the hill of 'Ain Shemës, our guide continued to gossip in instructive fashion:

— Between Deir Abân and Tantûra, he told me, there is a well (or cistern) called *Bîr ez Zurrâ' (Zera')* (already mentioned).

— Between 'Ain Shemës and Deir Abân, to the north of 'Ellîn ('Alîn), is a ruin called *Kh. Umm ed Dahab*, "the mother of gold."

— Close by 'Ellîn ('Alîn) is a sanctuary of the saint of the same name, *Sheikh 'Ellîn*. This is a hypæthral *makâm*, without masonry.

The ancient name of Deir Abân was *Zéîd el Mâl*, "the increase of the money."†

* And also the hypothesis that has been proposed, of identifying the *Petah Enaim* of the story of Tamar (Gen. xxxviii, 14) with a combination of *Tappuah* (by metathesis) and the *Enam* of the verse of Joshua.

† Notice here again this expletive qualification *el mâl*, which the fellahîn appear to have a strong liking for, and which they add to many ancient place-names. To the examples above quoted (p. 100) there should also be added one which occurs to me, namely *Sûr Bâher*, called by the fellahîn *Sûr el mâl*

— At Eshû' is the makâm of *Neby Ausha'* (أوشع), who fought against the Kuffâr or pagans. He came from Beit Nebâla.* Pursued by a numerous band of enemies, he escaped from his native land and took refuge at Eshû'. "Here shall I die!" said he. He sat down, threw his *ihram* (cloak) over his shoulder, and died. He used to slay the enemy with a "wooden sabre" (*seîf khashab*).† The sabre is still at Eshû'.

'*Ain Shemës*.—On reaching the top of the hill, we inspected the ruins of 'Ain Shemës,‡ which stretch over a considerable space, comprising numbers of hewn stones and courses still *in situ*. The hill extends from west to east between the Wâd es Serâr and the Wâdy 'Ellîn ('Alîn). The western part of the ancient town occupies an eminence covered with ruins which goes by the name of *R'meîleh*. This quarter lies just west of the wely, a small insignificant structure called after the famous Abu Meîzar; I noticed there, however, a rude capital with double Doric volute, having a cross within a circle between the two volutes.

Here I came across a new version of the legend of Abu Meîzar, who was also called, so my guide and other fellahîn who were present declared, *Abu'l 'Azem* and *Shemshûm el Jebbâr*,§ "Samson the hero." There was once at R'meîleh, which is the ancient name of 'Ain Shemës, a church of the infidels. Abu Meîzar said to the inhabitants of Sar'a (Sûr'âh), his native place: "What will you give me, if I kill the Christians and destroy their church?" "We will give you a quarter of the country," they answered him. Then Abu Meîzar entered into the church, where he found the Christians assembled for prayer, and pulled it down on top of them and him, by giving a mighty kick at the column, crying "*Ya Rabb!*" "O Lord!" He had said previously to his compatriots at Sar'a, "Search in R'meîleh, you will find me lying on my back and the Christians on their bellies." The present makâm

* Beit Nebâla takes us to quite another region, to the north of Lydda and Modin. Perhaps there was some mistake on my part or that of my informant, and Beit Nebâla should be corrected into Bîr Nebâla, to the north of Neby Shamwîl.

† In my note-book is the note, "or handle of a plough." I cannot now undertake to say whether this is a variant derived actually from the narrative of my guide, or a commentary resulting from the explanations given me by the fellahîn.

‡ I transliterate the Arab name *Shemës* and not *Shems*, since it is really so pronounced: *Skémës* or *Shámës*. The vulgar Arabic of Syria has in fact faithfully handed down to us in this word, as in other similar ones, the Hebrew vocalisation: *Shemesh*; it constantly applies the rule of the segolated forms; this is why they say *Kodeûs* (cf. the Hebrew *Kodesh*) and not *Kods*, for the name of Jerusalem; *benêt*, not *bent*, "daughter;" *tebên*, not *tebn*, "straw," etc.

§ *Jebbâr*, it need hardly be said, is the Hebrew *gibbor*, "hero."

was erected to his memory. It is said that he was rather blind. His brother was Sâmet, born like himself at Sar'a (Sūr'ah).

The old people say: *beîn Sar'a û Beît el Jemâl enkatal Shemshûm el Jebbâr*, "between Sar'a and Beit el Jemâl* the hero Samson was killed." To this very day the Sheikh in charge of the sanctuary of Abu Meïzar, who comes from Beit Ā'tâb, claims one-fourth of the produce of the olives between Deir Abân and 'Ain Shemës, in virtue of the promise made to the hero by his fellow citizens of Sar'a. One day a fellâh who had refused to pay the traditional due, obtained blood instead of oil, when he came to press his sacrilegious fruit.

'*Ellîn*.—From 'Ain Shemës we turned down towards the east by south-east into the Wâdy 'Ellîn ('Alîn). The upper part of this is much widened out, and bears the name of *Merdj 'Ellîn*, "the meadow of 'Ellîn." If the word *Abel* אֶבֶל, "meadow," in 1 Sam. vi, 18, were not, as it seems it is, an old clerical error for אֶבֶן, "stone," we might be tempted to locate there the great "meadow" of Joshua the Beth-Shemite, where the Ark was placed on its return from Philistia.

At the head of the Wâdy 'Ellîn are the ruins of *Kh. 'Ellîn*. Huge blocks lie strewn about in every direction, some of them preserving traces of arrangement in rows, indicating that they form part of demolished buildings. The makâm of *Sheikh 'Ellîn* consists of a small rectangular enclosure of loose stones; it is a *haram* open to the sky, with no trace of masonry about it. The Sheikh 'Ellîn came from Beit Nettîf, three miles and a half to the south; he was brother and enemy to Neby Heïdar, who is worshipped not far from there at Umm Jîna.

'Ellîn must have been a centre of population not so very long ago, for it appears on the MS. administrative list in my possession, and in that of Robinson. The site tempts one to locate there one of the towns mentioned in the Bible as being in the neighbourhood. Two conjectures have been hazarded within the last few years. I had thought of those for myself, but even now am at a loss which to adopt. They are: *Enam* in Judah (Joshua xv, 34), and *Elon* in Dan (Joshua xix, 43). Both are philologically tenable.

* The expression "between Sar'a and Beit el Jemâl" curiously recalls one that occurs twice over in the account given in the book of Judges: "Between Zorah and Eshtaol" (Mahaneh Dan, and the family tomb of Samson); as well as the constant association of these two towns. It implies, as I have already remarked, the identity of Beit el Jemâl and Eshtaol in fellâh tradition, which seems in this respect to agree with the tradition recorded by the authors of the *Onomasticon*. I note this curious fact without attaching otherwise any importance to it.

As regards the second, I will add that one might equally well, if not better, from the topographical and onomastic point of view, identify *Elon* with 'Aleîn (*Dhahr*), a little west of Beit Mahsir.

Tantûra.—An ancient road cut in the rock goes down from Kh. 'Ellîn to the Wâdy Deir Abân. We took this in order to reach the village which gave it its name. Our guide either could not or would not take us to Tantûra, the existence of which had been expressly mentioned to us by the fellahîn of 'Artûf.* I was keenly desirous of visiting this place on account of its suggestive name. From his confused account it would appear that Tantûra is also called *Sâfieh* (صافية, not صافية).

Neby Sh'eîb.—Before arriving at Deir Abân, and while deviating left and right a little to find Tantûra, we came to the *Wâdy Bîr ez Zurrâ*, where we found a rocky mound with the ruins called *Kh. Umm ed Dahab*; it is crowned by the wely of *Neby Sh'eîb*.†

Bîr ez Zurrâ.—Opposite to the east, at the bottom of the valley, is the well of *Bîr ez Zurrâ*. Above, on the hill-side, in the direction of 'Ain Shemës, we perceived at some distance a ruin called *Kh. es Siâgh*, "the ruin of the goldsmiths," the name of which seems to form a pendant to that of the neighbouring ruin *Kh. Umm ed Dahab*, "the ruin of the mother of gold."

To Deir Abân.—To get to Deir Abân from the bottom of the valley, we had a nasty piece of climbing over rocks, where we were in continual peril of breaking our necks. As we neared the village, I noticed numerous cisterns and caves hewn out in the rock. The village rises in terraces on the side of the hill. The mosque is called by an insignificant and very common sort of name, *el 'Âmery*. There are in addition two welys, one of *Sheikh 'Obeîd*, the other of the *Arba'in*, "forty" (martyrs). In the upper part of the wall of the mosque we noticed a piece of sculpture, and M. Lecomte made a drawing of it.‡

Wâd Sherîk.—To the south of Deir Abân is a small valley of no length, called *She'b Wâd Sherîk*, which joins the *Wâd Deir Abân* after passing by the foot of the village. I am not sure about the exact form of the name. It sounded to me like *Sherîk* شرق, but it may have been *cherîk*, the initial *ch* being

* Their statements were confirmed a few hours later by the fellahîn of Deir el Hawâ, but we were already too far off to go back.

† *Sh'eîb*, who is, as is well known, the representative of the Jethro of the Bible in Mussulman legend.

‡ This drawing cannot be found.

partially merged in the final *d* of the word *wâd*: *wâd cherk*. In this case the original form would be كرك, which is not likely; كركٹ would do very well, but in that case it ought to have sounded to me *cherch*, not *cherk*.*

Deir Abân.—The question arises whether *Deir Abân* represents an ancient town, and if so, what? The name is found in identically the same shape in other parts of Palestine,† and even right up near Damascus.‡ This then makes three monasteries at least that have borne the name of *Abân*. Their origin remains involved in obscurity, and the relation established between these three widely separated localities by this similarity of name defies detection. As to the *Deir Abân* near 'Ain Shemës, I have already asked myself the question§ whether this puzzling name *Abân* might not stand for the Hebrew word *Eben*, "stone, rock," and whether, in this event, our *Deir Abân* might not be connected with that *Eben* which plays so important a part in two episodes of Israelitish history that appear to have occurred in this very neighbourhood.

The following is the manner in which I endeavoured to state the problem, in an article published in 1876||:—

(1) *The Great Eben*. The Philistines, bringing back the Ark on a waggon from Ekron to Beth-Shemes, reach the verge of that city, now represented by 'Ain Shemës (1 Sam. vi, 13). The waggon stops in the field of Joshua the Beth-shemite, where there was a great stone (*Eben*); the ark is rested on the "great stone," a sacrifice is offered in this place, and the cows which were drawing the Ark are sacrificed (vv. 14, 15). A little further on (v. 18), in speaking of the gold offerings, the narrator returns to this "great stone"¶ on which the Ark was rested, and which is pointed out to this day in the field of Joshua; it seems this time to indicate clearly the limit of the Philistine territory ("to the great stone . . ."), which, moreover, is confirmed by the fact that the Philistines go no farther, and that, after accompanying the Ark to this point, they return to Ekron. The memory of this event is, if my opinion is correct, preserved in the name of *Deir Abân*. As to the

* I doubt its being the *Wâdy el Ker'kah* of the *Name Lists* (قرعة), the valley of *Deir Abân* into which the little valley runs that I am speaking of.

† Between Sebaste and Kalansaweh.

‡ Yakût, *Mo'jem el Buldân*, s.v.

§ *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 279.

|| *Academy*, October 28th, 1876.

¶ *Abel*, "meadow," must be corrected into *eben* "stone," in the opinion of all the commentators.

extraordinary importance assigned it by the Book of Samuel, this is explained by the following considerations :—

(2) *Eben ha-ezer*. The Israelites on their way to attack the Philistines, who had advanced to Aphek, encamp—probably on the confines of their territory—near the stone of succour (*Eben ha-ezer*). Beaten the first time, they bring up the Ark from Shiloh, and again try the fortunes of battle. They are completely defeated, and the Ark, which falls into the hands of the Philistines, is transported by them from Eben ha-ezer to Ashdod (1 Sam., ii). These events occur, be it understood, *before* those we have just related.

Is it not natural that later on the Ark should have been carried back to the same point where it had been captured? On the very same spot where the sacrilege had been committed should the expiation be made. Now this spot bears precisely, as we have seen above, the name of “the great stone” (*Eben*).

There is yet another argument. It is only farther on (chap. vii) that the narrator tells us the origin of the name of Eben ha-ezer, whence it results that, at the moment of the return of the Ark, the place did not yet bear this name of *Eben ha-ezer*, and that the narrator only used it by anticipation when speaking of the previous defeat of the Israelites. As the religious outrage inflicted on the Ark had been repaired on the very same spot where it had taken place, so the national outrage was to be atoned for under identical conditions. It was at Eben ha-ezer itself that the Israelites, beaten at Eben ha-ezer, were to take under the leadership of Samuel a signal revenge. It was then only that the battle-field, determined by the position of Maspha, Bethkar, Sen (and Aphek) was consecrated by the *erection of a stone*, to which Samuel gave the name of *Eben ha-ezer*, “stone of succour.”* It marked the point reached by the pursuit, and the Philistines never again crossed *the borders* of Israel.

It results therefore from these comparisons, which I can now only briefly indicate, waiving certain obscure points, that—

1. The place where the Israelites were beaten and where they lost the Ark did not assume till a later date the name of *Eben ha-ezer*.

2. It was to this same spot, this time called *Eben*, that the Philistines carried back the Ark.

* It results from a passage in Josephus that the stone must have borne in certain Hebrew MSS. the name of *Azaz* אַזַּז, “strength, strong,” with a final *zain* instead of a *resh*, for he translates this name by *ισχυρόν*, “strong.”

3. The Israelites, having beaten the Philistines in their turn at this same place, called it *Eben ha-ezer*.

4. This place must have been on the confines of the Philistines and the Israelites—may perhaps even have been one of the boundary-marks.

5. All these data, including that of the *Onomasticon*,* apply remarkably well to Deir Abân.

Before leaving this in many respects most interesting region—the land of Samson as we may call it—to pursue the narrative of our tour, I think I ought to add a few words on certain questions more or less closely connected with it.

'*Eselîn* (*ʿAslîn*).—The ruins of 'Eselîn, lying just a little to the north-east of Sar'a, do not appear to have attracted the attention of archæologists before 1874, at any rate from the onomastic point of view. M. Guérin confines himself to relating a local legend, unknown to the fellahîn whom I questioned on the matter, to the effect that the sanctuary of Sheikh Gherîb at 'Eselîn is the genuine tomb of Samson. This legend, if relied upon, and combined with the modern theory identifying Eshû' with Eshtaol, would involve the conclusion—Zoreah being indubitably Sar'a—that 'Eselîn is identical with Mahaneh-Dan, which was situated, like the family tomb of Samson, "between Zorah and Eshtaol." But this legend, even supposing it exists, is far too weak a basis to support such a conclusion in topography. I have shown above that the dim traditions of the fellahîn concerning Samson, which are arbitrarily fastened on to various more or less fabulous persons, placed his tomb, either implicitly or explicitly, elsewhere than at 'Eselîn. Accordingly we must not build on the notion.

There remains for consideration the name '*Eselîn*, and whether it represents a Bible name. At first sight it has an entirely Arab appearance, and seems connected with the word '*asal*, "honey." But we know that we often have to mistrust these names of purely Arab appearance. *Tibneh*, "chopped straw," one would swear was Arabic, but it is beyond a doubt that it is the name of the town of *Timnah*, brought into that shape by one of those popular etymologies which are as dear to the peasantry of Palestine as to those of our European countries. The same is true, I think, of the name of

* The *Onomasticon* in fact (*s.v.*, Ἀβεεζεῖρ, *Abenezzer*) places Eben ha-ezer near the village of Bethsames, between Jerusalem and Ascalon. This quite tallies with the position of Deir Abân, and seems to imply that Eusebius and St. Jerome were also of opinion that the "great stone" where the Ark rested on its return from Ekron, was identical with *Eben ha-ezer*.

'Eselîn; it conceals from us some Bible name, but what name is it? I have suggested that of the town of *Ashnah* mentioned in the same verse (Joshua xv, 33) (between Zoreah and Eshtaol, forming the usual group of three) as belonging to Judah.

From the phonetic stand-point, the Arabic عسلىن would quite exactly represent the Hebrew אשנה: the initial *aleph*, in contact with the *shin*, would have changed to 'aîn, as in the name of Ascalon, (عسقلان=אשקלון); the *nûn* to *lâm*, as in the name of *Shunem* (שונם=Saulam, سولم). As for the addition of the termination *în*, so frequent in the Arab toponymy of Palestine, it is easy to explain. So we may say that from this quarter the identification of *Ashnah* and 'Eselîn would encounter no difficulty.

From the topographical point of view, the proximity of Sar'a (=Zoreah) forms another argument in its favour. But under this second head there is an objection that I have started against myself, and gives me pause. In chap. xix, 41 of the same book of Joshua, we see Zoreah and Eshtaol separated from the territory of Judah and assigned to that of Dan; here also they form a group of three, but no more with *Ashnah*, that name being replaced by *Ir-Shemesh* (= 'Ain Shemës,* to the south of Sar'a). The alternative is obvious; either *Ashnah* is identical with *Ir-Shemesh*;† or else *Ashnah*, if it is to stay in the territory of Judah, must have been situated to the south of Sar'a, and even south of 'Ain Shemës, the territory of Dan being to the north of the contiguous territory of Judah. In either case it becomes difficult to identify *Ashnah* with 'Eselîn, which is to the north-east of Sar'a, and consequently well into the Danite territory. This is why I am now inclined to ask whether 'Eselîn would not be simply *Eshtaol*. Certainly the onomastic identity in this case is not so immediately striking as with *Ashnah*, but still it is far from impossible.

As to the first syllable אש=عس, the proof is ready to hand; the *l* is preserved. The disappearance of the *t* (ת) remains to be accounted for, but it is provided with precedents, as it happens, in names of towns of analogous form, that is to say, in which the *t* is not radical; e.g., *Eshtemoa* אשתמה, אשתמע = es Semû' السموع. It is even possible that this *t* may have left a

* The question would of course assume a new aspect if the generally admitted identity of *Ir-Shemesh* and *Beth-Shemesh* were to be rejected.

† This hypothesis I cannot here discuss, but after all it is not quite untenable, if it be borne in mind that *Ir-Shemesh* is not mentioned, any more than *Beth Shemesh* is, in the *list* of the towns of Judah, though *Beth-Shemesh* certainly formed part of the territory of that tribe. (Joshua xv, 10, and, especially, xxi, 16.)

slight trace behind it in the reduplication of the *sîn*. This reduplication is hard for the ear to catch, but may still be a real one: 'Esselîn, 'Ess' lîn, which would be for 'Estelin, 'Est' lîn.* To this should be added the power of attraction of the significant Arabic word *asal*, "honey," which may have brought about the deviation of the word towards this meaning. It is certain that 'Eselîn is phonetically speaking less distant from *Eshtaol* than Eshû', which hitherto found more ready acceptance. Topographically the two sites are equally likely on account of their nearness to Sar'a.†

Sa'îreh.—Just a little to the west of Beit Ā'tâb is a ruin called *Kh. es Sa'îreh*. I was unable to visit it, though its name, which appears on Robinson's list along with Zânû', Yarmûk, Shueikeh, etc., had attracted my attention. I had proposed (*Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 182) to recognise in it the *Shaaraim* of Joshua xv, 36. The onomastic identification is beyond reproach. The topographical position, which I had not been able at the time to determine exactly, may, however, raise some difficulties; in fact, Sa'îreh seems rather too far to the east to fit in with the details of the narrative in 1 Samuel xvii, 52, where we see the Philistines, beaten by the Israelites in the valley of Elah, fleeing along the road to Shaaraim as far as Gath and Ekron. It must be said, however, that several commentators, following herein the view of the Septuagint, regard *Shaaraim* as not being here the name of a town, but as a substantive meaning "the gates" or "the two gates." In this case naturally the difficulty vanishes, the topographical question itself being no longer existent.

* The addition of the long termination *în*—which is derived perhaps, as in many analogous instances, from an old ethnic plural ("the Eshtaolites")—involved the reduction of the medial diphthong *ao* to *ai* (cf. אִשְׁתָּאֵל), and paved the way for its transformation into a short vowel, destined finally to disappear or to become imperceptible. The strengthening of the initial *aleph* to 'ain could only further the displacement of the centre of gravity of the word.

† It is more difficult to bring back the Arabic form *Eshû'* to the Hebraic form *Eshtaol* by the application of the ordinary principles governing the phonetic transformation of place names from Hebrew to Arabic. It is certain that, rightly or wrongly, native tradition points to some such name as יִשׁוּעַ in this name *Eshû'*; accordingly, several commentators have proposed to recognise in it the town of *Jeshua* (Neh. xi, 26), although, to judge from the context, Jeshua appears to have formed part of a group of towns much more to the south. Has the Neby Eshû' of local legend given his name to the village of the same name, or borrowed it from it? In the first case we might admit that the ancient name corresponding to Eshtaol had disappeared, and was replaced by this new name. The legend, as I have shown, assigns a foreign origin to this neby Eshû'. I have already remarked that the name recalls both that of Joshua the Beth-shemite (1 Sam. vi, 14, 18) and that of the Canaanite Shuah, the father-in-law of Judah (Gen. xxxviii, 2). I have previously noted (information obtained at Yebnâ, p. 184) that the ethnic of the inhabitants of Eshû' is *Yeshû'any* in the singular, and *Shewâ'neh* in the plural.

Crusaders' Casals.—Many of the villages of this region appear to have been occupied by the Crusaders. There is a group of five casals mentioned several times over in charters of the twelfth century* as having been given originally to the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, along with their farms and dependencies, by a certain John Gothmann.

- (1) *Bethahatap*; variants: *Bethaatap*, *Bethaap*, *Beitatap*, *Betatap*.
- (2) *Derhassen*; variants: *Derassen*, *Derasen*.
- (3) *Derxerib*; variant: *Derxerip*.
- (4) *Culi*.
- (5) *Vastina Leonis*.

The first, as M. Rey and Herr Röhricht have perceived, is certainly *Beit Ā'tāb* (to the south-east of Deir Abān). It is clear that the other four are to be sought for in the same region, and this debars us from the attempted identifications made by Herr Röhricht with various localities that are situated at much too great a distance. I therefore propose to identify the second (= *Deir Hasan*) with the *Kh. Hasan*,† to the north-west of Sar'a; the third with *Deir Shebīb*,‡ to the north of Sar'a; the fourth with *Kh. Kīla*,§ to the north of Deir Shebīb; and the fifth, *Vastina Leonis*, "the guastine of the Lion," with *Kh. el Asad*, "the ruin of the Lion,"|| to the south-west of Beit Ā'tāb.

Legends of Place Names.—I have noted in the fellahīn folk-lore a certain number of legends which, as we have seen, centre round the traditional memories of Samson. I am of opinion that these more, or less superficial traditions are yet deeply rooted in the soil, and may be found attaching to certain place-names in the environs of Sar'a, the country of Samson. In the Bible narrative even a process of localization is perfectly evident, which consists in explaining the origin of certain place-names by certain acts

* De Rozière, *Cartulaire du Saint Sépulcre*, pp. 195, 197, 266, 279.

† Not far from here is the homonymous ruin called *Kh. El Haj Hasan*.

‡ *Derxerib*, *Derxerip*, must result from a copyist's error for *Derxebīb* (R for B). One might also take into account the *Sheikh Gherīb* of 'Eslīn, but I have doubt about it.

§ Herr Röhricht is divided between this *Kīla* and one of the many names compounded with the word *Kal'a*, "fortress."

|| Here is perhaps an arbitrary localization of the legend of the lion that Samson slew as he went down to Timnah. It is hardly necessary for me to remark that this place, styled "of the Lion," is situated quite off the line of route from Sar'a to Tibneh, which probably represents the Timnah of the Bible narrative. On the other hand, there is another place also called *Tibna*, half-way on the road to Sar'a; and lying to the south of Beit Ā'tāb. It is possible that the legend has been diverted to this locality.

attributed to the Danite hero. It appears strikingly in the marvellous story of the *jawbone of an ass*, in the account of Ramath Lehi and the spring of En Hakkore; it is less explicit, but still probable, as I think, in that of the three hundred foxes (which might have reference to the name of the Danite town *Shaalbim* (*Shualim*); it exists perhaps, without being declared, in other episodes, where it is beyond our reach. It looks as if the compiler of the Book of Judges by multiplying these points of topographical connection had done his best to fix on Danite soil the more or less mythical personality that we know under the name of Samson.* Local tradition has, I think, subsequently carried on this process. It is one that is not peculiar to any epoch, and in some cases does not shrink from identifications of the most arbitrary description. I will confine myself to pointing out a few short hints:

Khûrbet Nâkûra (ناقورا), to the north of Deir Abân, recalls *En Hakkore*;†

The sanctuary of *Sheikh Nedhîr*, to the north-west of Sar'a, recalls how Samson was consecrated as *nazir* (נזיר, نذير);

Quite near this is *Kh. Ism Allah*, "name of God;" cf. the appearance of the angel and the "secret name" to which he alludes;

Also near this is *Kh. Kefr Ūrieh*; cf. the young lion that Samson tore in pieces (כפר אוריית, كفر اورية);‡

To the south-west of Sar'a is *Deir et Tâhûneh*, the name of which means "the convent of the mill;" but it must not be forgotten that *tâhûneh* also means in Arabic "molar (tooth);" cf. the molar of the ass's jawbone, whence Jehovah made the miraculous spring to flow;

'Eselîn, an ancient name brought in to the form of *'asal*, "honey;" cf. the honey found by Samson in the carcase of the lion, etc.

* Beginning perhaps with the actual name of *Samson*, though *Zoreah* is given in the Bible as the home of the hero, it may well be that his name has some connection with that of the neighbouring town of *Beth Shemesh*. Many different legends must have been current in the tribe of Dan about the origin and exploits of the hero, though the book of Judges has only handed down to us an insignificant part of them.

† This identification was suggested to me as early as 1870 by the existence of the name, which was noted by M. Guérin without further comment. Since then, I see, in 1887, M. Schick has proposed it, but he takes up a position of historical reality and actual identity which I am not inclined to adopt. *Nâkurâ*, properly speaking, means "trumpet."

‡ Cf. also *Khûrbet el Ased*, "the Lion's Ruin," to the south-west of Beit Ā'tâb, which I have already mentioned. The legend has managed to take its course all about these parts, and to fix itself at several points in succession.

A careful comparison of the Bible text and the toponymy of the district would probably enable us to increase the number of these popular allusions, which already form a homogeneous and significant whole.*

FROM DEIR ABÂN TO JERUSALEM.

Deir el Hawâ.—From Deir Abân we proceeded to Deir el Hawâ, where we halted for lunch. I noticed in the village some ancient architectural remains, among others two bases, a column, and a carved stone, in which we thought we could detect a part of a balustrade. In the village itself are numerous caverns. One of these is a makâm sacred to *Sheikh Selmân*. I had already found a similar case of an old cave serving as a sanctuary, at el Midieh, the modern representative of the Modin of the Book of Maccabees. Entrance is gained to the cave by a stone door. Observing that the lintel was besmeared with a sort of reddish paste, I inquired the reason, which I found to be very curious. When the women make a vow, to obtain the cure of a sick child, for instance, they say, "I will give so much *henna* to the wely, one, two, or three piastres' worth of henna, if my child recovers." When their prayers are heard they make a paste with henna and smear the door of the sanctuary (*bet'hannû 'l-bâb*). This practice vividly recalls that of the anointing of the sacred stones.

I observed likewise that before entering the sacred cave it was usual to touch the lintel with the hand, asking for *destûr*, "permission," and to avoid stepping on the threshold.† The cave is vast and irregularly hewn. The visitor enters a first chamber and passes thence to a second. There are probably other openings leading to chambers, but they are stopped up with large stones.

Ancient Caves.—Opposite Deir el Hawâ, on the other side of the wide and deep valley of Wâd Ismâ'în, we saw, on the side of the mountain over against us, towards the north, the gaping mouth of a large cave forming a sort of enormous bay with a rounded top. This cave, I was told by the

* I have already drawn attention to the existence of a makâm of Neby Sh'eîb, to the northwest of Deir Abân. It is not easy to see why the Arabic name of Jethro comes to be here. *Sh'eîb* suggests the *Seîph* of the rock Etam; we know, as a matter of fact, that the Hebrew and Arabic roots שֵׁפ and شَعْب are very closely related as regards their form and the meaning of their derivatives. It should be noted that this *Sh'eîb* is quite near Kh. Nâkûra.

† Cf. 1 Sam. v. 5.

fellahîn of Deir el Hawâ, is also a makâm, consecrated to Sheikh Ismâ'in, who lived there once upon a time. It is called *Ė'râk Sheikh Ismâ'in*. It is huge enough to hold the whole population of the country-side, both man and beast. Inside it is an ancient *kenîseh* (church). The appearance of this cavern, its position, and the peasants' description, tempted me to the idea of locating there the famous rock of Etam, where Samson is represented as hiding* in the Book of Judges. By the side of Ė'râk Ismâ'in the fellahîn indicated to me another large cavern called *'Alâle 'l Benât*. They added that in former days all these caverns, on both sides of the valley, served as dwelling-places for the Kuffâr.

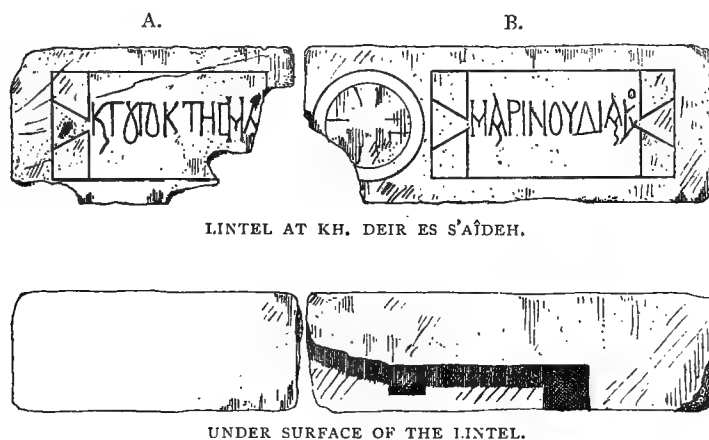
Khûrbet es Sa'ideh.—From Deir el Hawâ we pursued our way towards Jerusalem, passing by way of Kh. es Sa'ideh, where I wished to copy an inscription, of which M. Guérin had only been able to take down two words. We bent our course towards the south-east, so as to rejoin the ancient Roman road, leaving on our right the wely *el Hâubany*, and farther on, at some distance off, *Kh. Fûkîn*. Then we went up again in a north-easterly direction to el Kabû, where we made a short halt for a drink of the delicious water of the spring there. From here we proceeded to Kh. es Sa'ideh, along a deep valley. I hastened to get there before the sun, which was beginning to sink, should set; so could make no observations during this last portion of the journey. We made a rapid survey of the ruins of *Kh. Deir es Sa'ideh*, utilizing the last rays of sunshine to look for the fragment of Greek inscription noted by M. Guérin. We came upon it placed upside down in the corner of a dry-stone wall of modern construction. M. Lecomte immediately set to work to make a careful drawing of it.

Meanwhile I examined the ruins, which are of considerable size, and appear to have belonged to a convent of the Byzantine period. The Crusaders, however, must have occupied it later, for among the materials of one ruined structure, graced with the name of wely, and consecrated to the *Sheikh Ahmed*, I noticed a block with the mediæval tool-marks clearly shown. Not far south from here, in the valley, is another ruin, called *Kh. Abu 'l-Ėh'weiz*. However, it was too late to think of going to visit it, and I preferred to devote what little time we had left to finishing the exploration of the ruins. It was well I did so, for it was not long before I discovered, among the blocks

* I see that M. Schick, on his side, came to this conclusion when he visited these places in 1883 (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, X, p. 133). Indeed he is much more positive than I care to be.

that strewed the ground, to the south of the small wely, a second inscribed fragment. I saw at a glance that this must be a continuation of the former one. It becomes evident, in fact, on bringing together the two drawings that M. Lecomte made separately, that the primitive inscription can be reconstructed in its entirety, at least relatively so, as I shall presently explain.

A is the portion mentioned by M. Guérin, B the portion discovered by me.



It will be seen that the whole formed a large lintel 2^m.80 long. The under surface of fragment B is fitted with recesses, due probably to the block being used for a fresh purpose later on, either by Crusaders or Arabs. The inscription was divided into two symmetrical portions contained each within a cartouche with triangular ears, and separated by a cross inscribed in a circle.*

Κ τοῦτο κτήμα Μαρίνου διακό(νου)

“ this is the foundation of the deacon Marinos.”

Κτήμα is for κτίσμα. Hitherto all that was known of this inscription was the beginning, which remained incomprehensible;† but we now see that

* Father Germer-Durand, who subsequently made a study of the object (*Revue biblique*, 1893, p. 209), declares he has distinguished in the four corners of the cross the well-known Christian sigles :

$$\begin{array}{c|c} \text{IC} & \text{XC} \\ \text{A} & \text{Ω} \end{array} \quad \text{Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς, a. w.}$$

† M. Guérin read: καὶ τοῦτο κτήμα, “and this acquisition;” both the reading and the translation are altogether inadmissible. Κτήμα is sometimes found in ecclesiastical language in the sense of *prædium*; on this point see the *Bollandists*, 28 September, p. 622, note *h*.

it gives us the name of the founder of the convent which formerly existed at Kh. es Sa'ideh, the tradition of which is contained in the appellation *deir* given to this ruin by the Arabs, as I have already remarked.

In the *Life of St. Euthymios* (§ 14 and 29) mention is made of two disciples of this Saint, who play a great part in the religious history of Palestine in the fifth century, namely Loukas and Marinos, founders of monasteries not far from Jerusalem. The first, Loukas, built a monastery in the neighbourhood of *Metôpa*, now *Umm Tôba*, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and his very name is preserved in that given to the neighbouring ruin, *Kh. bâr Lûkâ* ("the ruin of the wells of Luka"), near *Deir el 'Amûd*. The second, Marinos, founded in the same neighbourhood the monastery called monastery of Photinos. It occurs to me that the deacon Marinos of our inscription may be the same person, and consequently that the convent of Kh. es Sa'ideh may be the monastery of Photinos that he founded. It was not uncommon for deacons to be entrusted with founding monasteries; thus that created on the site of the laura of this same St. Euthymios was built by the deacon Fidus. But though admitting the identity of the personage, we may hesitate as to the identity of the monastery founded by him. From Umm Tôba to Kh. es Sa'ideh is six miles and a half. This distance may appear rather great when we consider how closely the monasteries built by Loukas and Marinos are connected in the narrative where they appear. One would be inclined *à priori* to look for the convent of Marinos nearer Umm Tôba, in one of the numerous ruins of Christian origin that have been noticed in the neighbourhood. However, the distance of Kh. es Sa'ideh is not great enough to form a fatal objection. A more serious difficulty is that the inscription does not contain the name of Photinos, which belonged to the monastery founded by Marinos. But is the inscription complete, in spite of appearances? It begins with a K, having a mark of abbreviation appended, which is rather difficult to account for, not in itself but in its relation to the context. To explain it by the word *Κύριος*, *Κύριε*, "Lord," is not satisfactory; the religious invocation would be short and somewhat awkward to bring into the construction of the sentence; besides, the word *Κύριος* is never abbreviated in this manner. As a general rule, this K is the abbreviation in current usage for *καί*, "and." If this value be assigned to it here, the aspect of the inscription is entirely changed: "*and* this is the foundation of the deacon Marinos." It becomes merely the continuation of a lost sentence which perhaps contained the mention we should expect of the name of Photinos, after whom the monastery was called. We may suppose

that this lintel formed a pair with another of the same kind, in some architectural scheme such as we can easily imagine, a double door for instance. The way in which our inscription is divided into two parts enclosed in cartouches independent of each other would help to bear out this view. The proof of this hypothesis perhaps lies hid in the ruins, in the shape of one or more similar blocks containing the beginning of the inscription, the end being really all that we have. At any rate we are justified in supposing that the Marinos of the *Life of St. Euthymios* may have built, besides the monastery of Photinos, another one which is that at Kh. es Sa'ideh; but, taking everything into account, I am rather inclined to regard this latter as the actual monastery of Photinos.

Return Home.—The sun had already set when we left Kh. es Sa'ideh, and the rest of the journey was taken in darkness. It was a quarter past eight when we got back to Jerusalem, whence we had started seventeen days before.

CHAPTER V.

G E Z E R.

I.—GEZER REVISITED.

AFTER a few days of much needed repose at Jerusalem, I resolved to set out without further delay on my way to Gezer, with a view to making a thorough exploration there.

Herein I was actuated by a twofold motive.

First, I wished to ascertain whether there were any other inscriptions like the one I had discovered, the importance of which daily assumed greater proportions in my eyes. My train of reasoning, which, as will be seen, was amply justified by facts, was this: If this inscription really marks, as I think, the limit of a certain zone of country dependent on Gezer, it is extremely probable that it is not the only one of its kind; a limit involves a line, and a line a series of points more or less distant from one another; the moment one of these points has been determined by an inscription cut on a rock, it necessarily follows that there are some more boundary marks spaced out on the same epigraphic system. Further, I had been much struck with the fact that the inscription discovered was situated exactly to the true east of Tell el Jezer. With this notion in my head, that the limit in question was likely to be not a line of demarcation between two adjacent territories, but a periphery normally orientated and enclosing the whole city, I said to myself that, by trusting to the orientation of the cardinal points, I had a good chance of coming across some other inscriptions belonging to the same series, in spite of the physical difficulty of exploring all the rocks of complicated shape that surround the tell; in this way my researches would become circumscribed and notably facilitated.

The other reason that impelled me to return to Gezer was the desire I felt, apart from the study of all the questions raised by my find, to have this precious inscription cut out of the rock and put in a safe place, so as to remove it from those risks of destruction which it hitherto had miraculously escaped. My intention then was to have a short note of the occurrence cut in the rock, so as to mark the place.

I secured the services of four good stonemasons, reliable, skilled workmen. . . . We started on Sunday, June 20th, Lecomte, our workmen, our servant, and myself. Reaching our destination at nightfall, I left our men in a dip of the ground, and with the aid of Lecomte began searching for our inscription.* We had no end of trouble in finding this again, for being on a flat rock level with the soil, it escaped observation. Though we had carefully taken our bearings with the compass at our last visit, it was no easy matter to find one's true position in the rocky ground with erratic undulations that extends all over this district. The sun was on the point of disappearing behind the tell, and the bad light was not calculated to aid our search. Finally, we managed to find the rock just as the sun was dipping below the horizon. I immediately called up the main body of our forces, which was getting impatient and beginning to wonder at this long delay. The tent was pitched close to the inscription, and we slept on the ground. In the evening I studied the inscription afresh, by the light of a fine moon which made every letter stand out in bold strokes, and was fully confirmed as to the accuracy of my first reading. Our master mason having examined the rock by this brilliant but deceptive light, declared it to be *mizzeh yahûdy*. This was serious, for the *mizzeh yahûdy* is the hardest

* I append two reproductions of the inscription, the first after photographs directly taken from the original, the second (p. 226) after a drawing made by M. Lecomte. In the first there will be noticed the difference of *colouring* of the two first letters; this arises from the fact that this fragment, the only one I was able to bring to London, was photographed separately and fitted on afterwards to the photograph of the fragment now at Constantinople.



GEZER (Inscription A¹).

stone in Palestine, a cold compact limestone most difficult to work, chisels of finest tempered steel breaking on it like glass. This portended a long and severe task, so I went to bed feeling rather anxious.



2 mètres

GEZER (Inscription A²).

Next morning at daybreak I set our men to work, and heaved a sigh of relief on seeing from the first strokes of the chisel that we had not to deal with the *mizzeh yahûdy*, but a softer sort of limestone, though traversed, it is true, by cores of *mizzeh*. Even this was hard in places, especially at the surface, but still workable. Moreover, we had no grounds for complaint at this, since it was due to this hardness that the inscription had been preserved proof against the destructive alternations of dew, sun, and rain. . . . Meanwhile the work was making way. . . . Seeing this, I thought I might leave the spot and take a stroll with a fellâh of Kubâb as guide. Lecomte stayed behind to look after the workmen. . . . I began by taking some observations with the compass, with a view to determining the position of north and north-west, south and south-west, from our inscription. By means of a landmark I connected the position of the inscription with a point from which one could see the farmhouse of M. Bergheim rising above the tell of Gezer, and observed 270° as the bearing with the north-east corner of that building;* consequently the inscription was clearly to the true east of the tell. From another standpoint, a few yards north of the inscription, I noted:— $77\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ on the axis of the guardhouse of Kubâb, and $118\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ on the wely of Sheikh Mo'alla (?) near 'Amwâs.

* Shortly afterwards, I went to M. Bergheim's farmhouse and tested my results in the other direction, noting, from the south-east corner of that building, an angle of $91\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ with our tent, which was visible from there. This is in pretty accurate agreement with my first observation.

Having clearly ascertained my position from the bearings, I called together some other fellahîn from Kubâb who had joined the former ones, and having pointed out to them by means of a series of landmarks, which were provided by conspicuous features of the landscape, what line they were to take, I directed them to examine carefully all the rocks along these lines, telling them, if they noticed one with any characters on it like those of our inscription, to let me know immediately, and promising, in case of success, a fair reward. I relied, not unreasonably, on their lynx-like sight, and on the stimulus given to their zeal by the hope of a good backsheesh.

This done, I set off on my own account to roam about the neighbourhood, and examine various matters that I shall speak of later. . . . On the Tuesday afternoon. . . . The fellahîn, whom I had sent out the evening before on the epigraphic chase described above, came running up, shouting gleefully that they had found "a second inscription carved on the rock; the sister of the other one (*ukhta*)."

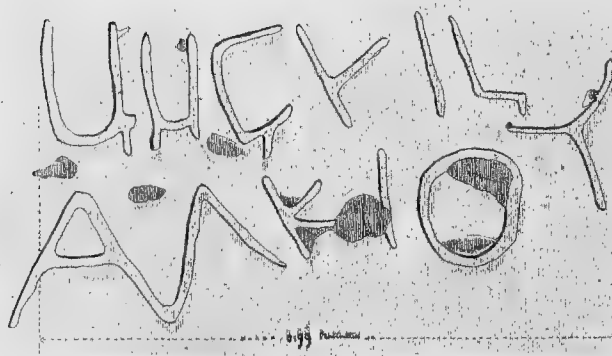
I at once left the tent . . . to go to the spot indicated, not being yet able to believe in such speedy success, and distrusting the imagination of my worthy "beaters." They were perfectly right. About 170 yards from the inscription that our men were engaged in cutting, and in a line distinctly lying south-east and north-west, as I had foreseen, my fellahîn brought me to a flat rock, nearly horizontal like the other, bearing a magnificent bilingual Greek and Hebrew inscription. A glance was enough to assure me that it was an exact repetition of the other, except that the Greek and Hebrew, instead of being written one after the other on the same line, were here arranged in two lines back to back. This arrangement, which may at first sight appear peculiar, is easily explainable, the texts being cut not on a vertical but a horizontal surface, round which one could move reading in any desired direction. The characters, which here also were of very large size, were in a perfect state of preservation. Moreover, the Greek name was in this case written in full, **AAKIOY**, with the final *upsilon*, which I had judged to be lacking in the first inscription, partly from a defect in the rock, and partly from want of space, the cutter having miscalculated the length of the line, which had to be respectively begun from the left for the Greek, and from the right for the Hebrew. Thus the lingering doubts that might have clung to the reading and interpretation of the first and less perfect text, were utterly dispelled by the second.

But what was above all invaluable, was, that we were at last certain, by means of this second fixed point, of the direction of the line of demarcation mentioned in the two inscriptions. Henceforth it became extremely probable

that another series of similar inscriptions might be discovered along this line by extending it till it reached well to the north of Gezer. It was then that I adopted the idea that the object of our investigations would turn out to



GEZER—(Inscription B¹).^{*}

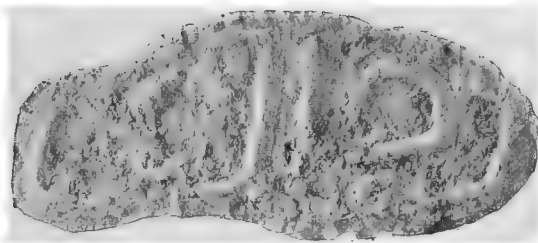


GEZER—(Inscription B²).^{*}

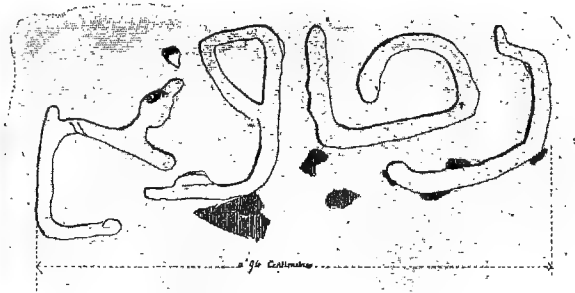
be a zone circumscribing Gezer, consisting of a rectangle with its angles, not its sides, facing the four quarters of the compass. However, this is not yet

^{*} B¹ was engraved after a poor photograph of the original; B² after a drawing by M. Lecomte made with great care from the squeeze.

the place to discuss the question. I resume my narrative. . . . It was decided that the second inscription should be likewise cut out, and after the two operations were over the villagers should be paid the promised reward. . . . After having, in company with M. Lecomte, examined the inscription and made preparations for its excision, we returned to our tent. Suddenly, as we were going along, we noticed some way ahead of us on our right, large characters cut in the rock; the sun was already low in the sky, and its rays catching the characters at a favourable angle, they were clearly distinguishable and at once attracted the eye. We went up, and I recognized with delight four fine Hebrew letters belonging to the same alphabet as the Hebrew part of the two other inscriptions. This third inscription, situated about half-way between the two others, is not cut like them on an almost horizontal slab of rock, but on a kind of almost perpendicular wall of rock, slightly concave. Though shorter—its length is 0^m.94—it is complete and in pretty good preservation. My intention was to have it cut out, like the others, but the course of events did not allow of this. Happily I took the precaution of making a careful squeeze of it. We had had a really good day. . . .



GEZER (Inscription C¹).*



GEZER (Inscription C²).*

On the Wednesday I went on with my exploration of the surrounding country, while the stone-cutters went on with their task under the superintendence of M. Lecomte. At nightfall the cutting-out of the first stone was completed. On account of a flaw in the rock it broke into two unequal portions, the smaller containing only two letters, the first two in the name

* Engraving C¹ is made from a photograph of the squeeze; C² from a drawing by M. Lecomte.

Alkios.* I kept the latter by us in the tent, which I had had erected afresh near the second inscription, the object of to-morrow's operations. The former portion, containing the greater part of the inscription, I had put on the back of one of our mules to be taken to. . . . On the Thursday morning, at the first hour, the workmen made a vigorous onslaught on the second inscription. I pressed them on to the best of my power, being in a hurry to have done. I made yet another reconnaissance in the neighbourhood.

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[Here follows, in the Author's manuscript, an account of occurrences which caused him much vexation, and considerably interfered with his plans. The Committee has deemed it desirable to suppress this account, and several passages referring to it in the preceding pages. These have therefore been struck out, and their places indicated by dots.]

II.—ULTIMATE FATE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

For a long time I never knew what became of our inscriptions. The first news I had of them reached me in an amusing way enough. In 1876, one of the pupils attending my lectures on Oriental archæology at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, M. Sorlin d'Origny, of Constantinople, brought a copy of an inscription to show me that had been sent him by Dr. Dethier, then Director of the Ottoman Museum of St. Irene. He had already communicated it to MM. Lenormant and Renan, who took it to be a Hebrew inscription beginning with the word *מצבת*, "cippus," and from this it had been supposed to be some Jewish funerary monument from Cyprus, where the Jews were formerly numerous. At first glance I recognized the so-called epitaph as an old acquaintance; it was none other than one of the Gezer inscriptions, the one that lacked the two first letters *ΑΛ*! From information obtained from M. Dethier it appeared that the stone had been sent from Jaffa, and, oddly enough, it was said to have been regarded as marking "the boundary of the ancient *Konâk* of Jaffa!" Here, it will be seen, was a regular legend in course of formation.† Afterwards, in 1885, my friend

* See *supra*, note relating to engraving A¹.

† Already in 1874, popular legend had begun to seize upon this notion. The fellahîn of the neighbourhood understood pretty soon that these inscriptions related to some boundary, and upon this basis their imaginations had set to work. A peasant of 'Amwâs gravely assured me that these inscriptions were to mark the limit of the territory of Hebron or of one of the numerous *wakēfs* attached to it.

M. J. Löytved saw the stone at the Constantinople Museum, and sent me a copy of the inscription.

As for the other inscription, which was also removed from its original place, it has not been noticed in the museum, so far as I know. What has become of it? The third is still *in situ* at Nejmet el 'Ades. Fortunately I had been able to take squeezes and copies of the three texts. Thanks to these, and the photographs that I procured later, I am able now, for the first time, twenty years after their discovery, to give faithful reproductions of these inscriptions. These will suffice, I hope, together with the explanations I shall give, to answer certain doubts which, until lately, some people have been pleased to leave hanging over their real worth and signification. . . .

III.—FURTHER DISCOVERIES.

In 1881, seven years after this incident, I had occasion to return to Palestine, and resumed, on my own account, the exploration of the neighbourhood of Gezer, which had been so unduly broken off. I had been persuaded all along that some more inscriptions must be in existence, similar to those I had discovered, marking out the boundary of the town towards the north-west. I started searching in this quarter, with the help of the fellahin, as on the previous occasion; it was not long before my labours were crowned with success, for about two or three hundred yards to the north-west of the first inscription I discovered some large characters, absolutely similar to the former, and cut into the face of a rounded rocky platform with almost perpendicular sides. I have no record of these characters, but a rough sketch hurriedly made in my note book. I meant to go back and take a squeeze of them, fix the exact position of the inscription, and pursue my investigations on the spot; but, unfortunately, I was suddenly recalled to France, and was unable to carry out this intention. I regret this, for I am convinced that there still remains quite a series of these texts to be collected round about Gezer. I am certain that a search of this kind would not be unfruitful, and earnestly recommend it to future Palestine explorers.

In any case, here is the copy of this fresh inscription from the rough sketch I made of it.

It is easy to recognize in the first line the word **ΑΑΚΙΟΥ**, in the second the remains of the words **תחם גזר**, which have suffered considerably. The two inscriptions, Greek and Hebrew, are identical with the former ones, only



GEZER. (Inscription D.)

in this case they are differently arranged, being placed one above the other in the usual way, instead of being placed side by side as in the first inscription, or back to back as in the second. The surface of the rock, moreover, approaches much more nearly to the perpendicular than in the two other cases.

It really was a lucky accident of my search that I did not come upon this third copy of the text first of all, for the Hebrew part being in this one so much damaged, would probably have remained undecipherable; I could never have guessed that it contained the name of Gezer, that it indicated the boundary of the city, and that, consequently, other specimens, in a better state of preservation, and calculated to afford a clue to the puzzle, ought to be searched for, and would be found at some distance from it. Certainly the Greek inscription could not have made up for the silence of the Hebrew one, for even now a number of people hesitate, wrongly enough, I must say, to interpret the word as **ΑΑΚΙΟ** or **ΑΑΚΙΟΥ**. Doubt, however, is no longer admissible, the word is, as I shall prove, simply the genitive form of a man's name **ΑΑΚΙΟΣ**, belonging to some magistrate or person of note who presided officially over the fixing of the boundary of Gezer.

Is this fourth inscription identical with the one noticed at Gezer by the Survey Party after my earlier discoveries, and mentioned in the *Memoirs*?* I cannot exactly say. The position marked on the plan might be made to agree with it, but the description given of it, and the only two marks that are reproduced (ΠΟ) in nowise correspond with the details given above. It may be merely a case of those marks of doubtful character, such as I have found specimens of in various places round about Gezer, which I shall speak of further on.

The new find that I made in 1881 has allowed me to state the rule followed in setting out these curious epigraphical landmarks in the boundary of Gezer. The town is encircled by small low undulating hills, with the rock everywhere cropping out in them. Where the line of demarcation cuts through these hills, they selected as sites for the landmarks the points where the line touched the foot of the hill and where it left it on the further side, taking them more or less at the same level. This observation is calculated, I think, to facilitate further investigation of the ground containing the other similar inscriptions which doubtless exist.

IV.—VARIOUS MARKS ON THE ROCKS.

I resume the narrative of my researches in 1874. As may well be supposed, the discovery of these three inscriptions, one after the other, had put me on my guard, and while sending out several fellahîn as sleuth-hounds and beaters, I utilized such leisure as was allowed me by the labours of our stone-cutters, to explore the surrounding country, making a careful examination of the smallest marks to be noticed on the rocks. I am persuaded that if we had not been compelled by circumstances to beat a hasty retreat, we should have discovered more of these texts marking out the Gezer boundary.



MARKS ON ROCKS NEAR GEZER.

* II, p. 436; cf. *Quarterly Statement*, 1875, pp. 5, 74.

In several places the rock presents marks here and there, of such a kind that it is difficult to say whether they are signs cut by human hands and more or less worn away, or merely freaks of nature; for instance, furrows worn in the rock, by the running roots of certain shrubs which have now disappeared



along with the vegetable soil in which they grew. Here are some specimens we noted of these marks of doubtful origin (see engraving, p. 233).

The one which more than any resembles real characters, suggesting the Hebrew alphabet, is the group opposite. I took the following notes of its position, but cannot guarantee the correctness of the angles, my time being so short:—Latrûn blockhouse, 71°; great fig-tree of Sheikh Ja'bâs, 17°.

V.—EXPLORATIONS AROUND GEZER.

To the south of 'Ain Yardeh and the east of Abu Shûsheh is a mound of no great elevation which the fellahîn call *el Kas'a*. Here I noticed wide esplanades cut in the rock, steps quite regularly cut, and a number of those platforms once used as sites for houses, such as I have described in Chapter I. I suppose *el Kas'a* corresponds to the spot marked as "Khûrbet Yerdeh" on the Survey Plan.

From here I crossed the wâdy separating 'Ain Yardeh from the tell which descends from Mûsa Tali'a to 'Ain Yardeh. Its name was given to me as *Wâdy 'Elleik* (عليق). Between the spot where I crossed the wâdy and the foot of the tell I noticed the site of a spring called *'Ain el Botmeh*.

At the eastern extremity of the tell, at a spot bearing 80° on 'Ain Yardeh, I noticed some fine presses and a double tomb with its entrance formed by a rectangular ditch with open top, as in the case of the tombs in the neighbourhood of el Midieh.

Quite close to here, at the foot of a large fig-tree that rises above 'Ain Yardeh, there passes an ancient road, in great part rock-cut, running from east to west, and ending at Ni'âneh, so the fellahîn said.

I followed the other and more modern road which skirts the tell on the south, and goes up from 'Ain Yardeh to Abu Shûsheh. Shortly before arriving below M. Bergheim's farm, and to the south-east of it, on a level with the word *ruin* on the Survey Plan, there are on the left of the road as you go up, a number of scattered blocks belonging to structures now vanished.

Here a piece of rock placed upright marks the exact position of the *Tannûr*, or the 'Ain *et Tannûr*, which plays a large part in local tradition, and will be more fully treated of in dealing with the curious legend connected with it.

In spite of the name, there is not a trace of a spring; however, I am inclined to believe that one originally existed there, but has dried up, and that the fellahîn are not altogether in error when they say that the water of the Tannûr goes underground and comes out at 'Ain Yardeh. They say further that the Tannûr marks the origin of the Wâdy Tannûr, which passes successively by Yardeh, then to the east of el-Berriyeh,* to the east of Ramleh and Lydda, between Kufûr 'Âna and Yâzûr, and finally flows into the sea, after traversing the gardens of Jaffa.

On the Survey Plan the Tannûr is marked in quite a different place, on the eastern slope of the tell, due west of 'Ain Yardeh. This is a mistake, the result of some confusion in the information got from the fellahîn.† I pointed this out in 1878 to Lieut. Kitchener, who kindly proceeded to verify the fact, and sent me a special sketch which fully confirms my observation. The Survey Plan ought consequently to be rectified.

From here I went to the great cavern of Jaîha, to the south of the tell, and satisfied myself anew that it was an old quarry, whence materials were taken for the successive buildings of the town of Gezer. Here is the legend about it that I gathered from the conversation of the fellahîn: "The Jews (*Yahûd*) had entrenched themselves in the cavern (*maghâra*) of Jaîha in order to fight against Noah, while the latter and his followers occupied Tell el Jezer, which was formerly 'the town of our lord Noah' (*medînet Sîdnâ Nûh*). They fired at him unseen, but Noah returned the fire, aimed at the cavern"—an artillery duel, evidently, is meant—"and broke down the roof, which fell in on the Jews and destroyed them. From this time forward the cavern was called *Jaîha*, because"—*jâhat 'aleihem*,—"it fell in on them" (*جاحت عليهم*). This queer legend wears a look that recalls in striking fashion certain stories giving the etymologies of Bible place-names, but it has at least one merit from our point of view—that of helping us to fix the genuine spelling of this name which has been set down in the *Memoirs* under the rather divergent forms of *Hejjiha* and *Jâeiha*. There runs through this story of a cave, as it were a vague echo of the drama of the Cave of Makkedah.

Continuing my southerly course, I went on from here to visit the sanc-

* Where there is a sanctuary dedicated to Sheikh Berry.

† Letter of March 1st, 1878.

tuary of *Sheikh Jo'bâs*, or rather *Ja'bâs*, as the fellahîn pronounce it. It consists of a plain tomb, in the Arab style, surrounded with an enclosure, open to the sky, formed of large blocks. A little beneath it stands a fig-tree, which is visible for a great distance, and serves to indicate the spot as you approach it from below. The tree is before the entrance of a cavern of considerable size, regularly cut out.

Further on, and to the south-east, on the top of a hill, rises the sanctuary of *Mûsa Talî'a* or *Esh Sheikh Mûsâ Talî'a*. It consists of a small kubbeh of rough masonry-work, half in ruins, with a court in front of it; the tomb is original. Close by is a large cistern, with its mouth fashioned out of a fine marble capital carved on two sides. I regret that I did not make a drawing of this. I found no trace of the inscription which I had been told the previous June was to be found there, but it does not follow that it is not really there. The holy person answering to the name of *Mûsa* was placed there, so the fellahîn say, as a "scout" (*talî'a*) to "observe" (طلع) the movements of the Christians, who were fighting with the Mussulmans in the *Wâd es-Serâr*. The Christians surprised him at his post and killed him, he died the death of the martyrs (*shehîd*). It is a fact that the spot is situated on a commanding point, whence there is a very fine and extensive view. The three points, Tell el Jezer, Sheikh Ja'bâs, and Sheikh Mûsa, are similarly situated in this respect, accordingly the fellahîn call them *Mûsa Talî'a*, *Ja'bâs Talî'a*, and *Jezery Talî'a*, making these three more or less real personages into three warriors of old, placed as scouts on the three places that command the region round about. I am greatly inclined to believe that there is a hidden historical basis to the legend of *Mûsa Talî'a*, some incident of the great battle of Mount Gisart between Saladin and the Franks, and that Mount Gisart, the site of which has remained absolutely unknown up to the present time, was, as I shall explain later on, none other than our Tell el Jezer.

From here I pushed on in the direction of Deir er Ruhbân, passing by *Khirbet Bîr el Moiyeh*, where I noticed some scattered ruins on a low rising ground between Deir er Ruhbân and Kubâb.

At Deir er Ruhbân there is a huge broken-down cistern or *beiyâra*, built of stones with small irregular bosses; the sides are covered with thick solid concrete-work. The ruins were overgrown with thick impenetrable brushwood (*murrâr*), which made it very difficult to examine them. I made a vain search there for an inscription which the fellahîn had told me was there. This perhaps may yet be discovered, for I have reason to believe their information to be correct.

VI.—THE LEGEND OF NOAH AND THE FLOOD OF GEZER.

Local tradition is strangely persistent in connecting the origin of Tell el Jezer with the name of Noah and traditions of the Flood. I shall shortly indicate what, in my opinion, is the reason of this.

Abu Shûsheh himself, the more or less fabulous personage who has given his name to the modern village is the subject of a curious legend,* evidently forming part of the same cycle. He met his death by drowning in a flood of water that came from underground. I will remark *en passant* that this name Abu Shûsheh, which properly speaking is merely a nickname ("the father of the tuft"), occurs again in other places in Palestine, for instance in the neighbourhood of Caïfa and of the Lake of Tiberias (Map, VIII, L.j. and VI, O.g.). It is quite possible that in these cases also, as in that of Gezer, the trivial name has displaced some ancient name of an old Bible city.†

I have already stated, in speaking of the Cave of Jaïha, that according to the fellahîn the town of Tell el Jezer was the town of Noah, *medînet Sîdna Nûh*. Here is another legend that I gathered from their lips, relating to 'Ain Tannûr, "the spring of the Oven."

Noah had said to his daughter (and not to his wife), "If anyone shall come and say to me, '*taff et-tannûr* (the Tannûr has overflowed),‡ I will cut off his head." One day his daughter went to knead or bake the bread (*tokkhez*), and found the water rushing out of the Tannûr. She came back to her father, and he asked her, "Why hast thou not prepared the dough (*leîsh mâ khabest el'ajîn*)?" "I have come back without the bread," she replied. "It is because the Tannûr is overflowing," cried Noah. "Thou thyself hast said it," the girl at once replied, thus escaping his terrible threat. Noah then sent for a vessel (*s'fîneh*), went on board it with all the inhabitants of the town,

* *Memoirs*, II, 444.

† We should perhaps take this circumstance into account in dealing with the problems of the identity of Capernaum and of Kinnereth.

‡ This meaning of the verb *تَفَّ* appears to me to follow from that of the derived substantive *taff*, "over-full, of a pot brimming over." The geminate root *taff*, on the other hand, seems to me to be closely related to the hollow root *tâf*, by reason of the equivalence which is so frequently noticed in Semitic languages between a short vowel followed by a double consonant, and a long vowel followed by a single consonant. In this way the root would be connected with the word *tûfân*, the usual Arabic word for "the flood," which is evidently pointed to in this legend. This word *tûfân* is borrowed directly from the Aramaic *tophana*, "flood," and the very same meaning which I attribute to the verb *تَفَّ* is also found, it seems to me, in the Aramaic *ܬܦܢ*, "to fill a measure up to the brim."

and sailed away, passing by Ramleh. In the latter town there was an old woman whom he had promised to take with him in the vessel, but he forgot all about her. The water submerged the whole country round, except the mosque of Jâme' el Abiadh at Ramleh, where the old woman had taken refuge. Noah came back to see what had become of her, and asked her what had happened to her. "I stayed there quite quietly," she replied, "and saw neither flood nor water."

Everyone knows what an important part is played in the Koran and its commentators by the Tannûr. This oven, from which the water of the flood was supposed to gush forth, was according to tradition the one where Eve baked her bread, and had been handed down through the ages from one patriarch's wife to another until the time of Noah. This belief appears to have attained great popularity in Palestine and all over Syria, for we come across a considerable number of places called 'Ain Tannûr or 'Ain et Tannûr: as near 'Ain bent Nûh ("the spring of the daughter of Noah"), in the neighbourhood of 'Allâr es Siflâ (*see* Appendix); a little to the north-east of Deir Estia; near 'Ain Feshkha, in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea; a little way south-east of Zubkîn; near Riblah, close to the Orontes, etc., etc. Compare further the Tannûr Eiyûb, or Tannûr of Job, a small spring near the supposed site of Capernaum,* and also the place-name Tannûrîn, to the north of Beyrout.† I think that this legend, which has attached itself to various springs, probably of a particular sort (those that bubble up violently from underground), has its basis in a very old Syrian religious tradition, traces of which are still discoverable in the Rabbinical traditions about the holy rock of Jerusalem. This Arabic word *tannûr*, which, by-the-by, is an old Aramaic word, תנור, as to the origin and various meanings of which a good deal might be said, is a counterpart of the famous χάσμα μέγα that was pointed out at Mabug (Hierapolis), where the water of Deucalion and Pyrrha's flood issued and returned. This idea was very widely spread among the Greeks themselves, who were wont to show the χάσματα of the Deluge at several of their sanctuaries, as at Delos and Athens, and in Samothrace. It would be very interesting to trace out the development of the idea, and look for its starting point, but that would take me much too far out of my way. I shall treat of this

* Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 345. It will be noticed that, by a coincidence which perhaps is not mere chance, there exists not far from the Tannûr Eiyûb a Kh. *Abu Shûsheh*, which two characteristic names are grouped together at Tell el Jezer.

† *Ibid.*, p. 601, 602.

question on another occasion, as also that of the curious legend of the so called Daughter of Noah, in whom we may discover an ancient mythical character.*

Returning to our local researches, it may well be asked why Arab tradition thus tends to group all these naïve legends, drawn from the story of Noah and the Flood, around Tell el Jezer. Despite their well-nigh childish nature, I do not think them unimportant. They must have their *raison d'être*. I am inclined to believe that it was the actual name of Gezer that gave rise to them. Regarded in this aspect, they furnish us with a fresh indirect argument in favour of our identification, for they show that this name really did at that time belong to the ancient city that flourished there. What has been the process? In the name جَزْر, גֶזֶר, folk-lore has thought it could recognize the Arabic word *jazar*, "reflux, tide going out, sea, part of the shore left uncovered by the sea," a word very closely related to "*jezîreh*," "island." The Hebrew root itself has given rise to derivatives of similar meaning: גֶזֶר, "partes maris discissi":† *cf.* גֶזֶר, "desert, waste, *isolated* land," which has every appearance of being the prototype of جزيرة. It is easy to understand that tradition, once set going on this track, and keeping in view the meaning which it ascribed (whether rightly or wrongly it matters little) to the old name of Gezer, was carried along in the direction we have noticed it taking.

VII.—BEZKA.

In reconnoitring the country north-east of Gezer, I extended my operations as far as Bezka. I was the more eager to make a fresh inspection of the ruins, which I had hurriedly looked over on the occasion of my first visit,‡ as I had been struck by the resemblance between the name and that of Bezek, the residence of the Canaanite king Adoni-Bezek, "the lord of Bezek." This time I discovered there a very curious tomb, consisting of a sort of large sarcophagus, hollowed out of the living rock and projecting above the level of the ground, with a groove round the edge to fit the lid into. The front side was ornamented with carvings. They were greatly mutilated, but I thought I could make out what appeared to be two quadrangular altars within a rectangular border, each surmounted by a cippus,

* I will content myself for the present with adding that this daughter of Noah, sometimes regarded as his wife, formerly enjoyed great popularity in Syria. *Cf.* the famous coins of Apamæus of Phrygia, which represent the ark with Noah and his wife.

† Psalm cxxxvi, 13.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p 83.

and a sort of garland displayed at the top of them. The provisional sketch that I took is too crude to be reproduced by engraving. It was my intention to return to the spot and have a good drawing of the object made by M. Lecomte, but unfortunately the incident which cut short my exploration of Gezer did not allow of this. I give the bearings of this tomb, which will perhaps enable future explorers to find it more easily: Abu Shûsheh, 249° ; a tree conspicuous on the horizon, 5° .

VIII.—GEZER BEFORE THE CAPTIVITY.

Gezer is one of the most ancient towns in Palestine; it was in existence previous to the appearance of the Israelites. The testimony of the Bible on this point appears to be expressly confirmed by the find at Tell el Amarna, as the name of Gezer has been noticed several times on the cuneiform tablets discovered there. For instance: * “the town of Gezer, the servant of the king my master.” It is mentioned on the tablets along with other towns with more or less doubtful names, Tumurka, Manhatesum, Rubute, etc. Now that we have material proof that Abu Shûsheh represents Gezer, it would be very desirable that deep and methodical excavations should be undertaken there, since one is henceforth sure of being on the real site of an old pre-Israelite city, and that too under conditions of certainty that are exceptional, and may even be said to be hitherto unparalleled in Palestine.

The first time that Gezer appears in the Bible is in the episode of the Book of Joshua that narrates the victorious campaign of Joshua against the six confederate Amorite kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Yarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon. Joshua goes up against them from the environs of Jericho (Gilgal), defeats them near Gabaon, pursues them by the road of the mountain of Beth Horon even unto Azekah and Makkedah. Here comes in the account of the sun made to stand still at Joshua’s prayer. The five vanquished kings take refuge in a cave at Makkedah; Joshua fetches them out and hangs them. After this he takes possession of the town of Makkedah and the town of Lachish; “Then Horam, king of Gezer, came up to help Lachish, and Joshua smote him and his people, in such wise that he let none escape.” (Joshua x, 33.)

Later on (xii, 12) Gezer reappears in the list of the thirty-one kings of the country (*malkê ha-areç*) beaten by the Benê Israel, kings belonging to

* *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire*, vi, 2, p. 299 (an article by Father Scheil).

the people of the Hittites (Hitti), the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizites, the Hivites (Hiwi), and the Jebusites. Gezer was therefore one of those ancient royal cities (Canaanitish, as we shall see) that had their own *melek*, and were numerous before the arrival of the Hebrews in the Promised Land.

Gezer again appears once more in the Book of Joshua in chapter xvi, 3. This time more precise topographical data are given, which is fortunate, for no argument can be drawn from the names of towns linked with that of Gezer in the preceding passage, as the list does not appear to be arranged in a strict geographical order. The writer is speaking of the territory assigned to the tribe of Ephraim on the occasion of the division of the conquered country among the twelve tribes of Israel. He describes the southern frontier of the territory as beginning at the Jordan near Jericho and striking out westwards, that is to say towards the Mediterranean, passing by Bethel, Luz, and Ataroth; and he says, "it goeth down westward to the coast of Japhleti, unto the coast of Beth Horon the nether, *and to Gezer*, and the goings out thereof are at the sea."

It may be as well to contrast this passage with the one in Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, v, 1, 22), where he describes summarily, but most exactly, the territory of Ephraim:—this territory extended in breadth (*εὐρείαν*) from south to north—that is to say, from Bethel to the great plain, and in length (*μηκονομένην*), from east to west, *from the Jordan to Gadara* (*ἄχρι Γαδάρων ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ*). There can be no doubt as to the identity of *Gadara*, or rather *Gazara*, with Gezer, in spite of the changes in transcription. We shall find several times the name Gezer in Greek authorities rendered *Gadara*, though it is ordinarily transcribed *Γαζάρα*, *Γαζέρ*, *Γεζέρ*. In fact, it was this that at a later period led Strabo to confuse Gezer with *Gadara*, the capital of Peræa on the east of Jordan. As to the plural form of the word it is perfectly easy of explanation, it originated from the transcriptions *Γαζάρα*, *Γαδάρα*, which have the Greek feminine singular termination. This termination in course of time gave the name the appearance of a neuter plural, *τὰ Γάζαρα*, instead of *ἡ Γαζάρα*. The same transformation has taken place, as we shall see, in the incidents in the book of Maccabees in which Gezer plays a part. This confusion has likewise arisen under the same conditions in the case of other names of towns. It is in this way, for instance, that the name of the Moabite town Medaba, מִדְבָּא, transcribed *Μηδάβα*, becomes *πόλις Μηδάβων*,* *τὰ Μήδαβα*.

* Confirmed by a Greek Christian inscription (on a mosaic) found at Madeba itself.

Thus it follows clearly from the above passages that Gezer must have been situated to the west of Beth-Horon the Nether and at no great distance from it, and it is the more important to have fixed its identity, as it marked the western extremity of the southern boundary of the territory of Ephraim.

We again encounter Gezer in Joshua xxi, 21, as one of the Levite towns, that is to say, the forty-eight towns assigned by Joshua to the Levites, together with their suburbs (*migrash*), in the territories of the different tribes of Israel. The territory of Ephraim, contained four of these towns, among them being Gezer. We thus learn that Gezer not only marked the limit of the territory of Ephraim but actually formed part of that territory. This view, moreover, is also explicitly confirmed by Joshua xvi, 10, and Judges i, 29.

Joshua xvi, 10, gives a piece of information doubly interesting for us, since it shows that the primitive population of Gezer had not been destroyed by Joshua after the defeat of its king Hiram, but simply laid under tribute, and that this population was of Canaanitish origin. This latter fact is likewise confirmed by Judges i, 29. The Ephraimites became mingled with the old Canaanitish population of Gezer. There is then every likelihood that by making excavations at Abu Shûsheh, a genuine Canaanitish stratum would be reached. The art and religion of the Canaanites is perhaps responsible for the rude terra-cotta figure that I spoke of above (p. 6). I am able to give

here a faithful reproduction of this, having at last found the cast of it that I made but afterwards mislaid.

We shall see however that the Philistines appear to have occupied Gezer for a certain period as well.

Gezer is further alluded to in other books of the Bible, but in these more light is thrown on its historic importance than on its location. However, no element in the problem we have to solve should be passed over.



TERRA-COTTA FIGURE FOUND
AT ABU SHÛSHEH.

Gezer plays an important part in the history of David (2 Sam. v). Upon the news of the taking of Jerusalem by David and his being crowned King of all Israel, the Philistines, hereditary enemies of Israel, go up against him, and are beaten successively at two places difficult to locate precisely (the valley of Rephaim and Baal-perazim). They must however have certainly been in the direction of Jerusalem, and even in its immediate neighbourhood. "And David did so as the Lord had commanded him, and smote

the Philistines from Geba until thou come to Gezer" (v. 25). The same incident is related in pretty much the same terms in 1 Chron. xiv, 16. One fact at any rate, and that a very interesting one, seems to follow clearly from this passage, namely that Gezer, the furthest point to which David extended his pursuit, must have been well on the way to the Philistines' country, perhaps even formed part of it at that period. Josephus gives us to understand as much in narrating the same event after his manner (*Ant. Jud.*, vii, 4, 1). David, having beaten the Philistines, pursued them to the town of Gazara (*ἄχρη πόλεως Γαζάρων*), which marks the eastern extremity of their territory (*ἣ δὲ ἔστω ὄρος αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας*). We shall see in a moment that he expresses himself elsewhere even more definitely on this point.

It may very well be that this affair is again alluded to in two parallel passages (A and B) in the second book of Samuel (xxi, 18, 19) and in 1 Chronicles (xx, 4, 5). There is a very curious variation between these, they look as if they had been extracted from some old chronicle now lost, and had been copied differently in the two recensions that have come down to us.

A, 18. "And it came to pass after this that there was again a battle with the Philistines at *Gob*, then Sibbechai the Hushathite slew Saph, which was of the sons of Rapha."

19. "And there was again a battle in *Gôb* with the Philistines, where Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim, a Beth-lehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite, etc."

This town *Gob*, *Gôb* (*גֹּב, גִּב*) is absolutely unknown. Comparison with the parallel passage B* seems to prove that this name is nothing but a modification of *Gezer*, which is found in this passage letter for letter.† The text of Chronicles is doubtless the right one, and the original form *גֹּזֵר* has become *גֹּב*, through a wrong reading which can easily be accounted for by the Hebrew palæographer. Josephus in his turn is of this opinion in his account of the same occurrence (*Ant. Jud.*, vii, 12, 2).‡

Gezer plays an important part in the history of Solomon (1 Kings, ix,

* I am inclined to think that the verb *וַיִּכְנַע* at the end of the verse in 1 Chron. xx, 4, contains a play on words having reference to the name of the *Canaanites*: "they were abased" or "treated like Canaanites." It is to be borne in mind that a Canaanitish population had been maintained at Gezer.

† 1 Chron. xx, 5 corresponds to 2 Sam. xxi, 19, and relates the same feat of arms with some curious variations that do not concern me here, but this time it gives no place-name.

‡ Note that Josephus this time gives the correct transcription *Γαζάρων*, in the fem. sing., and not neut. plur.

15, etc). The Pharaoh of Egypt had conducted an expedition against Gezer, had taken the town, and had burnt it, after having exterminated the Canaanites who dwelt there. He gave the town he had destroyed as a dowry to his daughter, the wife, or rather one of the wives of Solomon. The latter rebuilt the demolished city, by which he appeared to set a particular store. Unfortunately we do not know either the name of this Pharaoh or the historical events—some revolt perhaps—which led to his making this expedition into the south of Palestine and destroying Gezer. According to the Bible the expedition appears to have been directed against the Canaanitish element, but it may be that the Philistines counted for something in this enterprise of Pharaoh's, since Gezer, as I have already said, and will proceed to prove, belonged at that time to the country of the Philistines, that is to say, a population that had been long feudatory to Egypt. In the parallel account in Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, viii, 6, 1), Gazara, one of the towns rebuilt by Solomon, is specifically mentioned *as belonging to Philistia*: τὴν τρίτην δὲ Γαζαρά, τὴν τῆς Παλαιστίνων χώρας ὑπάρχουσαν. We had already arrived at this conclusion by inductions based on another passage in Josephus and on certain indications given in the Bible itself. It may therefore very well be that at a certain period Gezer, which, as we shall see, is less than six miles to the east of Ekron, belonged to the Philistines, and served as a sort of advanced bulwark against Israel.

IX.—GEZER UNDER THE HASMONÆANS.

We have to proceed as far as the Hasmonæan period before we find Gezer reappearing in history. It plays one of the most important parts in the long wars kept up by the Jews against the Seleucids, and narrated in the books of Maccabees and the parallel accounts of Josephus. In order to grasp the full value of this testimony, which contains more than one precious bit of topographical information, we must not lose sight of one most essential point—the centre of the struggles of the early Hasmonæans against the Greco-Syrian armies was the town of Modin, the place of origin of the Hasmonæan family, and consequently the region of el Midieh.

The first incident in which Gezer figures is the battle between Judas and Gorgias (1 Macc., iv). The Syrian general had taken up his position at Emmaus ('Amwâs). Judas, who had retired to the south of that town, takes the offensive, and utterly defeats the army of the enemy, who leave the field in complete disorder, pursued by the victorious Jews as far as Gazera and the

plains of Idumæa, Azotus, and Jamneia. Consequently Gezer must have been situated on one of the two lines of retreat, between Emmaus and the sea. In the expression *ἕως Γαζηρῶν* (v. 15) it should be noted that the feminine form of the name of Gezer when transliterated into Greek is yet treated as a neuter plural. The Latin version has made the error worse by taking this genitive plural form for a real proper name, and servilely translating *usque Gezeron*.

A second episode, where Gezer again figures, is the battle between Judas and the Syrian general Nicanor, whom the former had previously defeated at Capharsalama* (1 Macc., vii, 39, 40). Nicanor is defeated and killed in the battle. He had taken up his position at Bethoron, whilst Judas occupied Adasa (30 stadia from Bethoron, according to Josephus).† The defeated army is pursued from Adasa to Gazera (v, 45) during a whole day, which does not necessarily imply the length of a day's march under ordinary circumstances.

Later on Gezer is mentioned among the towns which Bacchides, after his defeat on the banks of Jordan, orders to be fortified (1 Macc. ix, 52. Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiii, 1, 3).

These various passages seem to imply that Gezer was an important strategical point, always remained in the hands of the Greco-Syrians, and that the latter managed to make it a refuge in case of a check, since on two occasions it is indicated as one of the points where the pursuit of the victorious Jews came to an end.

The last passage shows us that up to the year 160 of the Seleucids, the Jews had not yet succeeded in getting possession of Gezer. Now a few years later we notice that it has passed into their hands: "And Simon saw that John his son was a valiant man, and he gave him the command of all the military forces, and he dwelt at Gazara (*ἐν Γαζάρῳ*)" [1 Mac. xiii, 53]. The sentence is somewhat ambiguous. Was it John or Simon himself that took up his abode at Gezer? The point is of little importance, but what is certain is that Gezer must in the meanwhile have been retaken by the Jews.

The conquest of a city like this by the Jews was an event of considerable importance, so that it seems odd that no mention is made of it in the book of Maccabees between ch. ix and ch. xiii. Upon nearer investigation of the text this singularity vanishes. In reality the siege and capture of Gezer by

* To the north of Lydda. For the site of Capharsalama, see *infra*, Ch. VI.

† *Ant. Jud.*, xii, 10, 5. Here again Josephus takes *Ἀδασά* for a neuter plural, *ἐν Ἀδασοῖς*. See (p. 76) my remarks on the position of Adasa.

the Jews are related at length in this same chapter (xiii, 43-48), immediately before the passage that speaks of the residence of Simon or John at Gezer; only by a copyist's error the name of Gezer (*Gazara*) has become *Gaza*. It was long believed that this passage referred to the celebrated town of Gaza, but it is easy to show that for various reasons there could be no allusion here to the town of Gaza, and that the correction from Γάζαν to Γάζαρον is entirely warrantable. The narrative will repay a close examination, for it contains certain details which will be of the greatest interest to us, and may even throw some light on the interpretation of our inscriptions, if they really ought, as I doubt not, to be referred to Gezer.

Here are the facts. About the year 143 B.C., the date of the definite liberation of Israel from the Seleucid yoke, and the starting-point, moreover, of the Jewish national era, Simon came and laid siege to the so-called Gaza, with a large park of artillery. After having effected a breach, he took the town by assault. He spared the lives of the inhabitants, but drove them out of the town, while he himself made his entry there, singing the holy hymns. *He purified the places polluted by the idols, cast out all the pollutions of the town, and placed such men there as would keep the law* (οἱ τινες τὸν νόμον ποιῶνσι), and fortified it and built there a residence for himself (v, 48).*

This town certainly cannot have been Gaza, as appears from the following facts. In ch. xiv of Book I of Maccabees it is stated that the land of Judah remained in peace all the days of Simon, and a list of his conquests is given—Joppa, *Gazara*, Baithsura and Acra. He had therefore made himself master (ἐκυρίευσεν) of *Gazara*. If he had likewise gained possession of Gaza, as above narrated, how could such a conquest have been passed over without mention in a recapitulatory sketch of the services rendered by Simon to the Jewish cause? Now, as will be seen, not *Gaza*, but on the contrary *Gazara* is the place in question.

There is a similar argument, even more decisive, to be derived from the same chapter (27-34), for here we are dealing with an official document, a long honorific inscription, a regular decree of the people of Israel passed in

* This latter detail appears to settle the question that arose just now in connection with v, 53. But John, son of Simon, being appointed generalissimo of the army, might very well have his headquarters at Gezer also, since the town was situated in a position of strategic importance and in the dangerous zone that was exposed to the first attacks of the enemy. On this point see the details which will be given later on, clearly showing that John was residing at *Gazara* at the time of his father's murder.

the general assembly at Jerusalem, exhibited, inscribed on brazen tables, in the peribolos of the Temple, and preserved in duplicate in the archives of the public treasury. It is an official eulogy of Simon and a narration of the services rendered by him to Israel: "and he fortified the town of Gazara,* which is situated upon the borders of Azotus (τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων Ἀζώτου), and had previously been occupied by the enemy; and he caused the Jews to dwell there and furnished them with all that was needed to establish them on a satisfactory footing." Here again is no whisper of Gaza, but, on the other hand the details given concerning Gazara, as to the means adopted by Simon to establish the Jewish population there, are in marvellous accordance with those related of the so-called Gaza in chapter xiii, 43-48.

By comparison of these different passages with those in Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xiii, 6, 7, and *Bell. Jud.*, i, 2, 2), we arrive at one and the same conclusion, the Jewish historian expressly states Simon seized *Gazara*, and nowhere does he breathe a word of *Gaza*.

Later (1 Macc. xv, 28) we find King Antiochus sending to Simon his ambassador Athenobios to summon the Jewish prince to give up to him Joppa, *Gazara*, and the Acra of Jerusalem, which the latter had forcibly seized (κατακρατεῖτε), or rather to pay him by way of compensation an indemnity of a thousand talents of silver. Simon replies that he has not taken another's goods, that he has merely recovered the inheritance of his fathers, and he adds (35), "As for Joppa and *Gazara* which thou claimest, and which have done great wrongs to the people in our land, we will give in exchange for them a hundred talents." Here again in the claims of Antiochus and the answer of Simon, *Gazara* and not *Gaza* is mentioned. If Simon had really seized Gaza, one of the most important towns in the kingdom of the Seleucids, Antiochus would certainly not have failed to include it in his demands, he ought even, logically, to have put it at the head of his claims, as being the greatest grievance he could have against the Jews.

Lastly, there is one more argument, an historical one, which proves up to the hilt that all the interesting details of the siege, capture, and Judaization of *Gaza* by Simon, ought properly to apply to *Gazara*, or, to put it in another way, to Gezer. It is that it was at a much later date, in 98 B.C., under the Jewish king Alexander Janneus, that the town of Gaza fell finally into the

* It should be remarked that the name of the town is correctly rendered by the feminine singular, τὴν Γάζαρα, indeclinable, and not as is generally formed by the neuter plural. This small fact seems enough to indicate that the text is really borrowed from an authentic official document.

hands of the Jews, after a memorable siege that lasted no less than a year.*

However, Antiochus, irritated by the reply of Simon, had ordered his general Kendebæos to advance upon Judæa, making the base of his operations the town of Kedron or Kedro,† in the region of Jamneia (v, 39-41). John then came up from Gazara—which fact, we may stop to remark, is sufficient proof that he resided in that town, as I have said,—to warn his father Simon of the approach of the enemy (xvi, 1). This passage at the same time shows that Gazara cannot have been far distant from Jamneia (Yebnâ) and from Kedron (*Katrah*), and that it was exposed in consequence to the first attack of Kendebæos. The latter place may likely enough have been the chief object of his efforts in this fresh campaign. Kendebæos was beaten and driven back to Azotus by the Jewish army, which issued from the neighbourhood of Modin (v, 4-10).

It was at Gazara, again, that John was residing at the time when he heard of the death of his father Simon, who had been caught in an ambuscade and murdered in the fortress of Dok, near Jericho, by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, son of Abubos, the governor of that town. At Gazara also he was warned of the arrival of emissaries entrusted with his own assassination. Quite evidently, Gazara was his headquarters.

The Second Book of Maccabees would seem at first sight to contain a passage of extreme interest concerning our town of Gazara (x, 32-37). But comparison with the First Book of Maccabees (v, 6-8), and the corresponding narrative in Josephus, will suffice to show that it is not *Gezer* at all that is referred to, but *Jazer*, a quite different place, beyond Jordan, and that the names of the two places have got mixed. Γαζάρα is a copyist's error for Ιαζάρα,‡ as just before Γάζα was an error of the same sort for Γάζα. This element then must simply be eliminated from the problem.

On the other hand Gezer is certainly the place referred to in a document of rare interest that has been preserved for us by Josephus. About the year 130 before our era, John Hyrcanus, son and successor of Simon, faithful to

* Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiii, 13, 3, and *Bell. Jud.*, i, 4, 2. Gaza remained in the possession of the Jews until the time of Pompey, who took it from them.

† The identity of Kedron or Kedro with the modern *Katrah*, a little south-east of Yamneia, has long been admitted.

‡ Josephus gives the vocalisation 'Ιάζωρος; the First Book of Maccabees has 'Ιαζήρ (variant 'Ιαζήν). This of course is the Ammonite town *Ja'ezzer*, transliterated in the Septuagint 'Ιαζήρ. The *Onomasticon* renders it by 'Αζώρ at 'Ιαζήρ.

the Hasmonæan tradition, sent an embassy to Rome to draw tighter the bonds of an almost immemorial alliance, and one that the Romans also found to their profit, for it aided certain political views which were afterwards to be realised by the reduction of Syria to a Roman province. Jews and Romans at that time had interests in common, and were pursuing, by widely different means, the same purpose, namely the struggle against the power of the Seleucid kings. Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xiii, 9, 2) gives us the names of the members of the Jewish commission, and the actual text of the decision of the Senate in reply to the letters of Hyrcanus conveyed by his envoys. In these letters Hyrcanus asked the Senate, among other things, to convey to Antiochus an order to give back to him Joppa and its ports, *Gazara and its springs* (καὶ Γάζαρα καὶ πηγὰς), as well as all the towns and all the territories which the latter had seized by armed force, despite the decree of the Senate. We see from this, that in consequence of events unknown to us, Joppa and Gezer had fallen again into the hands of Antiochus. We ascertain, moreover, one precious detail of topography, on which I lay great stress, as it assists in confirming the identification of Gezer. It is that this town had considerable and well-known springs. These springs we find again near Abu Shûsheh, firstly in the magnificent spring of 'Ain Yardeh, next in two, one of them now dried up, the other less important, 'Ain et-Tannûr and 'Ain el-Botmeh. The abundance of water in this district is moreover borne witness to by the existence of the ancient aqueduct, Kanât Bint el Kâfer, which, starting from Tell el Jezer, conveyed it as far as the neighbourhood of Ramleh, and perhaps beyond that to Lydda.

X.—GEZER IN STRABO AND THE ONOMASTICON.

To complete the ancient testimonies concerning Gezer, it remains still to examine two of unequal value.

The first, on which I shall not lay any great stress, is furnished by Strabo.* In describing the coast of Judæa, from Joppa to Mount Cassius, on the Egyptian frontier, he mentions after Joppa and before Azotus and Ascalon, the town of *Gadaris*, as having been appropriated by the Jews. Although

* Strabo, ed. Didot, p. 646, 16.

Strabo, to judge by the historical details* that he furnishes, appears to have confused this *Gadaris* with Gadara,† the capital of Peræa, it is tolerably evident that he is referring to our town Gezer, and that it is to this latter, in any case, that his geographical information relates.

The second testimony is, or looks as if it ought to be, decisive in solving the problem. It is furnished by the *Onomasticon*, and in view of its importance I reproduce it in its entirety. Eusebius expresses himself as follows :—

Γαζέρ, κλήρου Ἐφραΐμ, Λευίταις ἀφωρισμένη, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρησεν Ἰησοῦς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῆς ἀνελών· ἦν καὶ ὠκοδόμησε Σαλομών· καὶ νῦν καλεῖται Γαζάρα κώμη Νικοπόλεως ἀπέχουσα σημείοις δ' ἐν βορείοις. Οὐ μὲν ἀνέειλεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ἢ φυλὴν Ἐφραΐμ.

This St. Jerome renders :—

Gazer, in sorte tribus Ephraim, urbs separata Levitis; quam et ipsam expugnavit Jesus rege illius interfecto. Aedificata est autem postea a Salomone; nunc Gazara villa dicitur in quarto milliario Nicopoleos contra septentrionem. Verumtamen sciendum, quod alienigenas ex ea Ephraim non potuit expellere.‡

This is categorical enough. As the position of Nicopolis Emmaus, now 'Amwās, is perfectly well known on the one hand, and on the other the village of Gazara, is placed by the *Onomasticon* at four miles *north of Nicopolis*, it seems that nothing could be easier than to discover, at its site, the village which to Eusebius and St. Jerome represented the ancient Gezer. The unfortunate part of it is that there is nothing on the spot corresponding to the data. After having long exhausted themselves in attempts at verification, commentators and topographers had ended by regarding the problem as insoluble, or by proposing inadmissible solutions, which I will not stop to discuss, such as identifying Gezer with Yâzûr, to the east of Jaffa, making the old Canaanitish Gezer and the Hasmonæan Gazara into two different towns (Yâzûr and Katra), assimilating Gezer with Geshur in the tribe of Manasseh, and so on.

It was, however, the more difficult to call in question the authority of the *Onomasticon*, as the Gazara mentioned in it seems to have prolonged its

* Of more or less celebrated persons who came from Gadara.

† We have already seen that even Josephus himself sometimes gives Gezer the name of *Gadara*, for *Gazara*.

‡ Cf. *s.v.*, Γεζηρά, *Gazera*, with a cross-reference to the article Γεζέρ (*sic*) and *Gazera, Gazara*.

existence well into the Byzantine period, under the name of *Gadara*, the seat of a bishopric in the province of Palæstina I^a.*

It is as well to note this point in passing, as it suffices to explain the existence at Tell el Jezer "of an early Christian or Byzantine work," which some have thought to detect there by certain archæological indications, and which has been most wrongly adduced as an argument against the great antiquity which I had assigned to the site.†

XI.—GEZER IN ARAB TRADITION.

Such was the condition of the problem up to 1871, when I was led to propose a solution, which I have every reason to believe a permanent one, by introducing into it a new factor, and I may say an unexpected one, since I borrowed it from a quite different and much more recent source, which no one had thought of using. This solution is based on a datum absolutely independent of all those we have discussed. These latter, in spite of their value and all the efforts made to utilize them, were insufficient by themselves to lead to it. It had the advantage of satisfying every term in the problem, without exception, and was destined moreover to receive a few years later a brilliant confirmation, in the discovery, on the very spot I had pointed out, of inscriptions containing at full length the Hebrew name of the much-sought-for city!

While reading in 1869 for the first time the Arabic chronicle of Mujîr ed Dîn, often so dry and tiresome, I lit upon a passage which was to me as a ray of light. It occurs at p. 702 of the Arabic text printed at Bulak. Mujîr ed Dîn there narrates to us in very great detail an incident of quite second-rate interest by itself, which took place in the neighbourhood of Ramleh on the 12th of March, 1495. The author, then a *cadi* at Jerusalem, had been well-nigh an eye-witness of the occurrence.

He is speaking of the bloody encounter between the emir Jâmbulât, Governor of Jerusalem, and his lieutenant at Ramleh, on the one hand, and on the other a troop of Bedouin who had come to make a razzia on the territory of Ramleh, at the secret instigation of the Governor of Gaza, who had a

* This fact has been long admitted, but has been recently disputed by Herr Schlatter, who, repeating the error of Strabo, thinks that the place in question is the Gadara beyond Jordan in Palæstina II^a. However, Herr Gelzer seems to me to have met his objections conclusively. (See *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1894, p. 36, etc. Cf. *Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis Romani*, pp. 52, 191.)

† *Memoirs*, Vol. II, 431, 432. Cf. pp. 433, 434, 436.

hostile feeling towards his colleague at Jerusalem. The territory of Ramleh was, and still is at the present day, separated from that of Gaza by the course of the little river called in its lower waters Nahr Rûbîn, and in its higher course, Wâdy Katra and Wâd es Serâr. The Kâshef or under-Governor of Ramleh, at the command of his superior, the Governor of Jerusalem, who had gone in person to Ramleh, leaves the latter town to make a tour in the district and stop the depredations of the Bedouin who were marauding there. He advances in a southerly direction from Ramleh towards the village of Nî'âneh, which exists under the same name at the present day. He reaches the southern frontier of the district and meets a party of Bedouin, whom he chases as far as the territory of 'Amûriâ, a village now in ruins and equally well known, belonging to the territory of Gaza, to the south of the Wâd es Serâr. Here the Bedouin face about, resume the offensive, and in their turn pursue the Kâshef, who falls back in the direction of the village of Khuldâ and the village of Tell el Jezer (قرية تل الجزر), both belonging—the writer expressly mentions—to the territory of Ramleh.

The Kâshef, seeing that he is at a disadvantage, entrenches himself in a borj, a little fort, then existing at Khuldâ, and here an obstinate struggle takes place between his men and the Bedouin. The latter get the upper hand. Meanwhile the Governor of Jerusalem, who had left Ramleh a little while after his subordinate to execute, on his own part, a reconnaissance, *having arrived at the village of Tell el Jezer, hears in that place the cries of the combatants hotly engaged in mortal conflict at Khuldâ.* He hastens to the rescue, guided by the cries (نحو الصوت) to bring off his men, but is himself beaten and his small escort slaughtered, and hardly manages to escape with his own life.

The latter phase of the affair must have taken place between Khuldâ and the *village of Tell el Jezer*, and quite close to the latter, for Mujîr ed Dîn adds that the authorities commissioned later on to make an inquiry into the affray, and to fix responsibility in the proper quarters,* proceeded first of all to *Tell el Jezer*, and noted that several of the men who had been massacred, some ten in number, were lying on the territory of the village (بارضها).

All the place-names that appear in this recital are still in existence in the locality, and were marked on Van de Velde's map, the only authoritative one then existing, except the name of the village of *Tell el Jezer*, the only one which was missing. I had been greatly struck by the perfect similarity which this

* In this inquiry Mujîr ed Dîn took a personal part in his capacity of cadi.

name presents to that of the undiscoverable Gezer, and immediately proceeded to argue an actual identity from the onomastic identity, and though as yet unable to fix definitely the position of the place, I noted that the district referred to by Mujîr ed Dîn would agree marvellously well with what we know from ancient geography of the site of Gezer. What had to be done was to discover the position of this village, which, though not marked on the maps, was still in existence nearly four centuries ago under a name that was a revelation.

The statement of Mujîr ed Dîn was explicit, and was moreover confirmed by the testimony of various other Arab authors, as I subsequently ascertained.

Thus the secretary of Saladin, 'Emâd ed-dîn,* tells us that the Mussulmans, who occupied Jerusalem and the mountain of Judæa, and were in almost exactly the same situation as the Jews with regard to the Greco-Syrians commanded by Kendebæos, directed three cavalry raids against Richard Cœur de Lion who was quartered at Ascalon. In order to surprise the Franks at Yebnâ early in the morning, they went to *Tell el Jezer* to pass the night.

The historian Behâ ed dîn,† also in Saladin's service, relates that in November, 1191, negotiations were begun (destined never to come to fruit) between Richard and Saladin, who was then encamped at *Tell el Jezer*.

A third Arab testimony is that of the celebrated geographer Yâkût,‡ who puts down *Tell el Jezer* as "a strong place in the province of Filastîn," that is to say, in the province of Ramleh. As his custom is, he is careful to vocalise the name letter by letter, which is a guarantee for the pronounciation *Jazar* with two *fathas*.

Thus there is no doubt as to the existence of a village of the name of Tell el Jezer not only in the 15th, but even in the 12th century of our era. It remained then to discover it in its place, and to see whether it really was built upon an ancient site, and whether this site answers all requirements.

It was only in the course of the year 1871 that it was possible for me to proceed with this verification on the spot. I shall relate further on (*see* Appendix) how I managed, not without trouble, to satisfy myself that Tell

* *El-fath el Kossy*, MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 839, ancien fonds arabe, fol. 171. Cf. Arabic text, edited by Landberg, p. 419.

† *Historiens Orientaux des Croisades*, III, 291-292. Wilken, and Stubbs, the editor of the *Itinerarium Ricardi*, led astray by the odd transliteration of Schultens (*Tel-al-Sjusur*), wrongly imagined that this name stood for the Arabic تَلَّ الجَسُور "The Hill of the Bridge," as Stubbs writes; the text has تَلَّ الجَزَر letter for letter.

‡ *Mô'jem el-Buldân*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s.v.

el Jezer, which had hitherto baffled all the commentators, was to be found in the well-known village of Abu Shûsheh, the modern name masking the ancient one, which however was still living in tradition. I noted there all the signs that characterise an important city of antiquity, and, referring back to all the texts discussed above, I convinced myself that Tell el Jezer satisfied all the conditions contained in them.

I had therefore succeeded in discovering the real site of ancient Gezer, after having, if I may say so, theoretically fixed it beforehand. On returning to Europe in 1872,* I read before the Académie des Inscriptions a paper entitled "Découverte de la ville royale chananéenne de Gezer," which has not yet been published. In it I set forth the reasons that led me to propose the identification of Gezer with Tell el Jezer. This part of my dissertation I have given in substance in the preceding pages, the other part, relating to the material operations of the discovery, is given in abbreviated form in the Appendix.

I had no suspicion then that two years later it was to be my lot to find at Tell el Jezer itself epigraphical proof establishing my thesis beyond the possibility of question.

It still remains in my mind how when I had finished reading my paper, the President of the Académie, the lamented M. Miller, thought it incumbent on him to make some reservations in speaking of my conclusions, which appeared to him somewhat daring, saying it was to be regretted that I could not bring forward some inscription in support of my views, which could only be regarded, it seemed to him, as mere conjecture, in the absence of further proof.

This was perhaps a little too exacting, for at this rate which of all the topographical identifications in Palestine, though seeming most solidly established, could stand before this excessive scepticism? We have seen however that it was not long before this desideratum was supplied in a way that could not have been hoped for, proving me in the right all along the line, and also, most valuable of all in my eyes, justifying in a striking fashion the

* I cannot avoid remarking, by the way, were it only to anticipate those claims of prior discovery which are always possible, that the late lamented Tyrwhitt Drake proposed to identify Gezer with "Tell Jezar" in the *Quarterly Statement* of 1872, p. 40. He only omits to mention one thing, that this identification had been suggested to him by me, together with all the proofs in support of it, *a year before*, in the presence of poor Palmer and the late Sir Richard Burton. The *Memoirs* do not mention Drake's report, but on the other hand they ascribe to me (p. 439 at the bottom) the paternity of a short notice which really belongs to him.

very method of critical induction employed by me, the same as produced such grand results in the hands of Robinson and his successors. We are henceforth warranted in applying this method with greater confidence than ever, for we see that it is capable of leading us, upon occasion, to results of absolute certainty.

XII.—TELL EL JEZER AND THE GAZARA OF THE ONOMASTICON.
THE MOUNT GISART OF THE CRUSADERS.

It would be easy, but too long, to show, by taking one by one the series of texts above quoted, that Tell el Jezer answers to all, absolutely all, of the data contained in them. I wish in this place only to touch on one essential point, which at the same time raises a general question that has an important bearing on our knowledge of the geography of Palestine, I mean the identity between Tell el Jezer and the Gazara of the *Onomasticon*.

The *Onomasticon*, as we have seen, places Gadara at four miles *north* of Nicopolis-Emmaus, at any rate this was the meaning that had always been attached to the Greek expression ἐν βορείῳ, which St. Jerome renders *contra septentrionem*. Now though Tell el Jezer is obviously situated at the requisite distance from 'Amwâs,* the ancient Emmaus-Nicopolis, with all the good will in the world, one cannot say that it is to the *north* of that town. In reality it is at most north-west of it, a difference of 45°, which is a good deal. At the distance of four Roman miles to the north of 'Amwâs we find merely an unimportant place, Khirbet Rueisûn, which cannot in any respect represent the Gazara of the *Onomasticon*, still less the Gezer of the Bible. How is one to explain this serious anomaly which seems either to set aside my identification, or else to impute a gross mistake to the *Onomasticon*?

All we have to do is to attend more carefully than is generally done to this expression ἐν βορείῳ; literally translated it means not *to the north* but rather *in the norths*. From this starting point I arrived at the following most interesting general result, that in his orientations Eusebius constantly uses the plural form, the *norths*, the *souths*, the *east*s, the *west*s, when he wishes to imply a quarter intermediate between the four cardinal points, corresponding to our north-west, north-east, south-east, and south-west. I

* I will remark *en passant* that Tell el Jezer is directly united with 'Amwâs by an ancient road, still marked out by large blocks, among which a diligent search might perhaps reveal one of the milestones which served as guiding marks to Eusebius and St. Jerome.

have picked out in the *Onomasticon* numerous instances of this hitherto unnoticed fact. I am keeping this question to treat thoroughly at some future date, when I mean to construct a very curious compass-card for the *Onomasticon*, in which each expression, in the singular or plural, combined with a judicious use of the prepositions with delicately varying meanings, *πρὸς, ἀπὸ, κατὰ, μεταξύ,* etc., corresponds to a fixed point on the horizon. This will clear away many so-called inaccuracies and even errors in orientation of which the *Onomasticon* has been groundlessly accused, and the geographical data which modern exegesis borrows from that work at every turn, will gain in precision to a remarkable extent.

To confine myself to the present instance, I have no doubt that we should render *ἐν βορείοις*, "in the norths," by "to the north-west," and so become perfectly accurate. If Eusebius had meant "to the north," he would not have employed the plural, but the singular. Here is one case out of a score. The *Onomasticon* places Nazareth 15 Roman miles *in the easts*, *πρὸς ἀνατολάς*, from Legio (Lajjûn). It would make absolute nonsense to translate *to the east*, Eusebius would in that case have used the singular. He means to the *north-east*, which is exactly right.

Thus the last doubt that might have lingered on this head disappears. Tell el Jezer, by its name as well as by its distance from and position with regard to 'Amwâs, undoubtedly stands for the Gazara of the *Onomasticon*.

But is this Gazara really identical with the Gazara of the Hasmonæan period, and consequently with the Gazara of the ages preceding? Here again was ground for hesitation. Too often the authors of the *Onomasticon* proceed in their geographical exegesis by way of guesses, sometimes very risky guesses too, just like certain modern scholars, allowing themselves to be led astray by superficial likenesses in names. Such might be the case here, and the objection might rightly be made, and was made, to my theory that if I had discovered at Tell el Jezer the village of Gazara, in which the *Onomasticon* rightly or wrongly saw the Gezer of the Bible, there was nothing to show that the latter view was correct. The appearance of our inscriptions is a victorious answer to this objection; whatever their date may be, they are, as we shall see, certainly earlier, and that by a long way, than the date when Eusebius compiled his *Onomasticon*, and they prove consequently that we are really on the site of the Hasmonæan Gezer, which, on the other hand, cannot be distinct from the Gezer of earlier times. Thus we have an uninterrupted chain of evidence uniting through the ages, in time as well as in space, the Canaanitish Gezer with the modern Tell el Jezer.

There was only wanting in this chain a single link, the mediæval link, that is to say a document bearing witness to the existence of Gezer under the sway of the Crusaders. This connecting link I have since managed to discover as I did the others, by demonstrating, in a special memoir,* to which I can only refer the reader, that Tell el Jezer was known to the Crusaders, under a name preserved as faithfully as possible, as *Mount Gisart*, a castle and fief† of the county of Japhe, which no one had yet been able to identify. In this memoir I prove, among other things, by a reasoned comparison of mediæval and Arab chronicles, that the famous battle of Mount Gisart, where Saladin was routed by Baldwin IV the Leper, in 1177, was fought at Tell el Jezer, and that in commemoration of this glorious feat of arms, which took place on November 25, the feast of St. Catharine, a priory of St. Catharine of Mount Gisart, in the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Lydda, was founded on Tell el Jezer. It may therefore be expected, when it is decided to make excavations at Tell el Jezer, that traces of occupation by the Crusaders will be found in the surface strata. It is very likely to the battle of Mount Gisart that we should refer the origin of the numerous skeletons discovered at the south-western extremity of Tell el Jezer, mentioned in the *Memoirs*, II, p. 436, as "apparently buried after a battle." Local tradition itself appears to have retained traces of this memorable event. (See the legend related above, p. 236, *à propos* of Mûsâ Talî'a.)

XIII.—EXPLANATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS, AND COMMENTARY.

I now arrive at the explanation of the inscriptions given already in fac-simile. They raise various questions of the highest interest. They may be divided into two groups: (1) the three bilingual ones, A, B, D, which I discovered in succession, and which being identical in tenour evidently form part of one and the same group; (2) the small solitary inscription C.

Inscription C.—I will devote myself first of all to the latter, which is the only one at all doubtful in its interpretation. It is complete, though very short, and is simply composed of four large letters, which certain people have wanted to make out to be Cufic characters!‡ This, need I say it?—is a mere

* Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I, 351-391; cf. p. 401: *Mont Gisart et Tell el-Djezer*.

† In documents of the Crusades we find mention of several lords of Mount Gisart.

‡ Cf. *Memoirs*, II, p. 435. Even the reading *ى حارم* (!) has been boldly suggested.

delusion. Whoever has the least acquaintance with Semitic palæography will have no hesitation in recognizing them as square Hebrew characters, of the same period as those of the other neighbouring inscriptions. As for the reading and explanation, I confess they present genuine difficulties. There is no possible doubt as to the second and fourth characters, which are certainly a *teth* and an *aleph* respectively. The case is otherwise with the first and third characters. Is the former a *nun*, a *kaph*, or a *beth*? Is the latter a *phe*, a *beth*, or a *mem*? I give below a table of the different readings that are palæographically possible, without venturing as yet to pronounce a decided opinion.*

נ	(?) פ	ט	(?) נ
	ב		כ
	מ		ב

According to the value assigned to these letters, they lead to all sorts of combinations, but no one of these seems to me very satisfactory.

נטפח recalls the name of the Bible town *Netophah*; but it is hard to see how the name of this town comes to be here at the gates of Gezer, when, if we admit the conclusions of modern criticism, it must have been situated in quite another part. נטמח, the *niphal* form of טמח, "to be impure," would suggest some ritual direction having reference to the sanctity of the boundary of Gezer, if that boundary is of religious and not civil origin, as for instance the indication of a zone beyond which the presence of tombs might give rise to pollution.† בטמח, "terebinth," would suggest the name of 'Ain el-Botmeh, which I found quite close to the town, and so forth. Moreover, this must not be lost sight of, that if the first letter is a *beth*, it may perhaps not be a radical, but the preposition ב.

I leave to more skilful hands the task of solving this riddle. The answer is perhaps quite simple, but it baffles me. All one can say is that if this text is, as it appears, contemporaneous with the three others, it does not

* I must especially remark that the loop forming the head of the last letter but one in M. Lecomte's copy, is nothing like so marked in the original (cf. the photographic fac-simile taken from the squeeze and given above). The lower stroke of this loop is anything but certain.

† Cf. all the minute precautions to secure purification adopted by Simon at Gezer after the conquest of the town, in view of its being a hot-bed of idolatry. See also a curious passage in the Talmud (Tosiphta, Ohol. 18) relating to the impurity of a certain zone round Ascalon, where the words תחומים and טמאים are actually used.

form part of the same series of the boundary-marks of Gezer. It is noteworthy also, that though placed between two of the large inscriptions, it is not quite on the north-east line that joins them, but a little inside that line, to the west.

The three other inscriptions, A, B, D, are, on the contrary, certain in reading and sense. They repeat a single text, and illustrate and complete each other. They only differ from one another in the arrangement of the two parts, Greek and Hebrew, of which they are composed. Inscription D has suffered greatly, but the missing characters are supplied without trouble by comparison with A and B :

A. Ἀλκίο(υ) תחמ גזר

B. αοιανγϚ
תחמ גזר

D. Ἀλκίου
ת[ח]מ ג[ז]ר

A, B, C: "OF ALKIOS" (*in Greek*). "BOUNDARY OF GEZER" (*in Hebrew*). At the time of the discovery of inscription A, I had been supposing that **ΑΛΚΙΟ** must be a proper name of a man in the genitive case, for **ΑΛΚΙΟΥ**, and that the stonemason had omitted the final **Υ** either by inadvertence or for want of room. This supposition was fully confirmed by the subsequent discovery of B and D, in which **Αλκίου** is actually written at full length. The omission of the final **Υ** in inscription A tends to show that the stonemason had cut the Hebrew inscription first, starting from right to left, and then the Greek inscription, going back from left to right.

It is always a ticklish matter, and sometimes a dangerous one, to try to date an inscription from palæographical indications. The shapes of the letters are not always a strict guide in chronology. However, having regard only to Greek epigraphy, and setting aside the historic probabilities that I shall speak of presently, one would be inclined *à priori* to admit that it is earlier than the Christian era. The *alpha*, it will be noticed, has in all three cases its cross-bar horizontal (**A**) and not broken (**Α**). Now on the stele of Herod's temple, which I discovered at Jerusalem in 1871, the date of which is beyond a doubt, the *alphas* begin to have the broken bar (**Α**).* The shape of the *kappa*,

* The palæography of the stele is in strict accordance with that of the coins of Herod the Great, especially in the case of the characteristic letters **A**, **E**, **Σ**, **Ω**.

though less decisive, corresponds fairly well with this diagnosis; the two branches have the acuteness of angle and the shortness that characterise the ancient prototype **K**; whilst on the temple stele this letter has already assumed the more modern aspect, **K**, with the branches more open and prolonged at top and bottom to the level of the ends of the upright part.

The palæography of the Hebrew part is not at variance with these conclusions. As we know, the square Hebrew characters which came into general use from the Christian era onwards, were certainly in use before that date, and must date as far back as the Hasmonæan period. The fact that the Hasmonæan coins, and even those of Barcocheba, have their legends written in the old Phœnician alphabet, does not militate against this universally accepted theory; it was from a deliberate archaism,* and from a desire to assert the reformed nationality of Israel, that the Hasmonæan princes and those who later on at the time of the supreme self-assertion of expiring Judaism resumed their traditions, used for the legends of their coins the ancient script of Israel, whilst for the daily needs of life this script had been replaced by the square Aramaic alphabet, a close relation of that of the Nabatæans and the Palmyrenians.

What was the period when this change was effected among the Jews from one alphabet to the other? In my opinion, it was in the second half of the 2nd century before Christ, just about the time of the Hasmonæan ascendancy; and I base my view upon historical considerations which it would take too long to consider. It is difficult to assign exact dates to the ancient Hebrew inscriptions in square characters, now so numerous, that have been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, such as the epitaph of the tomb of St. James and others like it, the inscriptions on the ossuaries, and so on. All that can be said is that they border closely on the Christian era, and naturally involve the existence of an earlier period of a certain length during which the square character was in use. I shall base my remarks on two documents, which enable us, I think, to introduce into this still very obscure question of chronology two precise data, furnishing two fixed points, two really historical points, with a *terminus ad quem* and a *terminus a quo*.

The first is the Hebrew inscription on the sarcophagus of the queen Saddan or Sadda, discovered in the Kubûr el Mulûk by M. de Saulcy. I have shown elsewhere by a series of proofs that the unknown queen resting in this

* Cf. the use of the Gothic alphabet for the legends of certain English coins of the present day.

sarcophagus is none other than the very queen of Adiabene, the celebrated Helen, who may be supposed to have borne, after the fashion of the time, the Semitic name of *Saddan* in her national tongue, simultaneously with her Hellenic name of *Helen*. Here then is a text in square Hebrew characters exactly dated by the death of Queen Helen of Adiabene and her burial in the magnificent mausoleum that she had had constructed at the gates of Jerusalem for herself and her family, which occurred between 65 and 70 A.D.

The other document, on the contrary, takes us back to a period when the square Hebrew alphabet had not yet taken a definite place, but was already in the way of being introduced among the Jews. This is the famous inscription carved several times over on the rock at A'râk el Emîr, which has given rise to so much palæographical, epigraphical, and historical controversy. Of all the readings proposed, only one is possible, namely, טוביה "Tobias." This one may be taken to be certain. The character is still akin to the ancient type, but the approach of the square character already makes itself felt.

The great question is to make out who this Tobias is. I do not admit his being, as various scholars have proposed, Tobias the Ammonite, in the book of Nehemiah. The date (about 350 B.C.) would be much too early for the palæography of the inscription and for the archæology of the monuments of A'râk el Emîr. I likewise refuse to identify the person with that Tobias, father of Joseph, who was a farmer of the taxes for Ptolemy V Epiphanes about 187 B.C., and was the grandfather of Hyrcanus, that is to say of the individual to whom, according to Josephus, we are to ascribe the foundation of the citadel called by him Tyros, and to-day by the Arabs A'râk el Emîr. I have arrived at the conclusion that the Tobias whose name appears cut on the rock at A'râk el Emîr, *is none other than Hyrcanus himself*, that is to say the actual founder of this most remarkable town.

This is not the place to enter on a regular proof, it would take me too much out of my way, so I will confine myself to pointing out the principal argument on which I rely.

Hyrcanus is a purely Hellenic name, and when borne by a Jewish personage implies the existence of another name, a national Hebrew one. This, as I have just reminded the reader in the case of Queen Helen, = Saddan, was a common practice among the Hellenising Semites, who assumed or received a double name. Greek and Semitic proofs of this usage are abundant; to go no further than the name of Hyrcanus, I will point out, for instance, that, later on, in the Hasmonæan dynasty, we come across a prince Hyrcanus, who at the same time bears the Jewish name of *John* (Ιωάννης, and

on his coins (יוחנן), in just the same way as his son and successor will bear the double name (Hellenic and Jewish) *Alexander Jannæus*.* Thus the Hyrcanus who founded the citadel of A'râk el Emîr might have borne, nay even must have borne, a Jewish name in his own tongue. Now what was this Jewish name? I do not hesitate to reply, *Tobias*, and that *à priori*, quite apart from the existence of the name in the inscriptions at A'râk el Emîr. My reason is this: Our Hyrcanus, son of Joseph, was a *grandson of Tobias*, and we know how often the name of the grandfather was transmitted to the grandson by onomastic atavism. This of itself is a strong presumption in favour of my thesis. But here is something else that appears to me still more convincing than this simple induction, which might perhaps be considered rash.

Josephus tells us that Hyrcanus, being brought to bay in his citadel of A'râk el Emîr, ended by committing suicide (about 175 B.C.), and that King Antiochus (IV Epiphanes) took possession of all the goods that had belonged to him (*Ant. Jud.*, xii, 4, 11). I am persuaded that we ought to identify this latter incident with what is told us in 2 Macc. iii, 11. The Seleucid General Apollonius sends Heliodorus to Jerusalem to call upon the high-priest Onias, in the name of Antiochus, to give up a considerable quantity of public treasure, of the existence of which he had been informed by a traitor. Onias in vain objects, saying that the treasure contains the savings of widows and orphans, and also "property belonging to a certain person of great consideration" (σφόδρα ἀνδρὸς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ κειμένου) *called Hyrcanus son of Tobias*. This at any rate is the meaning hitherto attached to the expression Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Τωβίου: "Hyrcanus (son) of Tobias," taking the second name to be a patronymic, with υἱοῦ understood, according to the usage of the Greek language. It is true that Ὑρκανὸς ὁ Τωβίου, or rather Ὑρκανὸς Τωβίου, in the nominative, would mean "Hyrcanus, son of Tobias;" but when in this expression the name is in the genitive, there is ambiguity, and the phrase may also be equivalent to Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ καὶ Τωβίου, of Hyrcanus *who is also called Tobias*.† The latter meaning is the one that the Latin version has

* It is very probable, in my opinion, that the homonymous Hyrcani, for instance Hyrcanus II, son and successor of Alexander Jannæus, Hyrcanus, the nephew of Herod Agrippa, and Hyrcanus, son of the historian Flavius Josephus, also bore a national Jewish name independently of the Hellenic one.

† We should then have in the nominative Ὑρκανὸς ὁ Τωβίος and not ὁ Τωβίου. It is in this way that the accusative Ἰαννέα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, which is found in Josephus, presumes the genitive, Ἰαννέα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Now it would be absolute nonsense to translate the latter expression by, *of Jannes son of Alexander*, since we know perfectly well that the person was called *Alexander-Jannes*, and was the son of John Hyrcanus.

taken, for *Hyrkani Tobiaë* can only mean in Latin, “*of Hyrcanus-Tobias*,” not “*of Hyrcanus, son of Tobias*.” This is how I understand the expression myself, and I draw from this series of comparisons the following formal conclusions: (1) that the Hyrcanus-Tobias of the Book of Maccabees, the important personage whose property Antiochus confiscated, is identical with the Hyrcanus of Fl. Josephus, whose property meets with a similar fate; (2) that it was this Hyrcanus-Tobias who cut his *Jewish name Tobias* twice over in monumental characters at A'râk el Emîr. Consequently the disputed inscription, thanks to this historical identification, can be exactly dated, as our Hyrcanus died in 176–175 B.C., and occupied his residence beyond Jordan during seven consecutive years, as we are informed by Josephus, until the end of the reign of Seleucus IV Philopator, the predecessor of Antiochus Epiphanes.*

I apologize for this digression, a somewhat long one perhaps, though I have attempted to compress into it a reasoning which really demands fuller treatment. It was however necessary, in order to ensure a firm basis for a fact of some importance for us, namely, that the use of the square alphabet must have been introduced among the Jews subsequent to the year 175 B.C., and only have been generally adopted under the Hasmonæan dynasty, which hardly came into official existence before 143 B.C., the date when the new Israel acquired its independence. Consequently our Gezer inscriptions cannot in any case date farther back than this, while on the other hand Greek palæography binds us not to overstep the boundary of the Christian era. There is still a margin, it will be seen.

The defective spelling of the word תחום, for תחום, “boundary;” the appearance of the ם, which in this word does not yet assume the final form it will take in the classic alphabet; the structure of the component parts of the

* It would in no way surprise me—but I can only put forward the notion here in brief—if our Hyrcanus, otherwise called Hyrcanus-Tobias, was really a descendant of the famous Tobias the Ammonite of the book of Nehemiah. According to Josephus the family of Hyrcanus was known at Jerusalem under the popular name of “Children of Tobias” (*οἱ Τωβίου παῖδες* or *vioi* = בני טוביה Benê-Tobiyah). This generic appellation perhaps did not refer, as is supposed, to Tobias the grandfather of Hyrcanus, a person who appears to have played only an obscure part, but rather to a more distant and more illustrious ancestor, the Tobias of Ammonite origin who had played a conspicuous part in the history of Jerusalem on the return from the Captivity, and, to the great indignation of the orthodox party, had made himself a high position in the Jewish nation by exalted alliances. We could also much more easily explain why our Hyrcanus-Tobias, when driven from Jerusalem by the enmity of his brothers, went and established himself in the very heart of the Ammonites, if, by so doing, he was only returning to the land of his origin, where his family still perhaps had powerful connections.

ת, the ן, the ג, perhaps also the י (in inscription A at least), are all indications of comparative archaism, agreeing with the probable age of the Greek characters. I think then that we shall not be far wrong in placing our inscriptions at or near the first century of our era, and rather before than after. We shall see if it is possible to reduce the problem within straiter limits.

No doubt can remain as to the reading and sense of the three inscriptions A, B, D, despite the reservations made with singular persistency in the *Memoirs*.* I have already anticipated certain objections more or less clearly enunciated there, but which have an evident tendency to lessen in the reader's eyes the importance of the conclusions that I drew at the first from these invaluable documents; these conclusions I still maintain, and it now remains for me to justify them.

With regard to the actual name of *Gezer*, which is repeated three times, there is nothing to be said: it is written גזר quite clearly, just as in the Biblical texts.

The word תחם, a defective, and even on that account ancient spelling of תחום, "boundary," does not belong to Biblical Hebrew, but is extremely common in the Hebrew of the Talmud under the forms תחום and תחומא, "boundary, limit, frontier." It likewise exists in Syriac (*tehûmo*). It is one of those many words of Aramaic origin that must have got into the language of the Jews at an early period, since the latter had come to speak an Aramaic or a strongly Aramaised dialect by the time of the Hasmonæans, perhaps before it. In fact these profound changes in their language and their writing in the same direction were of simultaneous occurrence. At the same time that they began to speak Aramaic, they adopted the square character, in the form in which we see it in our inscriptions, that is to say, a type of alphabet allied to those in use around them among the Aramaic peoples. There is a synchronism, so to speak, in our inscriptions between the appearances of the Aramaic word תחם and the use of the square characters. The Judæo-Aramaic language of the Targums even admits verbs closely related to this word: יתחם, a *piel*, "to bound, to trace a limit," and יתחם, a *paël*, with the same meanings.

The word תחם is also used in the plural, תחומים; for instance, to signify "the boundaries of Ascalon" (*Tosiphta*, Oholoth, 18). It even appears that

* *Memoirs*, II, pp. 435, 436: "The first word is supposed to be an abbreviated form of the later Hebrew form for תחום, "boundary." . . . The letter ט . . . would have a medial, not a final form, if *so read* . . . The characters, if *really* Hebrew, approach most closely to the later square Hebrew forms, and not to the earlier character of the coins, *etc., etc.*"

it finally passed into the general meaning of "territory;" thus we find the expression תְּחוֹם אֲרִיָּה, "the territory of Arian" (*Tosiphta*, Kilaïm 1.), exactly similar to our תְּחוֹם גֶּזֶר, "boundary" or "territory" of Gezer. The word must have been in common use in Syria, and consequently in Palestine too, which explained why the Arabs adopted it when they conquered those countries. For it is clearly evident that the Arabic تَحْمٌ, تَحْمٌ, تَحْمَةٌ, *takhm*, *tokhm*, *takhûma*, as well as the factitious plural تَحْمٌ *tokhûm* (identical, letter for letter, with the Aramaic תְּחוֹם), are simply its immediate derivatives. These Arabic words signify in their special sense, "boundary part or border between two fields," and in their more general sense, "boundary, frontier." For instance, men said تَحْمُ الْبَلْقَاءِ, "the frontier of Balka," تَحْمُ الشَّامِ, "the frontier of Damascus, or of Syria," etc. . . . * The word has likewise furnished verbal derivatives in Arabic as in Aramaic: تَحَّمَ, "to establish a boundary," and تَاخَمَ, "to be bordering, contiguous."

In the Talmud the word תְּחוֹם very often denotes a boundary of a very particular kind. I shall recur to this shortly, when I discuss the origin and intention of this *boundary of Gezer*.

Whatever this origin and this intention were, it is clear that the appearance of the male proper name Alkios, written in Greek, by the side of the Hebrew text in each of our inscriptions, admits of but one explanation. This name can only be that of some personage playing an essential part in the fixing of the boundary: either a magistrate who presided over it *ex officio*, or some great person for whose benefit the settlement took place, the land marked off being his personal property. I incline to the former hypothesis; the use of the genitive is quite in conformity with the usages of Greek. We must understand the preposition ἐν, or some verbal expression in the genitive, which determines the nature of his function. On the other hand, if it were a question of private property, one would think that the expression "boundary of Gezer" would not have been used; this would imply a boundary concerning the town itself and not a mere private individual. So I regard Alkios, till the contrary is proved, as a civil or religious magistrate possessing authority over the territory of Gezer.

At the outset I thought myself able to assert that this name Alkios

* I have my suspicions moreover that the present name of the village of *Tehûm* (تَحْمُ), on the sea-coast between Jebel and Bathrîn, is a weakened form of the word تَحْمُ, and owes its name to its position on the boundary of the territories of these two latter towns. Several Greek and Roman inscriptions relating to the establishment of certain boundaries have been discovered in the neighbourhood (cf. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 147, 149).

belonged to a person of Jewish origin. As a matter of fact, Alkios is a purely Hellenic name, rather rare even in Greek onomastics, and only appearing in documents that take us to a considerable distance away from Palestine, for instance, on Phrygian coins.* It even appears, from a comparison between a passage in Athenæus (XII, 547) and other authorities that mention a certain Alkios, of the Epicuræan school, that Ἄλκιος is merely a variant of a much more widespread form Ἀλκᾶιος.† My impression was that in any case our name Alkios belonged to the well-known category of Greco-Jewish names chosen purposely by the Jews from Hellenic names because of their assonance with their own national names; for instance: *Jason—Jesus, Joiakim—Alkimos, Simeon—Simon, Saul—Paulos*, and others like them. Taking this basis, I suspected *Alkios* of Gezer to be a Jewish personage having as his national name *Hilkiyah*, חלקיה (Ἑλκίας‡), an abbreviation of *Hilkiyahu*, חלקיהו, and itself admitting abbreviation to *Helkai* חלקי (Nehemiah xii, 15), transliterated Ἑλκαῖ in the Septuagint.§

There is another instance to be adduced which invests this conjecture with a high degree of probability, I mean the long Greek epitaph carved on the ossuary or sarcophagus at Lydda which I shall speak of later on (Ch. VI). Whatever meaning be attached to the somewhat obscure genealogy given in it, which will be treated of, in the proper place and at the proper time, one fact stands out clearly, that the name *Alkios*, identical with that in our Gezer inscriptions, is there found associated with names genuinely Jewish (*Simon, Gobar*); consequently we are fully warranted in concluding, as I have done, that this name really did belong to the Jewish personal vocabulary.

This last is a point of the first importance. We might even go a step further and inquire whether the Alkios of Gezer and the Alkios of Lydda might not by chance be one and the same person.|| The distance between Lydda and

* Mionnet, *Description de médailles, etc.*, IV, 22B; suppl., VII, 507.

† See Pape-Bensler, *Woerterb. der griech. Eigennamen*, s.vv.

‡ This name was still much in vogue in the first century of our era. Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 8: 4; xix, 8: 3; xx, 8: 11.

§ Cf. the Gospel name Ἀλφᾶιος, which is an evident Hellenisation of חלפאי, *Halphai* (Talmud, חילפאי, *Hilphai*).

|| It may be as well to recall in this place that John Hyrcanus I had a brother, name unknown, who was given as a hostage to Antiochus VII Sidetes (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiii, 8, 3). This unknown son of Simon is not generally inserted in the current genealogies of the Hasmonæans. Can he have borne the name of Alkios? The practice of giving Greek names seems to have taken early root in the Hasmonæan family. John Hyrcanus set the example; his descendants followed it, and his son Judas Aristobulus went so far in his taste for things Greek that he earned the surname of *Philhellenus*.

Gezer (about four miles) is inconsiderable enough to allow of the two towns being regarded as belonging to the same region. Thus there would be nothing improbable in the idea of the descendants of Alkios who were buried at Lydda, being buried in a family tomb belonging to Alkios of Gezer and his ancestors. In that case the latter would naturally have belonged originally to Lydda. It is interesting, with this in view, to compare the palæography of the Greek inscriptions at Gezer with that of the epitaph at Lydda, since on this hypothesis the two texts would be separated by an interval of one, perhaps two, generations, according to the sense it may be thought necessary to attach to this ambiguous epitaph. Now to judge from the shape of the letters, this epitaph might perfectly well be placed about the beginning of the first century of our era, which would put the Gezer inscriptions further back, into the latter half of the century preceding. However, I do not insist on the second part of this comparison, for it is always possible that the Alkios of Gezer and that of Lydda are merely homonyms. But what remains certain, in any case, is that Alkios really is, as I expected, a name belonging to the Greco-Jewish personal vocabulary.

XIV.—NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE BOUNDARY.

What was the nature of the boundary which our inscriptions helped to mark out? For reasons to which it is useless to recur, I have already rejected the idea that we only had to deal with a mere boundary of private property belonging to a person named Alkios. The tenour of the texts is explicit: *boundary of Gezer*, so that the boundary is one concerning the town itself, not a private individual. But what is the nature of the connection?

It may occur to us to inquire whether this boundary may be a line of demarcation between two contiguous territories subject to two more or less neighbouring towns. We have in Greek and Roman epigraphy, and even in Syria, numerous instances of inscriptions fixing boundaries of this sort. In the present case one is almost tempted to think of a passage in Josephus, (*Ant. Jud.*, xiv, 5: 4; *Bellum Jud.*, i, 8: 5), where he states that in 69–63 B.C. Gabinius, sent by Pompey, divided the Jewish nation into five Sanhedrins, having as their centres Jerusalem, *Gadara*, Amathous, Jericho, and Sepphoris. *Gadara*, as we have seen, is often put for *Gazara*. Can it be, then, that we have come across the territorial boundary of the Sanhedrin of Gezer, and that the latter was placed under the chief jurisdiction of Alkios, a member of that Jewish aristocracy, (*ἀριστοκρατία*) which Gabinius, according to

Josephus, substituted for the royal dynasty? The idea is assuredly attractive; but it raises more than one difficulty. In the first place, it is by no means proved that in the passage quoted Gadara stands for Gezer, and not rather for Gadara in Peræa. Again, the boundary of the territory of the Sanhedrin, which must have been of great extent, would have passed very near the town that was its capital. On the other hand, it is to be noted that in the division of Judæa into eleven toparchies, which was in existence in the time of Vespasian (Josephus, *Bellum Jud.*, iii, 3: 5; *cf.* Pliny the Elder, *Hist. Nat.*, 5: 14) we hear nothing of a toparchy of Gezer, although there is one of Emmaus and Lydda, which are important towns not far away. Lastly, and most forcible objection of all, if the "boundary of Gezer" was that of some district having Gezer as its capital, this district would have been of necessity contiguous to some other district, and in this case our inscriptions would have to mention, as the custom always is, the *two districts* separated by the line of demarcation: "boundary of Gezer *and of*, etc."

From this I conclude that the boundary of Gezer can only be a line encircling the whole city, and marking out a certain zone of comparatively limited extent, which formed an integral part of the immediate dependencies of this city, was considered by itself apart from any contiguous exterior territory, and formed the perimeter of a suburb—of a shape yet to be determined—having Gezer as its centre.

Before searching in the Biblical and other sources for analogies that might enlighten us as to the nature and purpose of this perimeter, it will be as well to examine more nearly the position of these inscribed landmarks, and particularly their orientation with regard to Tell el Jezer and their distance from that spot. Circumstances did not allow of our going on with these observations, but of course it was my intention to make them with the greatest possible accuracy, reckoning them as an essential factor in the solution of the problem. However, at my request the Committee was pleased to give instructions for their being made by the Survey. The results will be found in a plan on a large scale published in the *Memoirs* (II, p. 429).

This plan, though very detailed, still leaves some doubt at certain points. Thus the exact spot of the inscriptions mentioned in the explanation of the plan is not clearly indicated. The numbers used, 1, 2, 3, do not correspond to the order in which I made the successive discoveries. They answer, in my series, to B, A, C, not A, B, C. As regards my inscription D, I cannot say whether it is identical with No. 4 on the plan (see *supra*, p. 233). At all events, it is pretty nearly in the same direction, and I shall argue as if it were identical.

Moreover, as far as I can judge, there is an appreciable difference between the Map and the special plan as regards the orientation of the medial axis of the Tell. I will mention, just to remind the reader, an error I have already pointed out, in the position of 'Ain et Tannûr. This was more a mistake as to toponymy than to topography.

According to the Survey plan my inscription A (=No. 2) is on the right and to the east of the Tell, which agrees precisely with my own observation, and at a distance from the middle of the Tell that may be reckoned at 5,600 feet.* Inscriptions B (=No. 1), C (=No. 3), and D (=No. 4) appear set out at irregular intervals along a line starting from A (No. 2) and bearing to the north, which amounts to saying that the texts are easily seen to be arranged in a row from south-east to north-west. The orientation is perhaps not faultlessly exact, but the slight variations in the relative positions of the inscriptions are not sufficient to warrant us in denying this visible tendency towards a scheme of position depending on the four points of the compass, to say nothing of the fact that when the inscriptions were cut the cardinal points were perhaps not the same as those that we use now-a-days. I do not mean the variation due to the lessening of the mean obliquity of the ecliptic—that would only give, for 2000 years, an inconsiderable difference of 15'—but we cannot be sure whether at that time observers fixed their positions by the equinoctial or (quite possibly) the solstitial points. Taking the rising sun as the basis, there might be a difference of 27° 55' under this head, on the horizon of Jerusalem, either to the north or south of the true astronomical east.

If we attempt to discover a circumference passing through the points marked out by our inscriptions, by attaching an importance to their slight deviation from the straight line, which in my opinion they do not possess, we should find for the centre of this more or less regular circumference a spot very far from Tell el Jezer, and nearly at Sheikh Ja'bâs, which seems extremely improbable.

From these various considerations therefore, I am finally persuaded that we should regard our group of inscriptions as marking out a straight line running *grosso modo* from south-east to north-west. This straight line could only form

* *Memoirs*, II, pp. 431 and 434.

† I need hardly remark that in practice the ancients, and especially the Semites, when they wished to determine the bearings of a place or building, did not look to the north, as we do, but looked to the east, having on their right hand the south and on their left the north: that is to say, if they had had maps they would have placed the east at the top. This is indicated by the Semitic names of the cardinal points; "before," "right," "left."

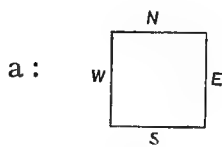
part of a quadrilateral, having Tell el Jezer in the middle, and its angles pointing to the four quarters of the compass. Inscription A (=No. 2) would fix the east corner of the square, inscriptions B, D, would give the line from east to north, and by following the lines of the four sides, a whole series of inscriptions might be still discovered. It will be noticed that one very important point is included in this area, the fine spring of 'Ain Yardeh, the possession of which must always have been a question of vital interest for the town of Gezer. In this connection it is worth while recalling the closely-related passage of Josephus quoted above: "*Gazara and its springs.*"

It must be admitted that this figure by its shape, and as we shall see by its dimensions, is remarkably like the *migrash* of the Levitical towns that enjoyed the right of refuge, a suburban zone encircling the town proper, and in various respects resembling the *προάστειον* and the *pomærium*. I cannot undertake to give in this place a thorough treatment of this question of the *migrash*, and to follow so many predecessors in discussing the classical passage, Numbers xxxv, 2-5, on which it rests. I will content myself with remarking that from comparison of this passage with the other Biblical data the following results seem clearly established:

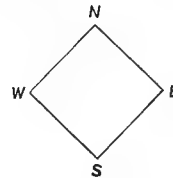
(1) That the Levitical towns were surrounded by a first zone distant 1,000 cubits from the outer wall.

(2) That from this first zone 2,000 cubits were measured in the direction of each of the cardinal points, and that the second zone thus formed, encircling the first, formed the *migrash* proper.

The *migrash* therefore, with its four equal dimensions, could only be a square, and this square was normally orientated.* All we want to know is whether it was the sides or the corners that were orientated; whether it was



or a :



* This arrangement of the *migrash* recalls in more than one respect that of the *ager publicus* of the Roman cities, and especially the Roman colonies. This territory was marked out according to minute rules borrowed from Etruscan practice, and formed an exactly square area, orientated on the cardinal points according to two main lines E—W (*decumanus maximus*) and N—S (*cardo maximus*); the main bounding lines, or *extremities*, were marked out either by posts, or marks, or *inscriptions on the rocks*. These were the *termini territoriales*. The square was orientated by its sides, not its angles.

In the second case, if we consider the eastern corner, there must have been between this corner and the wall of the town a total distance of 2,000 + 1,000 (= 3,000) cubits. It will at once be noticed that the latter is just the state of the case at Tell el Jezer. Our inscription A, to the right and the east of Gezer, at the beginning of a line running from east to north, is easily found to be 3,000 cubits distant from the base of the Tell.

The comparison becomes still more striking if the reader will bear in mind :

(1) That Gezer was one of the towns of Ephraim assigned together with their *migrashes* to the Levites, and possessing the right of refuge. (Joshua xix, 21. Cf. 1 Chronicles vi, 52.)

(2) That apart from the data above set forth in brief, which necessarily imply the existence of a fixed line limiting the *migrash*, this line encircling the inviolable territory is expressly mentioned by the name of *gebûl* ("boundary," Numbers xxxv, 26, 27).

(3) That according to a Jewish tradition,* which is valuable at any rate for the Talmudic period in which it first appears, the zone of protection of the Cities of Refuge seems to have been marked by conspicuous signs, such as stelæ, a sort of *cippi pomærii*, bearing written notices.

At the time of my discovery, I put forth the idea that the landmarks on the Gezer boundary probably were not only indicated by inscriptions on rocks lying flat, and rather difficult to detect, but that they may have originally had at the side of them some prominent indications, better adapted to catch the eye, such as stelæ or *cippi pomærii*. Although my researches on the spot have not enabled me to find any indications that are conclusive in this respect, I keep to my idea. It appears to me moreover to be confirmed to a certain extent by the Jewish tradition just related, which I was not acquainted with at the time.

Does this mean that I propose to regard our Gezer boundary as the boundary of the ancient Levitical *migrash* spoken of in Numbers? By no means, of course, for the mere palæography of our inscriptions brings us down to between the Hasmonæan and Herodian periods; only we must not lose sight of this, that the state of things described in the Book of Numbers may very well hold good of a much more recent period. To say nothing of the dates, some of them extraordinarily late, assigned by the hypercritical school

* See the curious passages collected under the word *אֲמוּנָה* in Levy's *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*.

of exegesis to the drawing up of the priestly code, we may at all events suppose without rashness that this code may have remained in force until quite late. It is not improbable, under the Hasmonæans, who were bent on reviving what they regarded as the oldest traditions of Israel, special importance was attached to the delimitation of the *migrash* of the towns which, like Gezer, had been, and perhaps still were, assigned to the Levites. Have we not seen that when Simon had retaken Gezer from the Greco-Syrians, he had the place carefully purified, meaning to make it his own residence and that of his son John Hyrcanus, and that he settled in it men charged with observing the law, that is to say, the religious law? It is, of course, a tempting idea to see one of these individuals, who were endowed with both civil and religious functions, or one of their successors, in the person of our Alkios, by whose diligence the inscriptions were cut that mark the boundary of Gezer. We might even go so far as to wonder whether by chance the Alkios of Lydda, son of Simon, identical with the Alkios of Gezer, may be, on the other hand, if not some other son, to us unknown, at any rate some more or less distant descendant of the illustrious Hasmonæan prince who brought back Gezer, as we have seen, into the patrimony of Israel. But this is the mere mirage of history—I should not dare to go such lengths. The palæography of the inscriptions, the presence of the Greek name we find in them, even the possible relation between these inscriptions and the Lydda epitaph are not in favour of this daring hypothesis, the effect of which would be to put back the Gezer texts to the second century B.C.

What may at all events be admitted, without danger to probability, is that our Gezer boundary corresponds to the famous Sabbatical boundary, which plays such an important part, and which is mentioned in the life of Jesus (*σαββάτου ὁδός*, Acts i, 12).* Now, on the other hand, critics are generally agreed in thinking that the Sabbatical boundary was calculated in precisely the same way as that of the *migrash*, and was to some extent confused with it. I cannot take up afresh the whole of this much-discussed question, but will content myself with recapitulating the essential data, laying stress on those which have a particular interest for us.

The basis of this Sabbatical limit is well known ; it was the distance from the city beyond which one could not go without risking a violation of the law enjoining absolute rest on the Sabbath. To go beyond it was to make a real

* Denoting the distance from Jerusalem to the spot on the Mount of Olives where the Ascension took place.

journey, and all journeys on the holy day were forbidden. This distance was strictly fixed at 2,000 cubits, according to the rabbis* and the weightiest of the ancient commentators. The 2,000 cubits were to be reckoned from the first imaginary perimeter within which the city was supposed to be inscribed. Now we have seen that this first zone had a uniform breadth of 1,000 cubits, so that we get, starting from the outer wall, a total length (measured towards one of the cardinal points) of $1,000 + 2,000 = 3,000$ cubits, a length identical both with the total width of the *migrash* and the distance actually existing between our inscription A and the base of Tell el Jezer.

The specific word used in the Talmud to denote this Sabbatical boundary is just the one that appears in our inscriptions, namely *תחום שבת*, *תחומא דשבתא*, "Sabbatical boundary," and often, too, for short, *תחום*, "boundary," without the following word *שבת*, "Sabbath."

It may be supposed that the Sabbatical limit, at any rate in most important towns,† was properly marked out on the ground and in a more or less conspicuous way, were it only to enable people to avoid involuntary error in the observation of the law. This was the more necessary, as in practice the application of this law involved a curious compromise, which itself implied the previous existence of a well-defined boundary: this was the middle course, called in the Talmud‡ *עירובי תחומים*, "the mingling of the limits." In order to be able to go on the Sabbath day further away than the regulation distance, the following fiction was resorted to: On the Friday evening the traveller *went and deposited at the limit* food ready prepared for the next day's meal, and then it was allowable on the Saturday to make this extreme point, which in this way was regarded as an inhabited place or legal domicile, the

* Sometimes certain rabbis admit variable distances, 2,800, 2,000, or 1,800 cubits. These variations are perhaps due to the actual variations of the cubit in the different systems that happened to be used.

† It is odd that, in spite of the attention attracted by the finds at Gezer, no similar inscriptions have been discovered at other places in Palestine. This must be for want of looking; I have not any doubt that others might be found elsewhere. Recently Father van Kasteren (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1891, p. 148) has claimed to discover an inscription of this kind in a few not very intelligible Greek characters, cut on the rock between Shefa 'Amr and Khurbet Husheh; but I think he is under an illusion. If this obscure inscription relates to a boundary, which is very doubtful, it is not, in my opinion, the Sabbatical limit of Jewish ritual.

‡ See the special treatise on the *Erubin*. These *erubin*, or mixed combinations, were also applied to various other injunctions of the same kind, such as the one relating to the preparation of food on the Sabbath, and allowed of a partial evasion of these commands, which were very troublesome in practice.

starting-point for a fresh journey of 2,000] cubits ; so that the Sabbath day's journey was doubled in length.

It is likely enough that this was the essential object of our Gezer boundary. The observance of the Sabbatical limit, which we find in full vigour at the beginning of the first century of our era, must certainly date farther back than that. Without going so far as to assert, with certain rabbis, that it was really Biblical in its origin—though the *tehum* are evidently shaped on the *migrash*—we shall not exceed historic probability if we allow that it must have existed during the Herodian and Hasmonæan periods, when the sacerdotal and religious organization of the Jewish nation assumed their most characteristic and narrowest forms. We know how strict the observance of Sabbath rest was under the Hasmonæans.* It needed the application of *force majeure* before the infringement of it was thought warrantable (1 Maccabees ii, 32-41 ; ix, 43, 44. Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiii, 8 : 4, etc.). So naturally every precaution was taken to ensure a full and complete observance of the rules required by it, and the material settling of the *limit* allowed—the *tehum*—was assuredly the most effectual of these precautions.

XV.—GEZER AND THE CONTIGUOUS TERRITORIES OF EPHRAIM, DAN, JUDAH, AND BENJAMIN.

The reader will be able, from what has been already said, to form a tolerable idea of the importance and variety of the questions which the identification of Gezer, henceforth immovably fixed on a basis of epigraphy, either solves or raises. I have for the most part confined myself to skimming the surface of these questions, so as not to be drawn away into too lengthy developments. There is, however, one among them possessed of exceptional interest, which I cannot refrain from shortly noticing before I finish this study of Gezer, which, for all its length, is nothing but a sketch. The fixing the site of Gezer furnishes us with the key to a riddle which was the subject of much vain search before that discovery, namely, the direction of an important part of the southern

* Cf. the curious episode related by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xiii, 8 : 4), on the authority of Nicholas of Damascus : Antiochus VII, Sidetes, being accompanied on his expedition against the Parthians by John Hyrcanus, out of deference to Jewish customs, stops the march of his army for two consecutive days, the Saturday (Sabbath) and the Whitsunday immediately following.

boundary of the tribe of Ephraim. We have seen, it will be remembered, that Gezer belonged to the territory of this tribe, and marked its extreme western point; the line, starting from Jordan, passed by Bethel (*Beitîn*), and lastly by Bethhoron the Nether (*Beit 'Ur et Tahta*), finally coming to an end at Gezer.* Henceforward, therefore, we can with absolute certainty draw the line through the three known points, *Beitîn*, *Beit 'Ur*, and *Tell el Jezer*, otherwise called Abu Shûsheh. It is extremely remarkable to find that Gezer is in an exact line with Bethhoron the Nether and Bethel; the fact is assuredly not a mere coincidence. In this way we obtain for this portion of the southern boundary of Ephraim (the northern one of Benjamin, and then of a part of the territory of Dan) a tolerably straight line, running uniformly from north-east to south-west. Gezer was thus situated at the actual intersection of the boundaries of Ephraim, Dan, and Judah, which hitherto have been so difficult to clear up. This point then is a definite acquisition for Bible geography, and one of capital importance. It will tend to modify much theoretical mapping-out suggested by more or less ingenious commentators. It strikes me that in all these systems, both old and new, that have been continually putting forth their first buds or coming into flower anew ever since the discovery of Gezer, sufficient account has not been taken of this henceforth all-important datum; yet it would be easy to show that it also has a bearing on the much-discussed determination of the line which, leaving the southern boundary of Ephraim at Bethhoron, dipping southwards at Kirjath Jearim, and branching off along the northern boundary of Judah, separated the territory of Benjamin (on the east) from that of Dan (on the west). I have my own ideas on this subject, and hope I may some day take my turn and set them forth. I cannot think of doing so here, it would mean writing a fresh chapter.

* Joshua xvi, 3. (Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, v, 1 : 22.)

CHAPTER VI.

EXCURSION FROM JERUSALEM TO SEBASTE (SAMARIA) AND
FROM SEBASTE TO GAZA.*(August 26th to September 29th, 1874.)*

FROM JERUSALEM TO 'AIN SĪNĪĀ.

WE set out from Jerusalem on Wednesday, August 26th, for this tour, which was to last five and thirty days. I had resolved to push north as far as Sebaste, then to make south as far as Gaza, stopping at El Midieh to make a thorough search over the ruined edifice which it had been proposed to identify as the burial-place of the Maccabees; and, finally, to return from Gaza to Jerusalem by way of Beit Jibrîn.

'*Anâta*.—After passing through the village of 'Isâwiyeh we reached 'Anâta, where we stopped to lunch. The better to loosen the tongues of the fellahîn, I bought a huge dish of fresh figs, and asked them to join us at dessert. This attention much delighted them, but it was near costing us dear. A Bedawy, who was in the village on business, insisted on having a share of the treat, with a rudeness that I could not tolerate. I put the ruffian back in his place with some sharpness, whereupon he got up in a rage and rushed on me, sword in hand, yelling forth abuse. By pointing our revolvers at him we kept him at a respectful distance, and the fellahîn themselves undertook to bring him to reason, and make him respect their hosts. This was one of the very few occasions when we required, I will not say to use our fire-arms, but to show that we had them.

The inhabitants of 'Anâta, whose ethnic name is '*Anâty* in the singular, '*Anâtiyeh* in the plural, did not originally belong to that village. Their ancestors, they say, came from Khûrbet 'Almît, situated a mile to the north-

east. The village has two sanctuaries, that of *Neby Sâleh* and that of *Neby Rûmîn*, called by some *Rûbîn* and by others again *Rûmia*.* This last form, I must say, looks as if it had been connected by the folk-lore with the name of *Jeremiah*, the initial *je* being removed by aphæresis, as so frequently happens in Arabic. 'Anathoth, which indubitably is represented by 'Anâta, was, as is well known, the home of the prophet.

We noticed here the ruins of an ancient church that had just been brought to light, with a pavement of fine mosaic carefully laid. Probably some Byzantine church; we could detect no signs of anything mediæval about it.

— From 'Anâta we went on to Jeba', passing through Hizmeh, the ethnic of which is *Hezmâwy* in the singular, *Hezaw'meh* in the plural.

We cast a passing glance at the curious tombs of which I had made a detailed study some years before. This time they were pointed out to me under the name of *K'bûr beni Isrûn* (*sic*).

I think it desirable at this point to give some extracts from my note-books, containing a few short observations made by me in 1871 at 'Isâwiyeh, 'Anâta, and Hizmeh. They will serve to complete what has gone before:†

— Near 'Isâwiyeh, to the south-east, separated from it by the valley, is a tell called *Tell el Midbeseh*. The valley is called *Mudawwara* ("the round"); there was a spring once, but it has now disappeared. There are numerous excavations in the rock, which itself has been levelled in places: presses, threshing-floors, sepulchres with "ovens." The fellahîn of the place tell me that an hour to the east there is a ruin called *Deir es Sidd*; half-an-hour to the east is *Khûrbet B'ki' edhân* (or *B'ki' edhdhân*?), near *Sheikh 'Anbar*. On the way you meet with a *m'ghâret Imm es Sultân* ("the cavern of the King's mother"); *Kh. Khârâzeh*; a little below, but quite near, is a *Khûrbet Ijwar er Rummân* (جوار = أجور = إيجور? perhaps جوار?).

— To the south of *Râs el Kharrûb*, on a small mound of lesser height, is a well called *Bîr Imrâ*, which must at one time have had masonry over it. I note here some fragments of fluted pottery.

— At *Râs el Kharrûb*, on a high hill surmounted by a plateau, are caverns

* The co-existence of these two forms *روميا* and *رومين* is curious; it suggests the question whether this mythical name may not conceal an ancient Aramaic plural which has been preserved in the two states, the absolute and the emphatic: *Rûmîn* רומין and *Rûmia* רומיא (*Rumayd*).

† Carnet IV, pp. 14-17, February, 7, 1871.

converted into tombs with "ovens;" four or five rock-hewn cisterns; old potsherds.

— At 'Anâta is a small mosque dedicated to *Neby Sâleh*, and a cave called *M'ghâr't Rûbîn* ("cave of Reuben"). I noticed a piece of ancient stonework of large blocks with coarse bosses, with a modern built wall round it; a capital of a pilaster in the Corinthian style is imbedded in the lower part; some fragments of columns and bases.

— At Hizmeh, numerous rock-hewn caves (troglodytes).

— Exactly opposite Hizmeh, and separated from it by the *Wâdy Râs el Fârâ*, are to be seen the tombs, properly called *K'bûr b'ni Isrâîn*, "the tombs of the sons of Israel." A peasant-woman told me that *K'bûr el 'Amâl'ka* ("the tombs of the Amalekites") was not their name.

— Just near Fârâ there are some rocks (*'eurkân*), called *Abu M'sarrah* (مسرح).

— The fellahîn tell me of the *K'bûr lakhkheîn* (= *el akheîn*, "the two brothers), tombs situated an hour or an hour and a half from Hizmeh, near *En N'kheîleh*; these are the tombs of the two brothers (*el ikhweîn*).

— Many of the fellahîn use the pronunciation *Fârân* instead of *Fârâ*. Near *Fârâ*, at the spring, there is a reservoir called *Djîbi 'Abd Allah*.

K'bûr beni Isrâîn.—I proceed, with the assistance of Brother Liévin, who is good enough to accompany me, to examine these remarkable remains. For reasons that I cannot here set down, I had a mind to locate there the real Tomb of Rachel. The hypothesis may seem a very daring one. Some day perhaps I will discuss it, and I shall not hide from myself the various difficulties it calls up, which I have been and shall be the very last person to disregard.

* * * * * * *

The five tombs* rise in tiers one above the other on the hill-side, on the right bank of the *Wâd Z'reîk*, which joins the *Wâd Fârâ* at an oblique angle.

* * * * * * *

The blocks used in the construction of them are generally of the square rather than the oblong shape. The courses deviate considerably from the horizontal. . . . The corner stones are of larger dimensions than the others. The rock as a rule has been levelled underneath the courses. . . . Here are

* I merely wish to give here some few details from my notes which serve to complete the very exact study of these remains which has since been made by the Survey (*Memoirs*, III, 100).

transverse sections of two of these tombs, which will give an idea of the way in which they are placed on the sloping ground :



K'BÛR BENI ISRÂÏN : section and doorway.

To this I add a small sketch of the door of one of the central chambers or recesses.*

Jeba'.—At *Jeba'* we made our arrangements for passing the night. My idea was to make a detailed study of the neighbourhood, so as to try to clear up if possible the vexed questions of several Bible places mentioned as being in these parts: *e.g.*, Migron, “the teeth of rock,” Seneh and Bozez, lying the one to the south, the other to the north of the valley separating the Israelites from the Philistine camp at Michmash (*Mukhmâs*), etc.

According to my custom, before I began my search on the chosen ground, I drew the fellahîn into conversation. Here are various bits of information that I got from them :

— The ethnic is *Jeb'y* in the singular, *Jeba'iyeh* in the plural. The sanctuary of the village is called after *Neby Ya'kûb*. *Sidna Ya'kûb*, “our Lord Jacob,” came there in the guise of an old man riding on a white horse. There was formerly in the midst of *Jeba'* a *Kal'ah*, “fortress,” connected by a thread with a bell (*jaras*) at *Râma*. *Râma* is probably *er Râm*, the ancient Ramah, rather less than two miles south-west of *Jeba'*. This legend, with its interesting pronunciation of *Râma*, harmonises with the statements in the Bible, which establish the close connection of Geba and Ramah. *Jeba'* was in the days of old the residence of *Sultân esh sh'hâdeh*, “the king of the profession of faith,” or of “the martyrdom.”

— The modern inhabitants declare that they came originally from the country east of Jordan.

— An old fellâh of the village told me the following story, which he received, he said, from his ancestors and from the Christians of Bethlehem. A Christian

* Different from the one given in the *Memoirs*.

of Bethlehem was going to Tayibeh, with his wife or his daughter. Night coming on, they stopped at Jeba' to sleep. Some men of the town entered the house where they were sleeping, and outraged the woman, who was found dead next morning. The Christian thereupon cut her dead body in two and sent one half to Tayibeh and the other to Mukhmâs to the people of his party. These instantly rose at his call, one band coming from the east, the other from the west. They first feigned flight in order to entice out the Jeba'iyeh, who were caught between the two troops and all slain. The massacre took place in the plain called *El Merj fî l-Munka'* (المرج في المنقع), between Jeba' and the source of the *Wâdy Bâb esh Sha'b*, in the immediate neighbourhood of Jeba'. To this day the corn at this spot is of considerable height, but produces no ears (*mâ bisabbilîsh*).

This legend, which reproduces in naïve fashion the narrative of Judges xix-xx, is not without interest, in spite of the avowed influence of Christian tradition; it is particularly curious in its localization of the episodes.

— In conversing with the peasants of Jeba', I noticed the usage of an expression frequently employed by them, namely, *tufân*, in the sense of "much." The word طوفان appears in Arabic lexicons in this acceptation, but this was the first time I had noticed it in the popular speech. It is much better known in the sense of "flood;" from this one might say a "heap," or "flood" of things and so "a quantity." It is certainly a word of Aramaic origin that has got into Arabic: cf. טופינה, טופיינה, טיפי, of the Aramaic of the Talmud, bearing the same sense of "much."

— I proceed to extract, as they stand, from my note-book, the topographical observations I made either in exploring the various physical features of the ground between Jeba' and Mukhmâs, or in questioning the fellahîn of those two localities. Many of these names do not figure on the Map, and it is unfortunately difficult for me, as my recollections have grown dim after twenty years, to indicate their exact position. I should premise for the better understanding of what follows, that I copy the fellahîn in giving the name *Wâdy Suweînât* to the upper part of the valley of this name, to the north of Tell Miriam. The *Wâdy en Netîf* of the Map was pointed out to me by the peasants under the name of *Wâdy Jeba'*; others disputed the existence of this name.

I give these notes in the same order and in the same form as I took them, leaving them in their condition of brevity, which often involves ambiguity, sometimes contradiction:

— *Deir Abu Ziâd*.

— *Kûshtîn* (and *Wâdy Kûshtîn*) is the slope below Tell Miriam,* between the tell and Deir Abu Ziâd.

— A little to the north of Mukhmâs is *Tell el 'Asker*, with ruins (this from hearsay).

— Between Wâdy Jeba' and Wâdy Suweînit is *Dhahrat imm 'Asweîjeh*.

— *Dhahrat Abu Rif'a* and *Wâd Abu Rif'a* (between Wâdy Jeba', Tell Miriam and *Sammûka*).

— The name of Wâdy *Suweînit* is pronounced and must be written with a *sâd* and a *tâ*: صوينيت.

— Can Tell Miriam and Deir Abu Rif'a be the two conical hills spoken of by Robinson?

— According to others of the fellahîn, there is no such place as *Deir Abu Ziâd*, it is merely *Abu Ziâd*.

— The *Kûl'at Abu Dâmûs* of the Map (to the east of Jeba' on the edge of Wâdy Suweînit) was pointed out to me as *Da'mûs* داعموس, and not داموس.

— Between Jeba' and Mukhmâs, to the north when you have crossed the wâdy, you find some high rocks, called *Ē'râk el Munser* (المنصر); to the south of the wâdy are the corresponding *Ē'râk Abou Ziâd*.

Notes made next day between Jeba' and Mukhmâs:

— The false Wâdy Jeba' is called *Wâd el Meîsa*.

— The "back" (*dhahrah*) between this wâdy and Wâdy Suweînit (*sic*; possibly *Wâd el Medîneh*?) is called *el Khashmeh*.

— The Râs Abu Ziâd is bounded by Wâdy Suweînit.

— Five or six minutes east-north-east of Jeba' there is a vast cave of irregular shape, with two fig-trees planted at the entrance; it is called *Meghâret Tîn Mûsâ*, "the cave of Moses' fig-tree," or *Ē'râk Mûsâ*, or *Shikaf Tîn Mûsâ*.† The inhabitants of Jeba' pronounce the word *tîn*, "fig-tree," as if it were written with an emphatic *ta*. Probably this is the same word as enters into the composition of the name *Kushtîn* given above.

— At the foot of Râs Abû Ziâd, above the wâdy (after the bend), a large cavern of irregular shape, called *Ē'râk* or *Shikaf Abu Ziâd*, comes into sight.

— After crossing the little glen of *Khallet el 'Arûdh*, we found opposite the

* Can the name Miriam be altered from Mignon?

† In ordinary Arabic شقف *shukaf* means "bits of broken pottery or glass, potsherds." In the dialect of the fellahîn it means "rocks." This is the word that is found forming part of several Syrian place-names, the best known of which is *Shakîf Arnân*. It is a direct survival of the Aramaic *shekîfâ* and *shekâphâ*, שִׁקְפָא, שִׁקְפָא, "rocky peak." The permanence of the *chuintant* sound of the *s* (*sh*) is remarkable.

Ė'râk Abu Ziâd, as we followed the mountain side round, some jagged rocks called *S'khûr el 'Arûdh** (to the south-south-east of Abu Ziâd).

— In the bend of Wâdy Suweinît (?) is a rocky promontory bearing the name of *Reucheûb* (رُحْبُ) *el Lôzeh*; the mountain stretching above it is called *Harîk't es Sa'da*.†

— To the east is *Jôret Bâb el Wâd*, "the hole of the gate of the valley," with pointed rocks on the right and left of the valley; those on the left are called *Jaîet Hassûneh*,‡ and those on the right *Jaîet Bâb el Wâd*.

— There is no such valley as *Wâdy Ė'râk*; it should be *Wâd Ėb'radiyeh* (بردية).

— At *Reucheûb el Lôzeh* and at *Abu Ziâd* there are great patches of rocks.

Over above *el Munser* are some *Ė'râk* of the same name.

— Various names of rocks (*eürkân*, *Ė'râk*, *shikaf*, *m'ghâir*) between *Jeba'* and *Mukhmâs*:

Shikaf ed Dôra; *M'ghâr't esh Sh'îr*; *M'ghâr't el Huwâr*; *Ė'râk Abu 'Aûn*; *M'ghâr't el Battîkh*.

— At *Mukhmâs* the people say *Deir*, not *Râs Abu Ziâd*.

Mukhmâs.—When we reached *Mukhmâs*, we found a funeral going on. It was an interesting scene. A *cortège* of weeping women, with raiment rent, their breasts bare, uttering cries of anguish in regular rhythm—veritable threnæ—were attending the corpse. The latter lay with his head foremost on the bier carried on men's shoulders. The widow walked alongside with her hand placed on the body. Behind followed the old father, supported and consoled by another aged fellâh, who repeated to him incessantly, *Kullnâ heîk*, "we are all thus."

In the village there is the makâm of *Sultân Ibrâhîm*. Just a little to the north we examined a piece of ground that had been recently excavated to get squared blocks from it. There is a quantity of them, without a trace of mediæval origin, and many white mosaic-cubes, not one of them *in situ*.

* *'Arûdh* means a narrow path along the side of a mountain.

† Cf., further on, in the Appendix, the place-name *Harîk't el Kakhâleh*, which I noted near 'Ellâr, and which is compounded with the same word; *harîka* properly means "conflagration." It must have some peculiar meaning in the fellahîn dialect, but I did not think of elucidating the point.

‡ I cannot possibly remember whether I heard *Hassûneh* pronounced with a *ha* or a *he*. I doubt very much whether one is justified in taking it to be the rock of Seneh of the Bible narrative.

Among the hewn stones we noticed a few sculptured fragments; here is a specimen of one, a sort of ridge-shaped piece of stone rather curiously fashioned, and displaying a decorative treatment of Byzantine style:



While M. Lecomte was engaged in drawing, with fellahin crowding round him, one of them managed to rob him, with a dexterity that professional pickpockets might envy, of his handkerchief, a silk wrapper, and various small articles. We only discovered the theft when the drawing was done, and it was impossible to find the thief.

It is possible that the important edifice that existed here was the convent founded by Abbot Firminus, disciple of St. Sabas,* near Mukhmâs.

On the western side of Wâd Abu Rif'â are visible the doors of rock-hewn tombs, which must represent the ancient burying-ground of Mukhmâs. At the end of the hill on which the village is built are a quantity of irregular-shaped caves.

Deir Dubwân.—From Mukhmâs we proceeded to Deir Dubwân. The inhabitants of the village pronounce the name *Deir Diwân*. The ethnic is in the singular *Diwâny*, in the plural *Debâw'neh*. According to them the ancient town was at the ruin of *Khûrbet Haiyân*, just a little to the south; Deir Diwân is only the convent. The great plain flanking it is called *Haiyân*. The name of the tell lying immediately to the north of Deir Diwân is *Tell Sûr*. At Burjmus there is no Khûrbeh, absolutely nothing but rocks, my guide assured me. Opposite is *el Mentâr*.

— At el Mukâter we took a hurried survey of the ruined basilica. The stones are “pock-marked” and not mediæval.

— At Burj Beîtin we noticed a quantity of ancient remains used to enclose the fig-gardens, consisting of architectural fragments in the Byzantine style, capitals, cornices, mouldings, &c. M. Lecomte made sketches of a few. Some of the fragments are actually built into the tower.† Here are a great

* *Life of St. Sabas*, by Cyril of Scythopolis, in the *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ* of Cotellerius III, 16: ὁ μακαρίτης Φιρμῖνος, ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Μαχμὰς λαύραν συστήσας.

† Drawings not to be found.

quantity of large blocks well cut, not one of them looking mediæval. These materials may very well have been worked up in Crusading times, but I think they come from the basilica of el Mukâter.

— At Beïtîn, on the contrary, I noticed in the remnant of the church some stones with the mediæval tool marks clearly showing; the cornice of the apse is certainly of the Crusading period.

— The great *birkeh* of Beïtîn is called *Bahâr Beïtîn*, “the sea of Beïtîn.” The name recalls that of “the sea of Jaezer” in the Bible. The ethnic is *Beïtîny* in the singular, *Beïât'neh* in the plural.

El Bîreh.—From Beïtîn we descended again towards el Bîreh. The ruined church is entirely mediæval, as is shown by the tool-marks on the stones, and the nature of the masons' marks. At the beginnings of the apses the blocks have the grooves entirely oblique, even in the concave parts, contrary to what I noticed at Abu Ghôsh and elsewhere.

I discovered the inscription that I had been told of some time before by the natives of Lydda,* hidden behind a pomegranate-tree, as they described. It is carved on a pillar imbedded in the inner south wall.†

The ethnic is *Bîrâwy* in the singular, *Beïâr'weh* in the plural.

Jefneh or *Jufna*.—From *el Bîreh* we went again to Jefneh, where we were to pass the night. The ethnic is *Jefnâwy* in the singular, *Jefâw'neh* in the plural. The vines of Jefneh are highly celebrated, whence probably the village derives its present name, *jafn* meaning “vine-stock.” This peculiarity, I think, finally establishes the identity of Jefneh with the *Gophna* (ἄμπελος, “vine”) of the *Onomasticon*, the *Guphna*, *Guphnit*, *Beth Guphin* of the Talmud (*Gufna* likewise meaning a “vine-stock”).

As for the attempted identification with the *Ophni* of the Bible, it appears very doubtful, the change of the initial *'ain* to *gimel* and to *jîm* being improbable, to say nothing of the topographical difficulties, *Ophni* being in the territory of Benjamin, and Jefneh, from position, more probably in that of Ephraim.

— Next morning, as we left Jefneh on our way to 'Ain Sîniâ, we noticed on the left hand on the outskirts of the village numerous rock-hewn tombs.

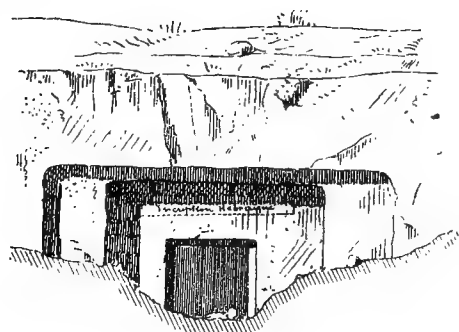
'*Ain Sîniâ*.—We made rather a long halt at 'Ain Sîniâ, which is an

* Cf. *supra*, p. 100.

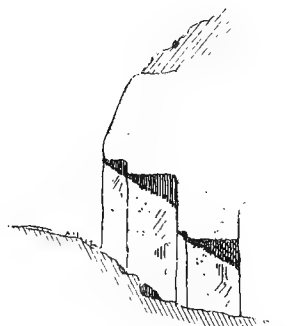
† By an unaccountable fatality I can find no trace of this inscription among my notes and squeezes, and now I do not even remember what language it was in. I counsel future explorers to supply this want.

important locality, as we shall see. The ethnic is 'Ansâwy in the singular, 'Anâs'weh in the plural. There are two sanctuaries: the makâm of *Sheikh H'seîn* and that of *Sheikh Ahmed el 'Adjemy*. The village has numbers of springs, called as follows: 'Ain el Mezrâb, 'Ain Sheikh H'seîn, 'Ain el Jarab, 'Ain el Merj, 'Ain el Ballâta.

I explored the rock-hewn tomb with its Hebrew inscription carved above the door, discovered in 1872 by the lamented Drake.* On having the inside cleared out a little, I saw that it consisted of a chamber of irregular shape, with an attempt at a funerary loculus (arcosolium?) on the right hand side, I picked up a ring or small bracelet of copper, but found no trace of the ossuaries that Drake saw fragments of. The fellahîn told me that two foreigners, *H'nâd*, "Indians" (probably dervishes from central Asia), had been buried there a few years before; and, in fact, we saw their bones at the surface of the soil that filled up the cavity. Here are the elevation and the section of the entrance to the tomb, with the position of the inscription marked:—



Front view.



Section.

ROCK TOMB NEAR 'AIN SÎNIÂ. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

I copied the inscription, and took a good squeeze of it. It consists of a longish line of square Hebrew characters difficult to make out. The characters



Inscription on the above.

are, however, cut, as a rule, carefully enough and deeply, but at the end of

* *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1872, p. 87. *Memoirs*, II, p. 302.

the line the work is more negligently done; they are larger, not so well kept in line, and disfigured by broken places. The beginning is easily deciphered:

... חנניה בר אלעזר בר * "Hananiah, son of Eleazar, son of . . ."

This reading, which was my suggestion, has been rightly adopted in the *Memoirs* (1882, II, p. 302†); those that have subsequently been put forward in the *Quarterly Statement* (1883, p. 170, and 1885, p. 14) are inadmissible. It is absolutely impossible to read "Moses bar Eleazar bar Zechariah the priest."

The use of the Aramaic form *bar*, "son," instead of the Hebrew form *ben* is in no wise extraordinary. We have many examples of this in the language of the Talmud and in inscriptions. From the palæographic point of view attention should be given to the very peculiar shape of the *aleph* in the name of Eleazar, which strikingly reminds one of the Nabatæan *aleph*. This is not the first time I have noticed analogies of this sort between certain Nabatæan letters and the corresponding letters of the Hebrew alphabet used in ancient inscriptions in square characters. This holds good, for instance, of the *shin* and the final *mem* in the inscriptions on the ossuaries of the Mount of Stumbling (*see* Volume I).

The word *bar* after the name of *Eleazar* was certainly followed by a third proper name, that of the grandfather of Hananiah, but I have no hope of making it out. I will content myself with giving, for the end of the line, a transcription of the characters as far as I can distinguish them, with their different possible values:—

(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
ד	ו	ה	ן	נ	ו	ר	ה	ו	(?)	ו
ר	י	ה	י	ב	י	ד	ב	י	י	ז
	ז		ז	כ	ו		פ	ז	ז	ו
			ז					ף		

It will be seen that with the exception of the ה and the מ, all the characters are more or less doubtful, and lend themselves to many combinations too conjectural to detain us: *Joseph* (?), *Jacob* (?), of *Ram* (רמי?), or of *Rim-*

* The long upright stroke after the 'ain is not, as might be supposed at first sight, the stem of a *lamed*, but a wrong stroke.

† Only it is doubly inaccurate to say that the inscription was plainly legible, but so roughly cut that a squeeze was impossible.

mon (?) ? ?,* and so on. The style of the characters is strongly reminiscent of that of the inscription cut on the architrave of the so-called Tomb of St. James at Jerusalem, the epitaph of the family of Bene Hezir.† They probably belong to the same period, that is to say to the beginning of the Christian era.

Considering the well-known alternation of the same proper names in the same family from generation to generation, it might be asked whether our Hananiah, son of Eleazar, may not have been related to Eleazaros, son of Ananos (or *Ananas* = *Ananias*) the High Priest, who was himself appointed High Priest by the Prætor Valerius Gratūs, the predecessor of Pontius Pilate.‡

Jeshanah.—The village of 'Ain Siniâ has been known for a long time—Robinson, Guérin and others have visited it. Hitherto, however, no one had thought that it might represent a Biblical spot. After an attentive examination of the locality and the texts, I have come to the conclusion that we probably ought to recognise in it the town of Jeshanah, which plays a very important part in ancient Jewish history. This will I hope be clear from the historical and topographical considerations following.

Rehoboam, King of Judah, Solomon's son and successor, does not appear to have engaged in a regular war against Jeroboam, though the latter had brought about the secession of the Ten Tribes, and managed to set up in his own interest the Kingdom of Israel in opposition to the Kingdom of Judah, without meeting with any serious opposition.

The Bible says, indeed, twice over, that the two rivals were perpetually in conflict (1 Kings xiv, 30, xv, 6); but this state of chronic hostility does not seem, at least so far as our documents go, to have resolved itself into any great military adventures.

The real cause of the inaction of the King of Judah is to be sought in the terrible Egyptian invasion under Shishak, probably provoked by Jeroboam himself, who, fleeing before the wrath of Solomon, had formerly been the guest of the Egyptian Pharaoh, and afterwards probably his agent. A curious addition in the Septuagint version (*Βασιλ*, iii, 12, [15]) declares further that Jeroboam married the sister-in-law of Shishak, Anô, the elder sister of Theke-

* *Râm* and *Rammôn* are places near 'Ain Siniâ.

† At the time I had an idea that the end of the line might be *בן חזר*, "son of Hezer" (for Hezir), but this is very doubtful. "Son of Hod" (1 Chron. vii, 37) is hardly more probable.

‡ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 2: 2; cf. *Bell. Jud.*, ii, 17: 2; 17: 5; 20: 4, where there appears an Eleazaros, son of Ananias the High Priest, who plays a most active part in the great Jewish rising under the Procurator Florus.

mina, own wife to the Pharaoh. This matrimonial alliance could not fail to draw tighter the political bond uniting Jeroboam and Shishak.

Not until Rehoboam saw his kingdom invaded and his very capital pillaged by the Egyptians, did it occur to him to assert by force of arms his rights against an all-powerful usurper.

The first intention of Rehoboam was surely to attack the Israelite secession. With this view he gets together a considerable army (2 Chron. xi, 1), but all at once he thinks better of it, and at the bidding of Jehovah abandons this fratricidal struggle (*id.*, iv): "Fight not against your brethren."

It is allowable to suppose that the threatening attitude of Egypt counted for something in this sudden change of front, which this mere sentimental reason is not adequate to explain. We see, in fact, that while Rehoboam abandons his expedition against insurgent Israel, he diverts all his warlike activity to putting his country in a state of defence. He fortifies the towns, stores in them provisions and material, puts in them garrisons with their captains, and so forth. The position of these towns shows well enough from what quarter the storm was expected. They are all to the south; or south-west of Jerusalem: Bethlehem, Thekoa, Etam, Beth-zur, Shoco, Adullam, Gath, Mareshah, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Aijalon, and Hebron (2 Chron. xi, 6-10).

Despite these measures of defence, the kingdom of Judah was unable to resist; but it survived the invasion of Shishak, which in reality was nothing but a great *ghazzia*, with pillage for its main object, and seems to have borne as hardly on Israel as on Judah, to judge from Egyptian sources of information.

Abijah or Abijam, the son and successor of Rehoboam, was the first to approach Jeroboam arms in hand, and to call him seriously to account for his usurpation.

The chapter of the First Book of Kings already quoted (and xv, 7) contents itself with remarking laconically, using the same expression as in verse 6, that there was "war between Abijam and Jeroboam." We are therein referred for fuller details to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (*sepher dibrê hayyamîm*), where, it says, the words and acts of Abijah are related.

It may be this source, now unfortunately lost, that furnished the compiler of the Book of Chronicles with the more circumstantial details that he gives us about the history of this war.*

* 2 Chronicles, xiii. The narrative (v. 2) begins by repeating the same formula as that in the passage of 1 Kings (xv, 7).

Here we see Abijah taking the offensive against Jeroboam, who for eighteen years had enjoyed the fruits of his usurpation without any serious anxiety. Abijah assembles an army of "four hundred thousand chosen men." These figures of course cannot be taken seriously, any more than those of the army of Jeroboam, which is reckoned at "eight hundred thousand men" in the Hebrew text. The Vulgate reduces these figures to forty thousand and forty-eight thousand respectively. It is enough for us to suppose that Abijah attacked with forces half as numerous as those of his adversary.

According to Josephus, the King of Judah invaded the enemy's territory (*Antiq. Jud.*, viii, 11, 2), but the fact of the matter is that it was Jeroboam who assumed the offensive. However, even according to the narrative of the Jewish historian, the King of Judah does not await the arrival of his opponent, but advances to meet him: ἀπήντησε τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ. At all events, Abijah takes up his position on Mount Zemaraim, "in Mount Ephraim": ויקם אביה מעל להר צמרים (II Chron. xiii, 4).

Mount Zemaraim is near the town of the same name belonging to the territory of Benjamin. No one has yet succeeded in discovering either the town or the mountain. I wonder whether it could by chance be the *Râs ez Zeîmera*, a little to the south of Taiyibeh.* Despite its thoroughly Arabic appearance, the name *Zeîmara* would be the strict phonetic equivalent of *Zemaraim*, the Arabic *zain* often standing for a Hebrew or Aramaic *zade*.

* The same idea, I see, has occurred to Mr. Trelawney Saunders (*Old Testament—map*). It follows naturally from the identification of Jeshanah which I had proposed and he adopted. Up to this time it had been supposed that the Benjamite town of Zemaraim might be identified with *Khûrbet es Samra*, which is situated on the side next Jordan. This identification, which is still adopted in the 21-sheet Map, seems to me to deserve rejection on several grounds. In the first place, from the onomastic point of view:—the resemblance between *Samra* and *Zemaraim* is merely on the surface, and disappears upon comparing the real forms of these names. *Samra* is written with a *sin*, which cannot correspond to the Hebrew *zade*. The two letters are two radically different sibilants which can only be interchanged under particular circumstances, which do not occur here, namely, when another emphatic consonant is present in the word. *Samra* is nothing more or less than the feminine of *asmar*, "black," or, if it be preferred, the collective plural "Samaritans;" it has no sort of connection with the Hebrew *Zemaraim*. From the topographic point of view the identification is no less unsatisfactory, for Kh. es Samra is much too far away from the neighbourhood of Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron. Now the town of Zemaraim could not have been far from Bethel, being mentioned along with it in Joshua xviii, 22. It is no less clear, from the general tenour of the account of the battle between Abijah and Jeroboam, that Bethel and Mount Zemaraim (a namesake of the town) were in proximity. The latter must have been in the south-south-east part of the disputed belt, near the boundary between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. From the point of view of onomastics and of topography, therefore, *Râs ez Zeîmara* stands a very good chance of being identical with *Zemaraim*.

At this point the Bible narrative puts into the mouth of Abijah one of those conventional discourses that reminds us of the rhetorical declamations so dear to the heart of the historians of classical antiquity. This long and vehement harangue, addressed to the traitorous and sacrilegious rebel, extends from verse 4 to verse 13.

However, Jeroboam taking advantage of his superiority of numbers had turned the position that Abijah occupied, taking him in front and rear. Battle is joined, and in spite of, or rather on account of the manœuvre of Jeroboam, who seems to have been as poor in generalship as he was good at diplomacy, the result is the utter defeat of the army of Israel. The latter, while trying to carry out a flanking movement, had let itself be cut in two.

I do not wish to lay any stress on the total losses—five hundred thousand men! Here again the Vulgate reduces the figure to fifty thousand. It would perhaps be better still to read *five thousand*, and to suppress without further ceremony the “hundred” in this passage, as in that already quoted. This would bring the number of combatants to *four thousand* on one side and *eight thousand* on the other. Or, if you prefer it, eliminate the word “thousand” from the figures of the losses, which would bring them down to *five hundred*, a reasonable proportion enough, if we admit *four thousand* and *eight thousand* as being the real numbers of the combatants.

In a word, Abijah wins all along the line. He pursues Jeroboam, and takes from him three towns, “Bethel and her daughters, Jeshanah and her daughters, Ephron and her daughters” (verse 19).

Of these three towns *Bethel*, *Jeshanah*, and *Ephraim*, one only, Bethel, can be located with any precision. Topographers agree in placing Bethel at Beïtîn; Ephron, or according to the variant of the “Keri,” *Ephrain*, is generally regarded as identical with *Ophrah*, which is located with some probability, but without absolute certainty, at the village of *Taiyibeh*, nearly an hour to the north-east of Beïtîn.

This leaves us with Jeshanah, which up to now had been classed by commentators among the *desiderata* of Biblical topography.

I am not here concerned with the subsidiary question whether Jeshanah, the name of which is transliterated Ἰσανά in the corresponding account given by Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.*, viii, 11, 3), is the same locality as the village of Ἰσάνας, which, according to this same writer, was long afterwards the scene of the meeting between Herod and Pappus, the general of the army of

Antigonus.* If these two places are really one, so much the better ; what I am going to suggest for the first will in that case apply to the second, and thus we shall kill two birds with one stone.

Even if we did not know from another source what kind of place the famous Bethel, one of the three towns, was, the mention of their *banoth*, "daughters," would suffice to show that we had to deal with important cities with the characteristics of a metropolis. Josephus has no hesitation in rendering thus : "Bethel and Isana with their *toparchies*, καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς."

The three towns mentioned together in the Bible narrative must be pretty close to one another and form a strategic group in the same region. Their capture is the immediate result of the defeat of Jeroboam, and Abijah makes himself master of them as he pursues the King of Israel.

Moreover, they must have been on the confines of the two kingdoms ; for Bethel stood almost exactly on the frontier of Israel and Judah, and it is difficult to imagine Abijah annexing anything but a strip of territory that bordered on his own. This strip, clearly marked out by three points, and seized upon in a moment of surprise, must have been strictly limited. As a matter of fact we do not hear of Abijah pushing the pursuit any further and extending his conquests.

This granted, we must look for Jeshanah in the neighbourhood of Beïtîn, preferably to the north of it. It should therefore occasion us no surprise if this single passage is the only place in the Bible where we come across the name of a town as important as Jeshanah appears to have been. It must have belonged, from its presumed position, to the territory of Ephraim. Now we know that as the book of Joshua omits to include the list of the cities of Ephraim from its catalogue, or rather systematically excludes them, we have but little information about anything that concerns the district occupied by this tribe.

These various considerations induce me to propose as the desired site our village of 'Ain Siniâ, which is about *five kilomètres* almost due north of Beïtîn.

'Ain Siniâ is beyond doubt on an ancient site. Two facts suffice to

* *Antiq. Jud.*, xiv, 15, 12. The contrary view is rather favoured by the fact that when this narrative is repeated in the *Jewish Wars* (i, 17, 5), the name of Ἰσάνας is replaced by Κανά. This variant is easy to account for palæographically in the uncial characters of the MSS.: ICΑΝΑ, ΚΑΝΑ(IC = K). What we now want to know is, which of the two forms gave rise to the other

prove this: first, the existence of the numerous and abundant springs already enumerated by me, which must at all times have marked out the place as a desirable site; and secondly, the presence of the rock-hewn necropolis of which I have already spoken.

The site would answer perfectly well to the general requirements of the problem, only we must consider whether the Arabic name complies with the exigencies of onomastic tradition, which is an essential preliminary to right identification in Biblical geography.

The village of 'Ain Sîniâ, literally, "the spring of Sîniâ," lies in a valley that bears like itself the name of Sîniâ. This detail has an importance of its own, for whenever we find in Palestine the same name, with a well-marked form, attaching simultaneously to a village and to a *Khûrbeh*, a *wâdy*, or an 'ain, that are close to one another, we should bear in mind that this tenacity implies the antiquity of the name.

In the present instance the homonymy of 'Ain Sîniâ and *Wâdy Sîniâ* also justifies us in confining our attention to the word *Sîniâ*. Now this name *Sînia* سينيا offers a most unmistakable likeness to that of *Jeshanah* ישנה.

In fact there was every likelihood that the word *Jeshanah*, which rightly or wrongly is explained by the root יֶשֶׁן *yachan*, "to be old,"* should lose its initial *yod* in passing to the Arabic, whether it was radical or not. This aphæresis is normal, so to speak, for most geographical names of this type: *Yericho* = *Rîha*, *Yezrael* = *Zer'in*, etc.

In conformity with another rule of no less certainty, the Hebrew *shîn* becomes an Arabic *sîn*: so *shanah* = *sanah*. As for the modification of the *â* towards *î*, this phenomenon need excite no surprise on the shifting ground of the Semitic vowels. Besides, it is notorious that the Masoretic punctuation has to be received with considerable caution. I would remind the reader, though without desiring to attach too much importance to the fact, that the Septuagint transliterates the name of our town: 'Ιεσσυά. We are at liberty to regard this *u* as a step towards the *î* (by *iotacism*), but it may be simply a copyist's error.

As for the origin of the termination *iâ* يآ, which must not be confused with *iyah*, *iyeh*, يه, the feminine ending of the adjective or relative, this is met with in scores of Arabic place-names in these parts. I mention at haphazard: *Kebbiâ*, *Deir Istiâ*, *Beit Uniâ*, 'Ain *Kefriâ*, *Sirisiâ*, *Jiljiliâ*, *Ferdisiâ*,

* *Jeshanah* would thus mean "the Old," just as *Hadasha* means "the New."

*Tarfidiâ, Rashaniâ, etc.** In several of these names the termination *iâ* is seen to be distinct from the radical theme: *Kefr . . . , Jiljil . . . , Ferdis . . . , etc.* We are therefore within our rights in likewise isolating the theme *Sîn* in *Sîniâ*, by removing the adventitious termination *iâ*, whatever its origin may really have been.

Sîniâ, which constitutes a successive contraction and expansion of the Hebrew word *Jeshanah*, itself undergoes in Arabic a much more curious and pronounced contraction when it appears in the ethnic form. As I have already stated, a man of 'Ain *Sîniâ* is called 'Ansâwy عنساوي, plural 'Anâs'weh, عناسوة. It is certainly less difficult to admit that *Jeshanah* has become *Sîniâ*, than to believe that the constituent parts of 'Ansâwy are 'Ain *Sîniâ*, which is however beyond a doubt.

So then topographically and onomastically 'Ain *Sîniâ* may with perfect justice be accepted as the ancient *Jeshanah*.

It is a striking fact that Beîtîn, 'Ain *Sîniâ* and Taiyibeh, that is to say, Bethel, *Jeshanah* and Ephron (?) happen to form a triangle of which the southern apex is represented by Beîtîn (Bethel); this triangle must have had a real strategic value, since it is comprised in an elevated plateau formed by the intersection of the watersheds of the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, and a great number of valleys radiate from it. On this territory, reft from Jeroboam, stood the *banoth*, "the daughters," that is to say, the villages depending on the three towns. These villages are represented at the present day by a number of ruins and hamlets dotted about over this region.

Schwarz proposed to identify *Jeshanah* with a village *Al-sanim*, two miles west of Bethel, which village Sir G. Grove rightly declared to be "undiscoverable in any map which the writer has consulted."† In any case it does not even appear on the map accompanying the work of the learned rabbi. Can it be, in spite of the marked differences between the names and positions of the two villages, that 'Ain *Sîniâ*, or perhaps, the ruins of *Salimiya*, which are actually to the west of Beîtîn, was the place that Schwarz had in view? It is hard to say.‡ I will merely observe that the German edition of

* Compare the place-names of Palestine in the Talmud that end in נִי: *Kepher Lekitia, Gozeria, Talmia, Touria, Migdal Nounia*, etc.

† Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. *Jeshanah*.

‡ This is evidently the *Khûrbet Selemiyeh* of the P.E. Fund Map, which is in fact two miles west of Beîtîn. Name, distance, and position agree. Consequently it is certainly not our 'Ain *Sîniâ* that Schwarz had in mind.

Schwarz* has *Al-Sania*, which would not be so far from 'Ain Sîniâ. At all events Schwarz seems to have been making in this instance one of those random shots to which he was only too prone.

There exists another place in Palestine bearing exactly the same name as 'Ain Sîniâ, namely, the ruin called *Khûrbet Sîniâ*,† situated a little to the east of Tûbâs, the ancient Thebez, according to a generally received opinion. This northern *Sîniâ* would, from its position, belong to the territory of Issachar, near the boundary of Manasseh. Possibly in this case *Sîniâ*, سينا may be the onomastic topographic equivalent of *Shiôn* שִׁיחֹן, a town of Issachar mentioned between Haphraim and Anaharath (Joshua xix, 19). The book of Joshua, if the reader remembers, instead of enumerating the towns of Issachar by groups, mentions them in order as they lie along the boundary of the tribe. The *Onomasticon*, it is true, suggests the identification of this *Shiôn* with a locality bearing a name probably analogous, near Mount Tabor, which is utterly removed from our second *Sîniâ*. But we know too well on what slender bases the identifications of Eusebius and St. Jerome sometimes rest. In geographical matters they have all the boldness of the most adventurous of modern commentators. If this *Khûrbet Sîniâ* does not represent Chion in Issachar, it is perhaps a Jeshanah of the same name as that in Ephraim, and no mention of it has survived to our day. The name is one of those that by their very meaning are destined to have duplicates at different places, since it means simply "the Old."

In the Talmud mention is made of a magistrate (or archon?) of Jeshanah: אַרְכִּי הַיֶּשְׁנָה. Does this passage really refer to our Jeshanah in Ephraim?

FROM 'AIN SÎNIÂ TO NÂBLUS.

Yabrûd.—From 'Ain Sîniâ we ascended again to Yabrûd. Near the village the tomb of Neby Yoûsef is pointed out by the inhabitants. The ethnic is *Yabroudy*, plural *Yabâr'deh*.

The Arab geographer Yâkût speaks of the two villages *Yabrûd* and 'Ain *Yabrûd* (which is less than a mile and a half to the south of the former).

* *Das heilige Land*, page 125. *Al-salimia*, for *as-salimia*; in his Arabic transliterations Schwarz always neglects to mark the insertion of the article before the "solar" letters.

† Guérin, *Samarie*, I, 361. It does not appear on the Map. See the observation on this subject in the *Memoirs*, II, page 240.

He mentions some notable persons as coming from Yabrûd, and says that 'Ain Yabrûd was formerly distinguished by a double *wakf* (pious foundation), which was bought up by Sultan el Melek el Mo'addham, and set apart by him for the support of the Sebîl.*

He adds in a rather ambiguous passage, which, however, can only be interpreted in one way, that between "'Ain Yabrûd and Yabrûd" there is *Kefer Nâthâ*. This reading is certainly incorrect, for it is impossible that Yâkût should have been thinking of the village of Kefer Nâta, which lies far distant, to the south of Deir Dubwân, and besides he would have no plausible reason for mentioning it here. He must undoubtedly be alluding to the now ruined village of *Kefer 'Ânâ*, which is actually between Yabrûd and 'Ain Yabrûd, and which some have wished to identify with the Chephar Haammonai of the tribe of Benjamin.† We should, I think, be justified in correcting in the Arabic text, كفر عانا to كفر ناثا.

Geba.—We should expect to find in these parts a village Γηβά, *Geba*, which the *Onomasticon* locates five miles from Gouphnai (Jufna), on the way to Neapolis, and ventures to identify with the *Gebim* of Isaiah x, 31. The identification is worthless of course, but the village alluded to in the *Onomasticon* must none the less have a real existence. At the requisite distance, and in the requisite direction, there is a certain *Wâd el Jib*, running alongside the Roman way. This, it appears to me, has preserved the name of the vanished village.‡

Taiyibeh; Roman Milestones.—From Yabrûd we made straight for Taiyibeh. I particularly busied myself with examining the milestones that Major Conder had remarked to the south-east of Taiyibeh, on the ancient Roman road going down to 'Ain Dûk, which is none other than the highway that in ancient times united Neapolis (Sichem) with Jericho.

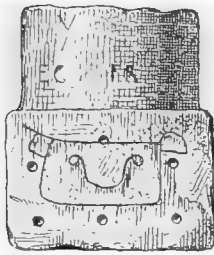
These stones are divided into three groups: the first at somewhere about two Roman miles from Taiyibeh; the second just a mile further south (by the place called *Muntâr er R'feîf*); the third a little less than a mile from the preceding.

* *Sebîl* means both "road" and "public fountain." The former meaning is, I think, the one here assigned to it. The object was, as Yâkût explains, to keep up the north road from Jerusalem, which unites that town with Nâblus by way of 'Ain Yabrûd.

† *Memoirs*, II, page 299.—Cf. for the passage of Yâkût the abridged translation of it given by M. le Strange (*Palestine under the Moslems*, page 550), which should be modified in the way above-mentioned.

‡ One might also be inclined to consider the claims of *Jibia*, which is about five Roman miles from Jefneh (Jufna), but this village is to the north-west of Jefneh, and so not on the road to Nâblus.

The first group consists of three rectangular bases, with fragments of shafts adhering, two of which at least look as if they had been meant to lean against a support. I had them turned over, and discovered

Scale $\frac{1}{32}$.

on the broken shaft of one of them some traces of an inscription, but unluckily I could not manage to make it out, as the shades of night were coming on. M. Lecomte made a drawing of it, showing the letters EG FR (perhaps *Legio X Fretensis*, or *legatus Aug. proprætor*?). On the base itself is carved a kind of symbol, but I could not determine the nature of it. There are also six small

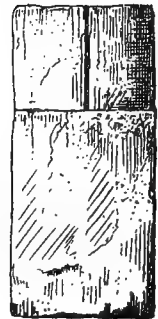
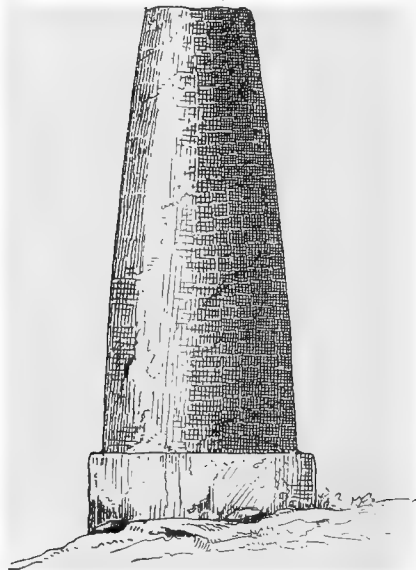
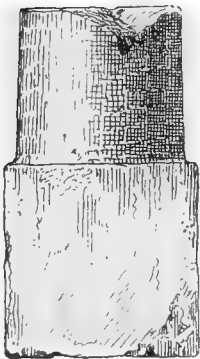
holes, nearly equidistant from each other, which seem to point further to the existence of some object affixed, which has now disappeared.

As for the rest, my notes were hastily made on a dark night, and are in a state of great confusion. I content myself with reproducing them, and do not answer for their exactness :—

— Group 1 : Five bases and three or four fragments of bases, in addition to a large piece of a shaft with a fragment of base adhering ; remains of an inscription on one ; a fragment of a shaft, inscribed.

— Group 2 : Three or four bases and some shafts ; these I could not get turned over.

Group 3 : Four bases ; we had a lot of trouble in finding them in the darkness. Here follow drawings made by M. Lecomte of three other columns, but I cannot state to which group each belongs :—

ROMAN MILESTONES NEAR TAIYIBEH. Scale $\frac{1}{32}$.

It is highly desirable that the study of these interesting monuments should be resumed. A careful examination would be sure to lead to the discovery of inscriptions which would be extremely interesting. I commend this search to the explorers of the future. This extraordinary accumulation of milestones at one spot is not unique in Palestine. I have noticed the same thing near Beit Jibrîn,* and other places.

Ophrah.—I shall not here discuss the question of the identity of Taiyibeh with Ophrah, much as there is to be said on the matter, but will confine myself to a few short observations on points of detail. One of the principal arguments that have been relied on to support this identification is the passage in the *Onomasticon*, s.v. Ὀφρά, which speaks of a village called Ὀφρήλ, *Effrem*, five miles east of Bethel. It has been generally concluded without hesitation that the spot alluded to by the *Onomasticon* was the *Ophrah* of Joshua xviii, 23; but it remains to be shown that it was not *Hap-parah*, a place mentioned in the same verse. As for the origin and real meaning of the Arabic name *Taiyibeh*, which is to be met with more than once in the toponymy of Palestine, we ought perhaps to bear in mind this fact, that the surname *Taiyibeh* is given to the town of Medineh. This surname, which means properly “the perfumed,” is derived from the presence of the tomb of the Prophet, who is buried there, and the very old idea that the tombs of the saints exhale a divine perfume. This notion is also contained in the familiar expression, “to die in the odour of sanctity.” It may be that in the ancient town, whatever it may be, that *Taiyibeh* represents, there was at one period some celebrated tomb which won for it the characteristic surname also borne by the various other places of the same name. It has been supposed that *Taiyibeh* was a translation of *Ophrah*, but I greatly doubt it; first, because of the want of distinction about the name *Taiyibeh*, which, according to this explanation, would fit a number of other *Ophrahs* of the same name; and next, because no proof has ever been given of the supposition commonly made to suit the requirements of the case, that עפרה comes from a root having meanings akin to those of the Arabic word *Taiyibeh*, “the good,” or as I think “the perfumed.” The play on words in Micah i, 10, on the name of *Ophrah*, *Afrah*, seems to connect it with *afar*, “dust” (cf. غبر). The Arab geographer Yâkût speaks of a place as existing in the province of Palestine called عفرى *Ifrâ*. This name would represent with great exactness that of the Bible town, but unfortunately he gives no clue as to its exact position.

* See further on.

There is a place, *Khûrbet 'Afrîteh*, which might do, only it is up near Yetmâ, much too far north to be a town of Benjamin. The name of it, عفریة, which signifies, *to all appearance*, "the female demon," would represent very closely the name of *Ophrah*, which also belongs to a town of Manasseh, and perhaps belonged to other towns not mentioned in the Bible.

— We passed the night at Taiyibeh, and departed from there next morning, directing our course north-north-east. As we left the village I noticed an edifice of ancient appearance, with sloping walls and stones with *bossages* at the corners, called by the common-place name of *el Bôberiyeh*.

— We passed successively through *Deir* Jerîr*; by Kufûr Mâlek, the ethnic of which is *Mâl'chi*, plural *Mawâl'chek*, having a sanctuary dedicated to *Neby Shemâil*; and by *Khûrbet Jaradeh*. Our road lay through a regular forest of fig-trees loaded with delicious fruit. I had been told of an inscription hereabouts, but it turned out to be simply a capital ornamented with a cross and rosettes.

— We reached *Khûrbet Sî'*, the site of an important town which once extended over a pair of hills. Here were quantities of fragments of mouldings, and at the top cuttings in the rock for presses. Near *Kh. Sî'* is *Kh. et Tarâmeseh*, "the ruin of the inhabitants of *Turmus 'Âyâ*," also called *Kh. el B'dûd*, "the ruin of the presses."†

We saw in the distance, to the east, *Mughayir*; ethnic *M'gheîrâwy*, plural *M'gheîrâwiyeh*. Between *Mughayir* and *Dômeh* they pointed out to me *Khûrbet Jeb'ît* (جبعت) and *Kh. el Marâjem*. *Jeb'ît*, which is written in the *Name Lists* (p. 255), wrongly I think, *Jibeit*, جبیت ("the hollow thing, or the idol"), belongs to the numerous class of ancient Hebrew place-names connected with the root גבע.

— Towards noon we reached the ruins of *Kefr Istûnâ*, where we were to

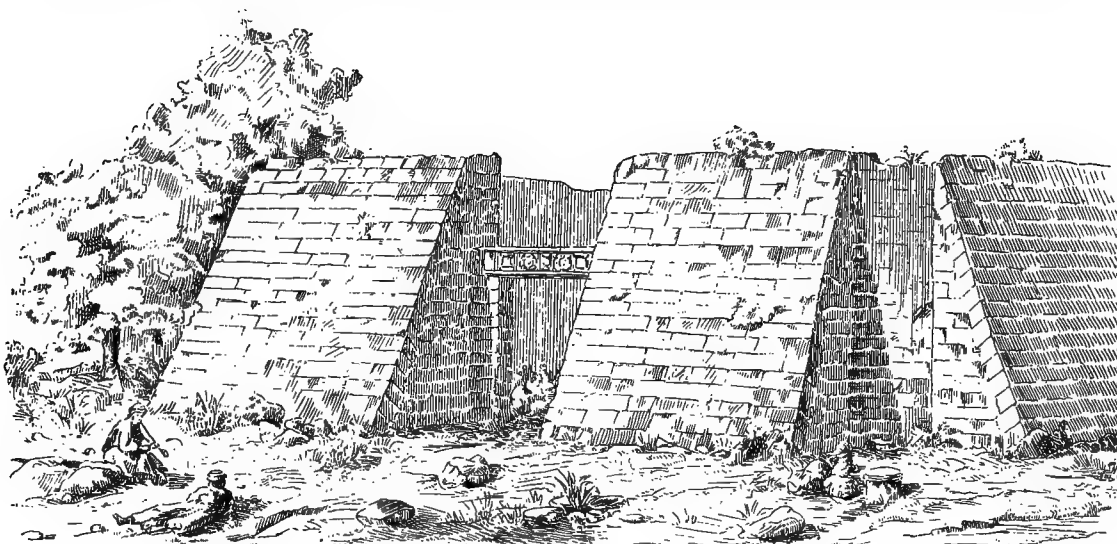
* I am sure I heard it called *Deîr*, not *Dâr*.

† Plural of *badd*, a word that frequently recurs in the toponymy of Palestine, and has been wrongly rendered "idol" (*Name Lists*, passim). Major Conder (*Statement*, 1889, p. 134) recognized its real meaning, which is familiar enough to all who have travelled in Palestine. I should add, that, like so many others of the fellahîn speech, it is an old Aramaic word: בדר, בדרא, בדר, *badd*, *badda*, *baddad*, "press, especially for olives;" בדידא, בודידא, *bedîda*, *bodîda*, "small press;" בית הבר, *beith hab-bad*, "the building where the press is." In Syriac *bado* has the same meaning; the Syriac lexicographers, among others Bar Bahloul, who sets down expressly the Arabic equivalent, بَدَّة, say that it is properly "*ea pars torcularis quæ descendit in id quod premendum est.*" The word is probably akin to the Hebrew *badd*, "tree, wooden bar" (the *vectes* for carrying the Ark), and must originally have denoted the lever by the aid of which pressure is applied.

lunch ; but not a drop of water was to be found. Our guide having ventured into the wely, which was full of chopped straw (*tebên*) came out at once in a fright, his legs literally encased with fleas. The ancient remains visible at Kefr Istûnâ have been so often described that I need not again refer to them. Remarkable as they are, especially from the size of the component materials, they nevertheless lose somewhat of their interest since it has been definitely proved that Kefr Istûna cannot be, as was for a long time supposed, the fortress of Alexandreion, which in reality is far distant, at K'reîn Sartaba (Kûrn Sûrtûbeh), near Karâwâ (the *Koreai* of Josephus, where Judæa began). So Kefr Istûnâ, which was beyond doubt an ancient town of some importance, again becomes available for a fresh identification.

Seîlûn.—From here we proceeded to Seîlûn. I noticed *en route* some more peculiarities of the fellahîn speech : the frequent use of the verb *bahhar* بَحَّرَ, in the sense of “to look, seek ;” the use of *wâhi* and *m'aiyeh* in the sense of “much,” etc. The *selâm* 'aleîkum, which in the south is exclusively reserved for salutations among Mussulmans, is here addressed to Mussulmans and Christians without distinction.

At Seîlûn we found the *nâtûr* of Kuriyût (Keriût), who was there to guard the fields of dura (*d'ra*). The inhabitants of Keriût, he told me, were formerly settled at Seîlûn, and left that place in the time of Ibrahim Pasha.

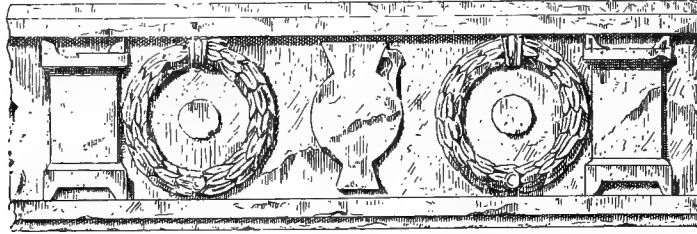


JÂME' EL ARBA'ÎN.

We examined the strange edifice generally called *Jâme' el Arba'in*, “the Mosque of the Forty.” The *nâtûr* called it *Jâme' es Sittîn*, “the Mosque of the Sixty.” Inside we noticed two fine capitals. Here is a view of the

building made by M. Lecomte. It has been too often described by travellers for me in my turn to describe it. In common with most archæologists, I think we can detect in it the remains of an ancient synagogue which has been altered at various periods.

Here is a detailed drawing of the carved lintel placed over the door :



CARVED LINTEL AT JÂME' EL ARBA'ÎN. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

The vase* between two wreaths and two altars, recalls an exactly similar motive on the reliefs of the large vase from the caverns of the Via Dolorosa, described in Volume I.

Opposite the Jâme' is a large sarcophagus-lid with acroteria, which M. Lecomte also made a drawing of :



SARCOPHAGUS LID AT SEÎLÛN. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

Another and not less remarkable building goes by the name of *Jâme' el Yetâim* (اليتايم). The first probably represents the *Mesjed es Sekîneh*, "the Mosque of the Ark,"† and the second perhaps the *Hajar el Mâideh*, "the Stone of the Table,"‡ which 'Aly el Herewy locates at Seîlûn.‡ This

* In M. Lecomte's drawing the vase appears with only one handle. I believe, though I will not vouch for it, that this detail is accurate.

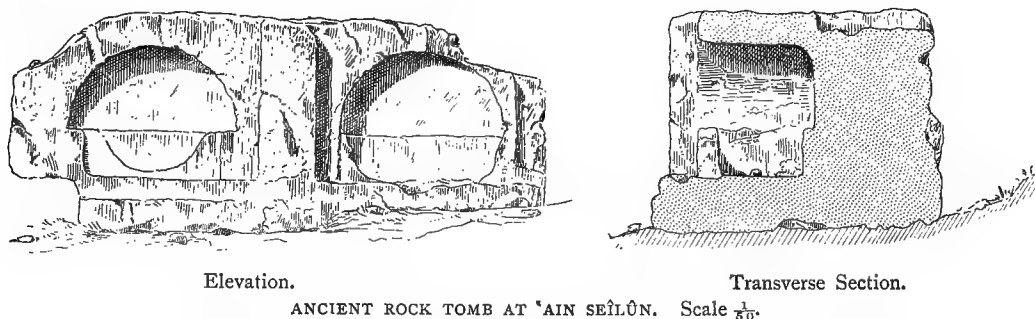
† Or, more exactly "of the Divine Presence in the Ark."

‡ *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, I, p. 600; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 527. As has long been known, the *Sekîneh* of Mussulman tradition, which was enclosed in the Ark, was directly borrowed from the *Shekhîna* of Judaism, where it is properly a more or less metaphysical conception of the real presence of God. In Arab belief the *sekîneh* has turned into a quaint concrete notion, recently the subject of an interesting study by Prof. Goldziher (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1893, tome ii, p. 1, etc.). I will add that this divine emanation, with all the fantastic details with which the Koran and the *hadîths* embellish it, appears to me to have borrowed certain features both from the *kerub* and the *kebod* of the Hebrews, the latter (the *dôğa*, or "glory," of the Septuagint) seeming to have originally been the counterpart of the Egyptian winged disc.

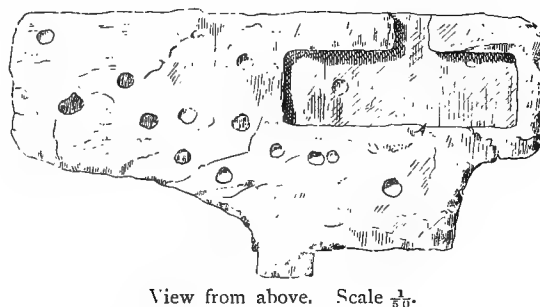
Mussulman tradition, which is connected with the stay of the Ark at Shiloh, seems to have disappeared. It was still in existence in the time of the Jewish geographer Esthori Ha-Parchi, who says: "This place still contains a vault, called קובה אל סכינה ("the cupola of the Ark"), and, near it, a place called *Maida* (מאידה),* i.e., "the tables of the Children of Israël."†

We explored some thirty tombs in the necropolis of ancient Shiloh, in hopes of finding some inscription, but without result.

— From Seilûn we went up to the spring of 'Ain Seilûn. Over the spring is an enormous mass of rock that has become detached from the mountain and has rolled down as far as there. It appears to have formed the back wall of a large sepulchral chamber, having a pair of arcossolia covering two trough-shaped tombs separated by a pilaster.



The two troughs are furnished with head-rests formed by leaving a portion of the rock uncut, each placed the same way. In the upper part is what appears to be the remains of a third trough hewn out in the roof:



I can only make passing allusion to these curious relations, and will content myself with remarking that one of the gates of the Haram at Jerusalem even at the present day goes by the name of "Gate of the Sekîneh (*Bâb es Sekîneh*).” This name was not given it yesterday either, for it is mentioned not only by Mujîr ed Dîn, but by the pilgrim Nâser ed Dîn Khosrau previous to the arrival of the Crusaders. This gate is the one adjoining the gate Bâb es Selseleh, on the western front.

* These words are exact transcriptions of the Arabic *مايدة* and *قبة السكينة*.

† Zunz, *On the Geography of Palestine*, forming an appendix to the *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (Asher's edition) II, p. 435.

This third trough seems to have been transformed later on into a sort of small reservoir, with a short conduit for letting off the water. There are further noticeable some fifteen holes,* several of which go right through the ceiling. This is perhaps the place where Jewish mediæval tradition was inclined to locate the tomb of Eli the high-priest and of his two sons.

A considerable number of the inhabitants of Keriût were round about the spring. In my conversation with them I was struck with the way in which they pronounce the long *â*'s, which in their mouths become regular *ô*'s. They say, for instance, '*ajjaûl*, or '*ajjôl*, for '*ajjâl*, "cattle-drover." This Aramaising vocalization is an interesting archaism, and explains why in the Greek inscriptions of Syria the *alpha* is often replaced by the *omicron*.

Jâlûd.—We arrived at Jâlûd at five o'clock. The inhabitants received us well, especially an aged fellâh, Sabbâh en Nâser by name, who was neatly dressed in the style of an Effendi. He had served as a soldier under Ibrahim Pasha; he spoke Turkish quite fluently; and was delighted to be able to converse with me in that language. The town, he told me, was a fortified place, and was once surrounded by a wall of circumvallation. *It was the town of Jâlûd, who was killed by David.* It once belonged to Abraham, who has a makâm there. Right on the edge of the plateau on which the village is situated we were shown the entrance to a tomb that had been opened a few years before. There was a stone door accurately hung, and inside a chamber with three arches covering over some *rân* ("burial troughs") closed with stone lids. The entrance to this curious tomb being quite stopped up, I arranged with the courteous old fellow to have it re-opened. It was agreed that we should come by Jâlûd again next day, and that—in *shâ Allah!*—we should find the clearance effected.

'*Akrabâ* ('*Akrabeh*).—From here we set off to 'Akrabâ, which I had selected as our abode for the night. The pronunciation is '*Akrabâ* عقربا, not '*Akrabeh* عقرية. The ethnic is '*Akrabâny*, plural '*Akâr'beh*. (See p. 304.)

Next morning we visited the mosque. The inside of it was transformed for the time being into a workroom for plaiting mats. According to local tradition the place was originally a church; the correctness of this is shown by the presence of various ancient remains. I noticed built into the enclosure some fine carved capitals and a small square moulded cippus, like those at

* Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, pp. 186, 250. The holes perhaps served for the illuminations spoken of by Isaac Chelo,

Palmyra. At the entrance an ancient lintel, used as the left upright of the present door, bears a Greek inscription, much mutilated unfortunately. I append a copy :



GREEK INSCRIPTION AT 'AKRAB Â.

The average space between the letters is a centimètre. The lintel and the inscription have been cut almost exactly in half. Above the line there is a carved ornamentation of a geometrical nature. The cross at the end of the line marks the termination of the inscription, a Christian one of course. The whole of the left portion, bearing the beginning of the inscription, is wanting. I found a fragment of it built in upside down over a small square niche inside the building facing the door.

This fragment, as is shown by the similarity of the ornamentation and the shape of the letters, evidently forms part of the beginning of the inscription. On placing the two fragments end to end, and comparing my copy with the transcription given in the *Memoirs* (II, p. 389), I am tempted to read as follows :

..... υξα . . ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐποίησα ὑπὲρ συμβίου καὶ [τ]έ[κν]ων. ✝
 “. in the holy I have made, for my husband and my children.”

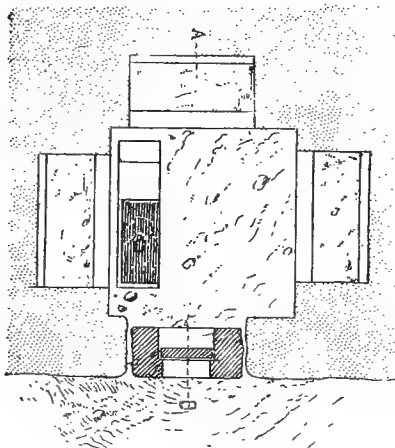
Just near 'Akrabâ is *el Heusën* (*el Hosn*), which, as its name and the appearance of the ruins indicate, is an ancient fortress.

The fellahîn of 'Akrabâ have kept alive the memory of a famous governor who resided at 'Akrabâ and was called *el Kâdery*. He lived in the times of Jezzâr Pasha, say some, in the times of the *Kuffâr*, say others. He erected some considerable buildings. His authority extended as far as Turmus 'Aîâ, from the Jordan to the Nâblus road, and in the north to Wâd el Bîdân, in the direction of Tellûza. There may perhaps be in this tradition a more or less accurate reminiscence of the ancient toparchy of Acrabatena and its boundaries, which were Samaria on the north and the toparchy of Gophna on the south.

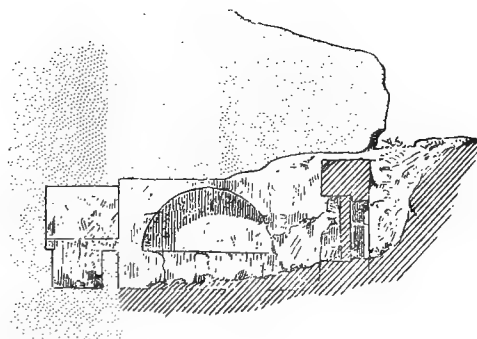
Jâlûd.—Next morning we started back to Jâlûd. On the hill facing

'Akrahâ on the south-south-west I noticed several rock-hewn tombs, with a small arched porch over a square door.

We found our friend Sabbâh en Nâser, who was engaged in clearing out the entrance to the tomb at Jâlûd, as he had undertaken to do the night before. The operation was carried out under our inspection, and we were soon enabled to penetrate into the tomb. It consists of a rectangular chamber with three arcosolia on three of the walls, placed over funerary troughs, which are covered with slabs laid crosswise. In these we found a few bones still remaining :



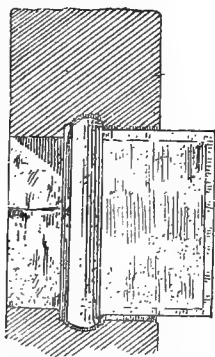
Plan.



Section on A B.

ROCK TOMB AT JÂLÛD. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

In the right-hand corner as you go in is a small rectangular ditch, admitting to a lower chamber. This I was unable to explore, as it would have taken much work to clear it. I am sorry for this, as I might perhaps have made a good find there. I picked up there a small bronze object, but cannot now identify it, owing to a lacuna in my notes.



SWINGING STONE DOOR
in situ AT JÂLÛD.

Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

The most interesting peculiarity about this tomb is the existence of the stone door that shuts it in. This is a regular shutter of stone, which turns easily even now on its upper and lower hinges. Here are two more detailed drawings, which will give an accurate idea of the shape of this door and the way it works.



Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

Various Notes.—Here are the various bits of information that I took down from the mouth of Sabbâh en Nâser :

— There is at Nâblus a stone with writing on it, which was brought from Balkâ three years ago for the governor. It is deposited with the *bakkâl* Ahmed 'Othmân Hamâmeh, near Bâb el Jâme' el K'bir esh Sharky.*

— There is at Hâreth the tomb of *Neby Kefîl*, which is the genuine one, the other shown in the direction of 'Akrahât being unauthentic. From him the village is called *Kefîl Hâreth*, which is its proper name.

— Seilûn.† Between the two mosques is a dried-up birkeh, where, according to the *ahâdîth* or "canonical traditions" of the Mussulmans, the *mâidah*, "table," of Jesus came down from heaven to his apostles.

— The mosque at Seilûn is properly called *Jâme' es Sittîn* and not *el Arba'în*. This queer name, "the Mosque of the Sixty," instead of "the Forty,"—a name established by usage (the Forty Martyrs)—might very well, I think, be a mere corruption of *sekîneh*,§ "the Ark." This name, as I have shown, belonged to the sanctuary of Shiloh in the ancient Jewish and Mussulman traditions.

— The ancient King of Jâlûd was called *Jâlûda*; he it was that was slain by David. He also built the fortress there and gave his name to the town.

— Some of the places in the neighbourhood :

— *Khûrbet el Chirich* (الكرى).

— *Kh. Sarâ* (not "Sarrâ").

— Near this latter, in the direction of *Jebel el Leuhf* (?), towards the east : *Kh. Êkh'neîfis* (خنيفس), "the little Scarabæus ;"

— *Kh. 'Arfît*, a vulgar pronunciation of 'Afrît (for *Kh. 'Afrîteh*).

Boundaries of the Territories of Nâblus and Jerusalem.—This, says my informant, is where the boundary passes that separates the territory of Jerusalem from that of Nâblus, from east to west :

The Jordan, el 'Audjâ, M'ghayir, Seilûn, el Lubbân, 'Ammuriyeh, Khûrbet Kêis, Farkhâ, Deir Ballûta, Mejdél es Sâdek (another name of Mejdél Yâbâ), Jeljûlieh, Kufûr Sâbâ, J'lîl and the Haram of 'Aly ben 'Euleil.

All these boundary marks belong to the territory of Nâblus. This line, which at several points fails to coincide with the present official boundary-line, doubtless has a traditional value, and corresponds to a more or less ancient state of things. It should be taken into account in studying the vexed

* See later on (p. 317) for this inscription, which I actually found in the house indicated.

† Sabbâh en Nâser was certainly thinking of the sanctuary of *el Kefîl Abu 'Ammâr*, between 'Akrahât and Jûrish, and in the immediate vicinity of the latter village.

‡ See *supra*, p. 299.

§ See *supra*, p. 300. *k* and *t* are easily interchangeable in the dialect of the fellahin.

problem of the boundaries of Samaria and Judæa, which in certain parts at any rate can hardly have varied. It agrees tolerably well with the boundary between the province of Nâblus and the province of Jerusalem as given by Mujir ed Dîn :*

"Sinjil, 'Arzen, both belonging to the territory of Jerusalem, and the head of the Wâdy Beni Zeïd, belonging to the territory of Ramleh." Sinjil and the territory of Beni Zeïd (to the north of Neby Sâleh) are perfectly well known. This is not the case with 'Arzen, which is certainly a mutilated name ; one MS. has 'Arûn. My opinion is that the two readings, عزرن and عرون, are equally faulty and should be corrected to عرورة or عرورا, 'Arûra, a village to the south of Khûrbet Keîs.† This 'Arûra appears to me to be none other than the 'Απορέη, *Aruir*, alluded to in the *Onomasticon* as being twenty Roman miles north of Jerusalem. It is also perhaps the problematical 'Αρουρά which Josephus has in view in his *Ant. Jud.* (p. 344 of Haverkamp's edition), where he follows the Septuagint version of 1 Sam., xxii, 6.

— According to a saying that I heard a little further on, the inhabitants of Jâlûd never live to be more than fifty.

— From here we went to Keriût (Kuriyût), which is divided into two quarters, one called the *Deir*. I was not able to make any observations there, as the Government agents were engaged in extracting the tenth, or rather eighth, from the fellahîn

Yâsûf.—We passed hurriedly through Yâsûf. According to an ancient tradition related by the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages,‡ Seilûn was the dwelling-place of Jacob, and the pit is not far distant where Joseph was thrown by his brothers "between Sinjil and Nâblus, on the right of the road." What can the place be that the legend points to ? It is quite at variance with the one current at the present day, which attaches to *Jubb Yûsef* to the north of the Sea of Tiberias. I am inclined to believe that it is *Yâsûf*, which is on the right of the road as you go, not from Sinjil to Nâblus, but from

* Bulak, Arabic text, p. 340.

† I should, however, state that I find mention in my note-book of a *Merj 'Eurzeul*, "meadow of 'Eurzeul," extending to the west of Sinjil, to the north of El Burj, to the south of el Lubban, as far as abreast of 'Abweïn. Can I have heard the name aright ? The Map inserts it under the form 'Erzy. If the form 'Eurzeul عززل really exists, one would be inclined to see in it the name of 'Arzen.

‡ Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie orientale*, 1888, I, p. 332. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 465, 477, 527.

Nâblus to Sinjil. The name of this village, which is also borne by a neighbouring wâdy,* is written *ياسوف*, and it appears in Samaritan documents in the form *יספה Yusepheh*. It is probably the mere name of this locality that has attracted and fixed there the legend of *Joseph*, and it may be that when the Mussulman pilgrim 'Aly el Herewy says: "I was assured, &c.," he alluded to some more or less fanciful tradition that he got from the Samaritans.

Merdâ.—At Merdâ I noted in passing a sanctuary consecrated to a certain *Neby Ithiria* (اثريا, or ثريا); I cannot account for the origin of this strange name. According to the fellahîn, Merdâ was formerly, in the time of the Romans, a *beled* (town) as large as Nâblus. There was a butcher (*lahhâm*) who gave his name to a large *kh*. . . .;† he used to kill forty sheep every Friday before noonday prayer. The place is spoken of in the old Arab geographers. Mujîr ed Dîn mentions it‡ *à propos* of another neighbouring village *ed Deir*, which is probably Deir Istia. The name seems to me to be of Aramaic origin, and to be connected with the Syriac *merdo*, "fortress."§

Kefër Hâres.—We stopped the night at Kefër Hâres. The Sheikh, under a pretence of protecting us against thieves, insisted on thrusting the company of two fellahîn upon us.

In order to keep themselves awake, our moukres spent the whole of the night in intoning their interminable but not unpleasing *yâ leîl*, accompanied by the agreeable piping of a flute played by a young virtuoso of the village. In addition to this, a blindingly bright moon made our tent as light as day, so, taking it altogether, it was not a restful night.

The mosque of the village, which is graced with the name of Jâme', has in its walls a few large blocks apparently ancient. I remarked among them a wide arched bay with its archivolt ornamented with those kind of *canaliculi* or tablets which are met with on the mediæval archivolt of Yebnâ (see pp. 171, 180) and various other buildings in Palestine. There are besides this three other sanctuaries :

* *واد ياسوف* in the *Name Lists*, p. 249, must be an error for *واد ياسوف* (cf. p. 250).

† The word is illegible in my note-book; I think it is *Khallet*, "valley."

‡ Bulak, Arabic text, p. 560, *مردى*.

§ The word *merdo* is used, for instance, to denote the fortress of Acra, at Jerusalem. Compare the names of towns *Marde*, *Mardîn*, &c., and other places with similar names near Aleppo, in Mesopotamia, and in Adiabene. There is a locality exactly homonymous, *Tûl Merda*, in Galilee, to the north-west of Teirshîha, and quite near it.

(1) That of *Neby Lôsha'*, consisting of a Kubbeh sheltered by a great terebinth and fronted by a small courtyard. In one of the corners of the inner room, the walls of which are bare, there is an antique marble capital. In the courtyard, facing you as you go in, there is an Arabic inscription in *Neskhy* character, built into the wall. It is cut on a stone with a rough surface, but finely grained, looking something like a page of manuscript with an ornamented border. There is said to be a cave underneath the chamber, and, in fact, when you strike the ground in the south-east corner it sounds hollow.

(2) The Kubbeh of *Neby Kefîl*, with a large cenotaph of masonry.

(3) The Sanctuary of *Neby Nûn*, consisting of a cenotaph like the preceding, but lying open to the sky, the holy man having never consented, in spite of all temptations, to let a building be erected over his tomb.

These three nebys, say the fellahîn, belong to the same family: *Kefîl* is the father of *Nûn*, who himself is the father of *Lôsha'*. It has been long recognized that *Lôsha'* (*'l Ôsha'*), son of *Nûn*, was none other than Joshua, the son of *Nun*, whose tomb is in fact located in the village by Samaritan and Jewish mediæval tradition. As for *Kefîl*, whom the legend manages to connect genealogically with Joshua and *Nun*, he, according to the Samaritans, is *Caleb*, the companion in arms of Joshua. *Kefîl*, it would seem, is an alteration from *Caleb*, pronounced *Calev*, *Calef*. This name, thus transformed, has reacted in turn on the name of the village, which is often called *Kefîl Hâres*, instead of *Kefêr Hâres*. It is possible that the word *Kefêr* itself may have had a disturbing influence on the form *Caleb*.

*Mujîr ed Dîn** says that among the sons of Job there was one called *Bashar*, and surnamed *Zu 'l-Kefîl* (*Kifl*, *Kefêl*), whose makâm is at Damascus, and whose tomb is in the village of *Kefîl Hâres*, in the territory of *Nâblus*. I found no traces existing on the spot of this fabulous personage. Elsewhere he says (p. 94) that Joshua was buried in the village of *Kefîl Hâreth* (the name is written this time حارت instead of حارس).†

Tell Hâreth—In the distance, to the south-west, is seen *Tell Hâreth*, which was formerly a town of the Jews (*medînet el Yahûd*). Here are still visible some remains of ancient structures called *Kal'at Hâreth*, "the fortress of Hâreth." A hidden treasure exists there, and an enchanted spring.

* P. 68 of the Bulak Arabic text.

† The same discrepancy is existing to-day in the pronunciation of the name *Hâres* or *Hâreth*.

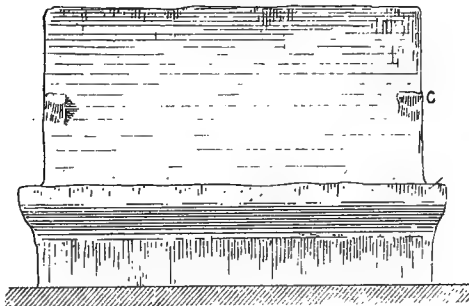
- At Deir Istia is a *Neby Istia*.
- To the south-east of Karâwa is the *Dâr edh-dharb*,* which was once an old mint worked by the Rûms.
- The tobacco of Kefr Hâres is in great repute.

Jemma'in.—Next morning we set out in the direction of Nâblus. At Jemma'in we met an old *bîtâr*, "veterinary surgeon," who had come to attend to some cows, and was going back to Nâblus in company with his son. They proposed to travel along with us, and I accepted with alacrity, being only too glad to find some one to talk to by the way.

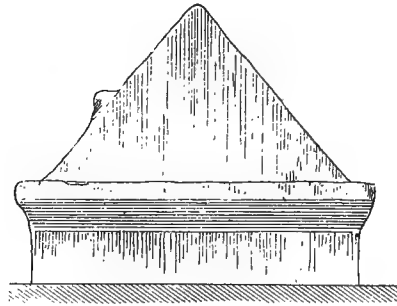
- To the north of Zîtâ is a place in ruins, called Khûrbet Tafsa.

Fardîs.—We left to the right of our route the small wely of *Fardîs* (فردیس), to the south of which is *R'weîsân* (روييسون),† and we halted for lunch at 'Ain 'Abûs.

'Awerta.—At 'Awertâ, or 'Awertah, we visited the three sanctuaries where Mussulman tradition perpetuated the Jewish and Samaritan legends. The first is sacred to *Sheikh el 'Ozeîr*, called also by some Abû 'l 'Ozeîr. In the middle of a large courtyard, with a sort of vestibule open to the sky in front of it, stands an enormous cenotaph, with a triangular lid with acroteria; it appears to have been originally constructed of hewn stones, now disfigured by a thick coating of white plaster.



Side elevation.



Elevation of the short side C.

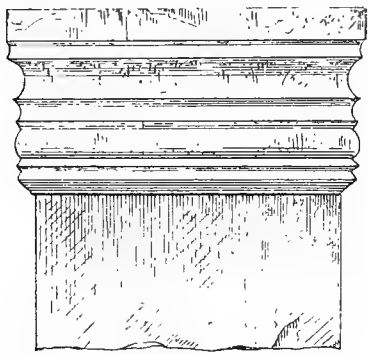
CENOTAPH AT 'AWERTA. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

The base must be more than half sunk below the present level of the ground. Close to it, on the south side, a small rectangular opening let into the pavement of the court admits of a small recess constructed of masonry, with a slightly arched ceiling. This belonged likely enough to an ancient

* Literally "the house of the coining;" the name is written *Deir ed Derb* on the Map, and is explained as "the Monastery of the Road" in the *Name Lists*.

† *Sh. Ahmed el Furâdis*, and (?) *Kh. 'Azzân* in the Map.

sepulchral chamber. There are built into the walls four Samaritan inscriptions, or fragments of such, on marble slabs. One bears, in Arabic, the date Ramadân, 1185, and is carefully cut. The characters are in relief, as also are



FRAGMENT OF COLUMN AT 'AWERTÂ.

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

those of the other two inscriptions. There is one quite small fragment, with sunken characters, that looked to me of somewhat older date.

In the enclosure I noticed a fine bit of moulding, undoubtedly antique.

In the village itself is the mosque (*Jâme'*) of *el Mansûr*, with a Samaritan inscription in relief and a large cenotaph of masonry-work, after the manner of the preceding.

Lower down is the wely of *el Mofadhdhal*, "the Jew."

Lastly, to the north of the village, is the sanctuary of *El 'Ozeîrât*, the burial-place of seventy-seven *Mg'hâzy*, "champions."

According to the fellahîn, el 'Ozeîr is the son of Hârûn and the father of el Mansûr; el Mofadhdhal is brother to el 'Ozeîr. They are in harmony with the ancient Mussulman tradition, for Mujîr ed Dîn locates at 'Awertâ the tomb of el 'Eîzâr, son of Hârûn, and Yâkût that of el 'Ozeîr, that of Mofadhdhal, son of the uncle of Hârûn (*sic*), and those of the seventy prophets, who correspond to the seventy-seven M'ghâzy of el 'Ozeîrât. The seventy prophets represent the seventy old men, or elders of Israel,* in Jewish mediæval tradition; el 'Ozeîr or el 'Eîzâr, son of Hârûn, is Eleazar (third son of Aaron); his brother el Mofadhdhal is Ithamar, brother of Aaron, whose tomb was actually pointed out by Jewish tradition at 'Awertâ, in the lower part of the village; while el Mansûr, son of el 'Ozeîr, is Phinehas, son of Eleazar.

NÂBLUS.

We reached Nâblus a little before sundown, and stayed there four days, from the Monday evening to the Saturday morning. My investigations were limited to certain matters of detail, and I will give a succinct account of these, omitting other most important matters which I could only superficially

* Cf. Numbers xi, 16, 24.

examine. The reader must therefore excuse the fragmentary and imperfect nature of these notes. It would have been easy to swell them to a great bulk, by following my numerous predecessors in the fruitless discussion of the various problems connected with the history or topography of this ancient city and its immediate vicinity.

INSIDE NÂBLUS.

Jâme' el Kebîr.—We did not make a plan of the great mosque, which is an ancient church built or adapted by the Crusaders. On examining the great mediæval doorway of the east front, and noticing how the *order* of the stones was disarranged, we wondered whether it had at some later period been taken down and put up again on the east side. This was merely a casual notion, and I give it with due reserve. The church is altogether disfigured, and the inside is covered over with whitewash, and adorned with various coloured paints in the worst possible taste. I am sorry we had no time left to make a plan of the building. We could have managed it in spite of the proverbial fanaticism of the Mussulmans of Nâblus, having won them over by correcting with the aid of a compass the orientation of their mihrâbs. I discovered a small Greek inscription cut on a Corinthian capital surmounting the second column in the north row. The capital has been painted afresh,



ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΙΑΚΧΟΥ

Λουκίου Ἰάκχου,

"of Lucius Iacchus."

CAPITAL WITH INSCRIPTION IN MOSQUE AT NÂBLUS.

and the letters are picked out in black. Below, on the volute of the left hand, is carved a B, which I look upon as a numeral with the value "two." It must be an ordinal number indicating the place of the capital and the column belonging, in the architectural scheme of which they formed part. This inscription is probably a dedication, to the effect that Lucius Iacchus paid the cost of the column and its capital, which are destined for some religious edifice. There are examples of these partial *anathemata*. The shape of the capital and of the characters of the inscription point to the Græco-Roman period.*

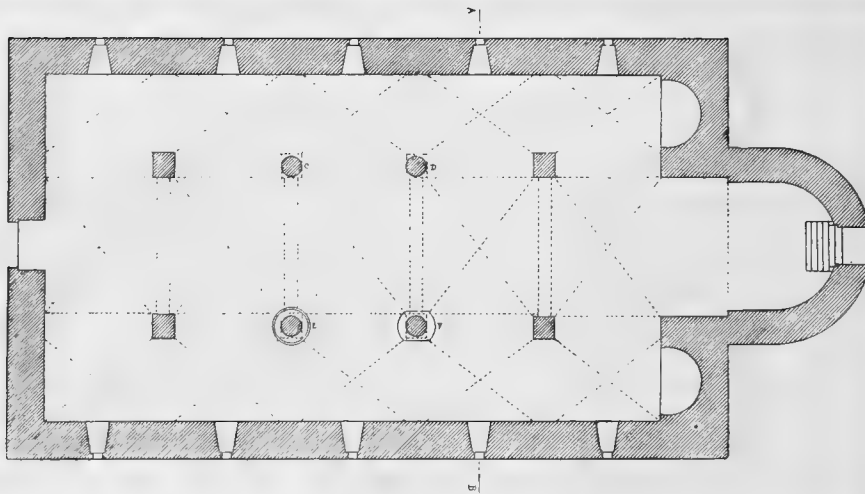
* In an inscription cut on the shaft of a column at Rakhleh (Waddington, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de la Syrie*, No. 2557d), and dating from the year 404 of the Seleucids (82 A.D.), there appears the name of one Βάχχ[ιος] Λουκίου, who seems also to have dedicated this column.

Possibly an attentive search would bring to light similar inscriptions on the other capitals that have been utilised in building the great mosque of Nâblus.

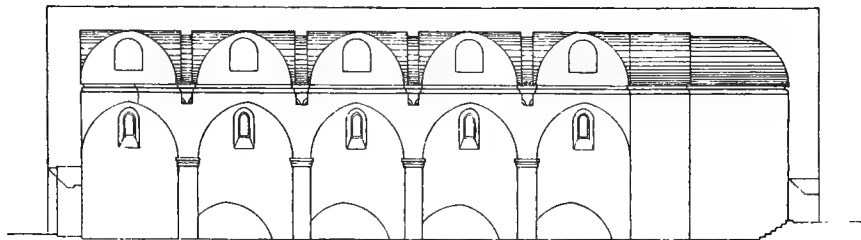
Below the minaret, in the inside of the courtyard, a long Kufic inscription is cut. I took a squeeze of this. All the outer walls of the great mosque are full of stones with mediæval tool marks and with masons' marks, which we made a note of. (*See Special Table, Vol. I.*)

A little further on, on the side that does not look over the bazaar, are remains of an edifice with stones bearing mediæval tool marks with extremely fine strokes. I took a squeeze of a specimen.

Jâme' en Nasër.—This mosque is an ancient church with three aisles, regularly orientated and in a good state of preservation. Unfortunately the whole of the interior is covered with a thick coating of mortar, which prevents the dressing of the stones from being seen, and fills up all the architectural details. The present entrance is by the central apse, where the Arabs have made a new door which opens on to the street, and from which you go down into the mosque by a flight of six steps. The arches are pointed. The walls of the aisles are each pierced with five narrow windows with wide reveals. I made a note of some projecting buttresses between these windows, but they do not appear on the following plan, which was made by M. Lecomte on the basis of our observations :—



PLAN OF JÂME' EN NASËR, NÂBLUS. Scale $\frac{1}{300}$.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF JÂME' EN NASËR. Scale $\frac{1}{300}$.

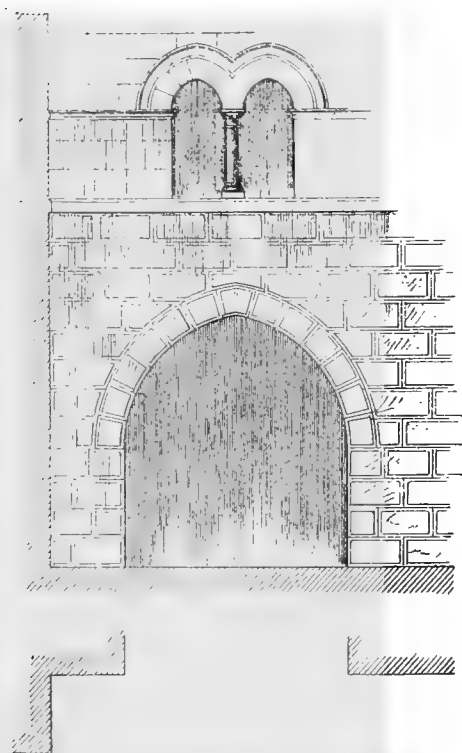
The middle aisle, which is higher than the side aisles, is separated from them by two rows of square pillars and of columns surmounted by capitals of the Doric style. The columns C, D, E, F are of red granite, and are in two pieces. Under the columns E, F are circular discs, one of ordinary stone, the other of marble. A moulded string-course runs completely round the inside of the building on a level with the spring of the higher arches. The primitive door was on the west side. On the flags that cover the ground I noticed in several places the mediæval tool marks, as also on the steps of a staircase leading to a high gallery set up to meet the requirements of Mussulman worship in the north aisle. The church in its final form must have been built by the Crusaders, but the depth of the central apse, as well as the character of certain architectural features, would incline me to the belief that they erected it on the ruins of an ancient Byzantine church, and were guided by its previous arrangement.

Jâme' (Jâmiâ') el Masâkîn.—"The Lepers' Mosque," is in an ancient structure with large arches seemingly mediæval. The leprosy of Nâblus in no way falls short of that of Jerusalem in the hideous aspect of the sufferers and the interest aroused by their frightful sores. The lepers of Nâblus are under the command of a sheikh, who is himself not afflicted with the disease. A native Christian who accompanied us on this repulsive visit, assured me seriously that the horrible disease was exclusively confined to the Mussulmans; but I have my doubts as to the correctness of this observation. In a stable was a horse said to be likewise afflicted with leprosy!

*Habs ed Dam.**—Two pointed arches arranged at right angles, one

* Literally "the prison or cell of blood." In consequence of my notes being disarranged, I am not absolutely sure that this one applies to the drawings that accompany it, but in any case the latter are representations of an edifice we saw at Nâblus.

open, the other blocked up. The arch stones of the arches and the blocks on the façade have flat



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF HABS ED DAM.
Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

bossages, and are pock-marked, with small delicate tool marks, not diagonal, round the edges. Above the two arcades is a twin ogive bay, the two archivolts of which rest on a small column with capital and base, and on a cornice which is extended right and left along the façade. In one of the angles is a small spring of water.

Mahall Ūlād Neby Ya'kûb.—A modern mosque, opposite *Buwâb el Unbiâ* ("the gate of the Prophets"), marking the spot, according to Mussulman legend, where the ten sons of Jacob are buried.

Opposite, on the other side of the street, is the *Khân ez Z'bîb*, with a lofty ogive arch in the middle of a wall of bossed stones, and exactly resembling in style that at Habs ed Dam.

Hizn Sîdnâ Ya'kûb (called also *el Khadhrâ*).—At the entrance, stones with the mediæval tool marks. Three large

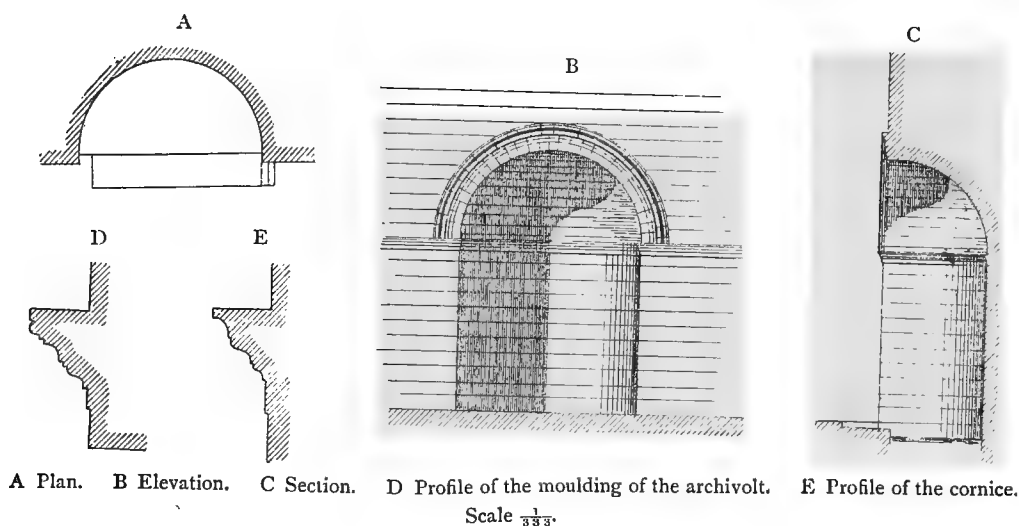
ogive bays with moulded archivolts. The arch of the mihrâb is adorned with handsome carvings. There is an Arabic inscription in so-called Carmathic characters. To the right of the great chamber where the mihrâb is they show a small room where Jacob wept for the loss of Joseph, whence the name of the sanctuary, "the sadness of our lord Jacob." In this place the soil sounds hollow to the tread. At the base of the minaret a long Samaritan inscription is built in. I took a squeeze of this, as also of two other small and imperfect ones (one in the door frame of an Arab room at the foot of the minaret, unfortunately plastered up with lime; the other in the opposite wall, low down, and defaced by hammering).

I likewise squeezed a Samaritan inscription consisting of eleven lines in relief, and mutilated on the right hand side, from the lintel of a door of a house adjacent to the Hizn Ya'kûb; and another of two lines in relief, in the house of Sheikh Yûsef Zeïd, in the street called *Hâr't el Yâsmîneh*.

Not far from the Hizn Ya'kûb is a spring, *'Ain el 'Asef*, with excellent

water that well deserves its name, "the spring of honey." Near there is built in an ovolo-moulded fragment. M. Lecomte made a sketch of it.

'*Ain Kariûn*.—This spring is situated inside the town. It seemed to me that the name was pronounced *Kariôn* rather than *Kariûn*. It is covered over with a large and curious structure which, according to local tradition, was an ancient *Kuttâb*, "school." It consists of a high semi-circular arch opening over a semi-circular apse. The archivolt, which is ornamented with a moulding, rests on a cornice, also moulded, which runs round the apse. In the latter a niche has been subsequently made, to serve as a *mihrâb*. The cornice is continued to right and left along the façade.

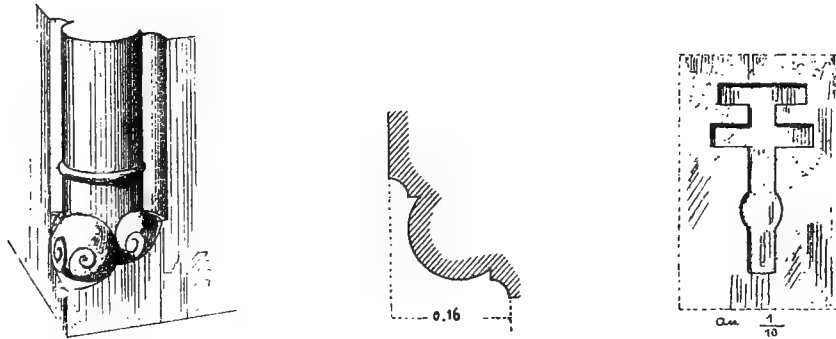


The stones are fine large blocks, presenting neither the mediæval nor the Arab tool marks. The axis of the apse is orientated to the south-west. The edifice seems not to be of Christian origin, or at any rate not to partake of the nature of a chapel. Perhaps it was a kind of nymphæum intended to protect the spring. The latter is copious, and we noticed that there were fish in it.

Sarcophagus.—On Fridays, at the hour of prayer, while the men are at the mosque, all the women and girls go out into the streets with faces uncovered to fill their water jars at the fountains. They gather together and converse freely in the absence of the men. During this time the shops are minded by the children, who constitute the police of the public highways, and chevy without mercy any men they see out of doors. We were indebted to our being foreigners for being able to cross one of the quarters thus given over to feminine occupation, the *Hâr't Kariôn*, where I wished to examine an

ancient sarcophagus that served as a *rân*, or trough, to a fountain. The women rather looked askance at us; but, however, we were suffered to pass. We owed it to this curious custom that we were able to get a glimpse of some very pretty female types, under conditions that are rare in Mussulman countries. The sarcophagus came, I was assured, from near the tomb of Joseph. Its front side is ornamented with three discs in relief, two of which display a rather curious decorative idea; the central disc contains a rectangular cartouche with triangular ears, where there was perhaps originally an inscription cut. It is very possible that this inscription may have been obliterated at the time of the find, and I noticed in fact that the tool-marks inside the cartouche were rather fresher than those of the other parts of the sarcophagus, as if the surface had been subsequently worked over.

Masbanet el Ghazzâwy.—An ancient building of mediæval origin turned into a soap-works, as is shown by the name ("the soap-works of the man of Gaza"). The mediæval tool-marks appear on the whole of the lower part of



MEDIÆVAL SCULPTURED STONES AT NÂBLUS. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

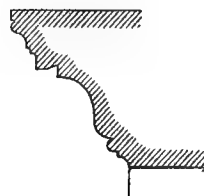
the door and a part of the arch that surmounts it, which has a moulded torus and rabbeted edges. The threshold is formed of two stones of the same period. Inside are large pillars of hewn stone, with moulded cornices. At the back is an orientated apse. All the stones display mediæval tool-marks. Here (p. 316) are two fragments of the same period built into the outer wall.

One is an engaged dwarf-column from a corner, forming the upright of a gateway; the other presents a sort of cross with two cross-pieces, recalling the type of the so called patriarchal cross.

Ancient Masbaneh.—Another soap-works, now the oven of Selîm Bek, with a door like that of Khân ez Z'bîb. In the (modern) wall opposite, on

the other side of the street, there is a fragment of mediæval cornice built in, which extends over several yards. Here is a profile of it.

Nabataean Inscription from the Land of Moab.—I managed to find the owner of the inscription from the Balkâ, which an inhabitant of Jâlûd had previously mentioned to me as existing at Nâblus.*



Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

After making some difficulties, the bakkâl who had it in his possession consented to show me into his back-parlour, where he had hidden it beneath a heap of flour. It was the former governor Mohammed Sa'îd Pasha who had had the stone fetched, and Sheikh R'meîh el Fâez of the Beni Sakher that brought it. Five hundred mejidiehs was the price asked. As they could not come to terms, the Sheikh deposited it with the bakkâl.

I recognized at first glance the Nabataean inscription of Umm er Resâs, of which my Bedouin had brought me a poor squeeze at the time of the negotiations about the Moabite stone. Delighted to meet this old acquaintance, I hastened to make a good squeeze.

The stone is a hard basalt, analogous to that of the Moabite stone. It measures 0^m·40 high by 0^m·38 broad and 0^m·20 thick. The inscription consists of five lines, the last of which is mutilated, as are the ends of the four others. Nevertheless, taking it as a whole, it reads well enough. It is the epitaph of Abdmalku, son of Obaisu, the strategos, made by his brother Yaamru, the strategos. I have since shown, in a monograph† to which I can only refer the reader, that this inscription, which came from the district about Madeba, was of the greatest value for Jewish history, inasmuch as the strategos Yaamru must be considered to belong to the family of the *Sons of*

* See *supra*, p. 305.

† *Journal Asiatique*, May, June, 1891, p. 538, *et seqq.* Thanks to the fresh squeezes that I took of this inscription at Nâblus, I have managed to decipher completely the fifth line, which until lately had resisted all attempts. It furnishes us with the exact date of the inscription. Here is the transcription:—

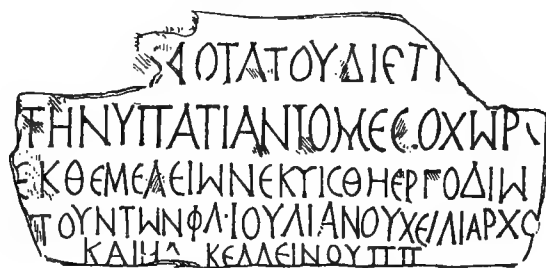
דא נפש עבד מלכו | בר עבישו אסרתנא | די עבד לה יעמרו | אסרתנא אחוהי | בשנת 1 (or 2)
למלכו ומלכא מלך נבטו

The translation is as follows: "This is the sepulchre of Abdmalku, son of Obaisu, the strategos, which was made for him by Yaamru, the strategos, his brother, in the 1st (or 2nd) year of King Malku, King of Nabatene." King Malku is Malchus III. The monument therefore belongs to the year 9 or 10 A.D. (See the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, part II, tom. I, No. 195.)

Jambri (= *Benê Yaamru*), established at Madeba,* which plays an important part in the tragic episode which is narrated at length in the first book of Maccabees (ix, 32-42).

Greek Inscription.—In the wall of a house in the quarter called *Hâr't es Samara*, I noticed a Greek inscription in five lines which had been built in after the wall was originally erected. I took a copy and a good squeeze. I afterwards found that it had already been noticed by M. Renan,† who published it, with learned observations by M. Léon Renier. It relates to the construction of a building, perhaps of a military nature, here called *μεσοχώριον*‡ (“central fortress”?), under the direction of two officers of the Roman army, the tribune Flavius Julianus§ and the primipilus Marcellinus, and under the superior command of a *consularis* of Palestine whose name was contained in the first line, which unluckily is missing.

The characters, M. Renan says, appear to be of the fourth century.



GREEK INSCRIPTION AT NÂBLUS.

M. Renan reads it thus :—

.....[διαση]μοτάτου || διέπο[ντος] τὴν ὑπατίαν, τὸ μεσοχώρι[ον]¶ ἐκ θεμελείων ἐκτίσθη, ἐργοδιω[κ]τούντων Φλ. Ἰουλιάνου χειλιάρχ[ου] καὶ Μαρκελλείνου ππ.

* Another very important Nabataean inscription has since been discovered at Madeba itself. (See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, loc. cit., No. 196):

† *Mission en Phénicie*, p. 808.

‡ My squeeze confirms the reading of the first three letters *μεσ*, about which M. Renan was still doubtful; on the other hand it indicates an *ο* rather than *ι* after the *ρ*.

§ I find a tribune of the same name as ours, Julianus, and belonging to the legion XIV Gemina, mentioned in a Greek inscription at Soueidâ (in Batanæa), which is only known from a bad copy in Burckhardt (cf. Waddington, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie*, No. 2316a). This legion moreover does not appear to have even been garrisoned in Syria. I find yet another Julianus in a Greek inscription from Auranitis (Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2407), centurion of the IV Scythian Legion, which, on the contrary, actually was quartered in this province.

¶ *Διασημότατος* corresponds to the official title in the Roman protocol: *prefectissimus*.

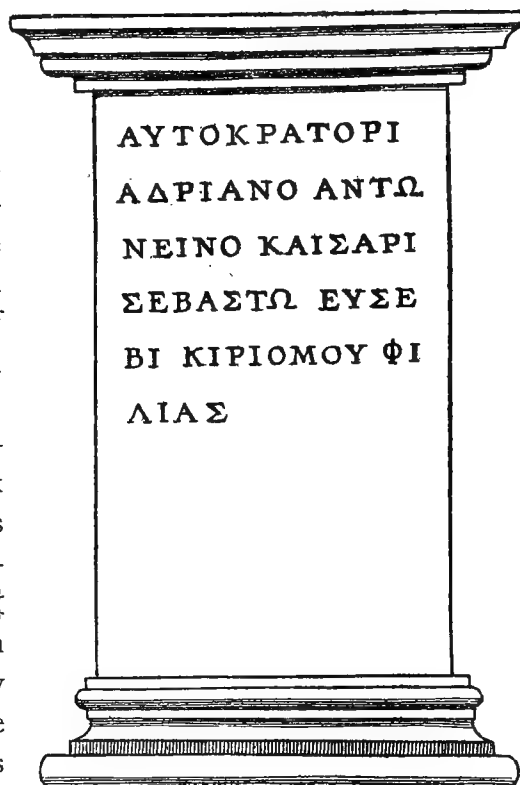
¶ See remarks in the note above.

" . . . the most perfect such-a-one exercising the consular functions, the Mesochorion (?) was built from top to bottom, the operations being directed by Flavius Julianus, tribune, and (Flavius?) Marcellinus, primipilus."*

What was the building called *Mesochoron* or *Mesochorion*? Perhaps, as is shown by its name and the military functions of the persons entrusted with building it, a "central fort," designed to hold in check the Samaritan population of Neapolis, which was always inclined to insurrection. If we could bring the inscription down to the 5th century, which is perhaps not palæographically impossible, we might be inclined to think of the fortress erected on Mount Gerizim in consequence of the terrible Samaritan revolt which broke out under the Emperor Zeno.†

Another Greek Inscription.—

Nâblus must contain another Greek inscription of great interest, which was noticed there at the end of the sixteenth century by J. van Kootwyck.‡ I have made a fruitless search for it on the spot. As it has been completely lost to sight by savants for three centuries past,§ I think it may be as well to draw attention to it, by pointing out to future explorers, who will perhaps be more fortunate than I have been, how it may be found again. It is a large marble base, moulded at top and bottom, which was built into the wall of an old tower on the left or south side of the street, in the new bazaar (*in Bazarro novo*), in the western part of the town. The Flemish traveller gives a drawing of it, which is doubtless correct, but only contains unfortunately the beginning



INSCRIPTION SEEN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
AT NÂBLUS.

* Or *præpositus*, as M. Egger preferred. The two π π do in fact lend themselves to this restoration.

† Procopius, V, 7. Malala, xv, 567.

‡ *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*; Antwerp, 1619, p. 431.

§ It does not appear in the *Corpus Inscr. Græc.*, nor in the *Recueil* of M. Waddington.

of the inscription, the remaining characters being too much worn, he says, for him to decipher them. Here (p. 319) is a *fac-simile* of the cut he gives.

The proper reading is, correcting a few slight faults made in copying :—

Αὐτοκράτορι Ἀδριαν(ῶ) Ἀντωνέινῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Εὐσεβί

“To the Emperor Hadrian Antoninus Cæsar Augustus, the Pious, ...”

I will not venture to transcribe the words following, which have evidently been wrongly read, on account of the worn state of the inscription, and, what is worse, read by someone who thought he understood them. A naïvely faithful copy of the strokes that were visible would have been better. Several possible restitutions present themselves, in conformity with the known formulæ,* but in such a doubtful case I prefer to refrain.

It was evidently a dedication to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, in whose name also those splendid coins were struck at Neapolis, bearing a representation of the temple built a few years before by Hadrian on Mount Gerizim.

It is well known what clemency Antoninus showed the Jews, and the Samaritans were doubtless no less well treated. It was natural enough that they should have testified their gratitude by an official dedication; the object dedicated is more likely to have been an altar than a statue, in the latter case the accusative would have been used instead of the dative.

Sundry Antiquities.—While walking about the bazaar, I saw a few interesting small antiquities in the possession of the goldsmiths, notably several intaglios, of which I took impressions. One of these appeared to me to be of exceptional worth. Some years later I managed to acquire the



INTAGLIO FROM
NÂBLUS.

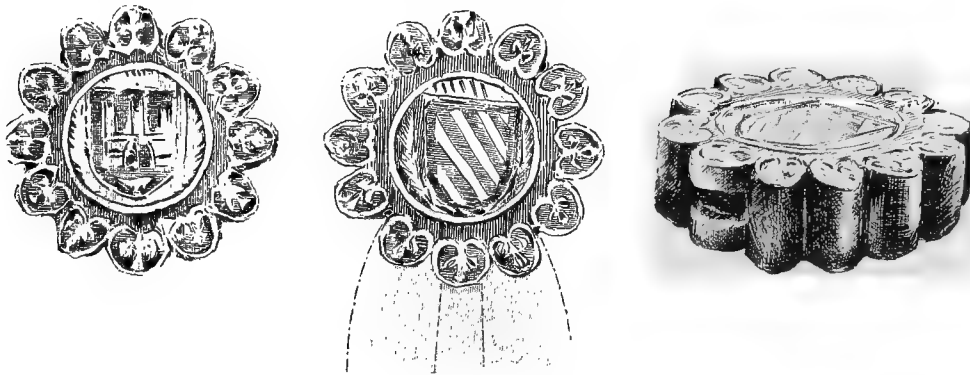
original, an exorbitant price being then asked for it.† Here is a *fac-simile* enlarged from the impression. It is a flat carnelian, ellipsoidal in shape, the larger diameter being 0^m·008. It has a design cut on it with some rudeness but much character, representing a personage of Egyptian appearance standing, seen in profile, and walking to the left, dressed in a tunic descending to the middle of the legs, bare-headed, his hair long, plaited, and hanging behind. The two arms are stretched out in front; the right hand appears to be holding a sort of short stick (a commander's bâton?); a fracture

* For example: κυρίῳ μου, φιλίας [. . . . ἔνεκα . ? . .

† I gave up the gem to M. Löytved of Beyrouth, and it afterwards went to the Berlin Museum.

in the stone prevents this detail from being clearly recognized. In front of him is a symbol placed upright, in the shape of a Y with a very long stem. Behind are three Phœnician letters, cut backwards, so as to give an impression the right way, which thoroughly proves that this gem was used as a seal. The first letter has an acute angle like a *gimel*, but a *gimel* does not lend itself to any possible combination with the two letters following, which, for their part, are certain; this cannot therefore be anything but a *phe*. This gives פקה *Pekah*. This proper name, signifying "vigilance," is quite Israelite. It occurs in the Bible assigned to a celebrated personage, the Captain of *Pekahyah*, King of Israel, who bore almost the same name as his master. He was a soldier of fortune, who usurped the throne after having slain Pekahyah at Samaria. If the son of Remalyah* ever had a seal, it must have been remarkably like this, and if it is rash to regard it as his, it is allowable at any rate to look upon it as that of some contemporary of his who bore the same name.

— The same goldsmith had a small object† of quite another character and



CRUSADING RELIC.

period, a genuine relic of the Crusades, and very interesting in its way. This

* The name *Remalyahu* occurs on two other archaic Israelite seals that I have already mentioned in a special memoir: one of a woman, *Neehabat*, daughter of *Remalyahu*, and the other of a man, probably of the same family as the latter, *Remalyahu*, son of *Neryahu*. I give this reading *Remalyahu*, so as to conform with the reading of the Bible text, which has *Remalyah*, with a *resh*, but I have shown by the aid of these very seals, which are much earlier than the period when we find the Septuagint using the form *Ῥομελίας*, that the primitive reading of the text was probably *Demalyahu*, with a *daleth*, and that the name ought to be thus transcribed from our seals, and the Bible form *Remalyah* corrected into *Demalyah*.

† I afterwards managed to acquire it.

was a small disk of great thickness (about 1^{cm.}), 0^m 038 in diameter, made of enamelled bronze, having its edge milled with twelve rounded notches.

On one side is seen a shield, having in it a *châtel* of blue enamel or azure turreted, with a draw-bridge, or rather a double gate. The shield is inscribed in a circular border of crosslets and fleurons occurring alternately on the notches of the edge. On the other side, within a similar border, is another shield, cotted with enamel of no particular colour and with azure. The edges are of red enamel or gules, to speak the language of heraldry, for the character of these ornaments is indubitably heraldic. The *châtel* is also *maçonné* gules. I suppose that the field, which has been worn down till the brass shows beneath, may originally have been of gold or silver, more probably of gold. The design is certainly formed of armorial bearings, arranged in a way strongly reminiscent of those on certain seals of Crusaders that have come down to us. I would instance a comparison with a seal of Gerard, Viscount of Tripoli,* on which there appears on one side a shield of the same form as those under discussion, charged with fasces, surrounded by the legend *S(igillum) Gira(r)di vicecomitis*, and on the other a turreted *châtel* with the legend *Civitas Tripolis*; that is to say, the individual emblem side by side with the attributive emblem of the functionary, his name and quality, or rather his condition, symbolically expressed; to put it shortly, his arms accompanied by the representation of the city of which he was Viscount. The heraldic field not being there, it is difficult to read with accuracy the shield represented on the object in question, which must have belonged to some Frankish seigneur who died in Palestine. There suggest themselves, among others, the arms of Crillon (Balbis-Berton), which are cotted with gold and azure. Several members of this family repeatedly took part in the Crusades. However, I do not lay any stress on this identification.

This object is not without elegance of workmanship; what can have been its use? The answer is not doubtful; it was the pommel of a dagger. There is still visible in one of the notches the hole for inserting silk. I have marked by dotted lines the way in which the pommel may be supposed to have been joined to the handle of the weapon. In 1881 I found the pommel of a dagger exactly similar, at Jerusalem, only it had eight notches instead of twelve, and had not any real armorial bearings on it, but simply an emblematical flower, though this perhaps was of an heraldic nature.†

* Drawn in Paoli *Codice Diplomatico*, I, pl. IV, No. 40.

† Clermont-Ganneau, *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie*, p. 65, No. 22. A third pommel of a dagger, of the same kind, also from Palestine (from Saida, it is said), has been

ENVIRONS OF NÂBLUS.

Ėmâd ed Dîn.—We went first of all to visit the sanctuary of Ėmâd ed Dîn, on the mountain rising to the north of Nâblus, and representing the Mount Ebal of tradition. The interior is daubed all over with votive henna. In a second chamber is a large cenotaph covered with white plaster; at the foot of it was a broken pot with cinders and incense, bearing witness to the veneration in which the holy man is held. It is said that there is a ruin above the sanctuary. When any good man has met with a misfortune, he comes and spends the night in the wely, and lies down to sleep by the tomb. The saint—he is still living—then appears to him and brings him gold from his treasure, which the worshipper finds under his head when he wakes. Ėmâd ed Dîn, or, as he was often called, Sultân Ėmâd ed Dîn, was the brother of Mujîr ed Dîn, whose tomb is below his own, at the foot of the mountain, in the valley. Both were kings, and had a sister, Sitt S'leîmiyeh (سليمية), whose sanctuary is not far distant, to the south-east, and has given its name to the mountain.

Sitt S'leîmiyeh.—To get here, we had a very tough climb over rocks, prickly cactus, dry stone walls, and so on. At the foot of a rocky scarp is seen an irregular-shaped cavern, and above, a hole, whence a piece of wood projects: this, it is said, is the end of the coffin (*tabbût*) of the holy woman. All round the tomb are quantities of holes for putting lamps in. Sitt S'leîmiyeh, according to the Mussulmans, was a prophetess, who died at Dâmascus or Cairo. When she was placed in her coffin and they were going to bury her, she flew away, coffin and all, and came and alighted in a hole in the rock on the top of the mountain at Nâblus, to which mountain she gave her name. This is the coffin, of which one end is seen protuding out of the rock. At a late time, a man who attempted to go up there and examine it closely, was struck with blindness for the sacrilege. This curious legend belongs to the fabulous cycle of the flying nebys, which I have several times had occasion to refer to, and which is a relic of ancient Semitic myths. It is possible that the story of Sitt S'leîmiyeh contains some reminiscence of

described by M. Schlumberger (*Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1878, p. 78). It has only ten notches; on one side it displays a *châtel* with three towers, not unlike the one on the pommel from Nâblus, on the other side a griffin. I have likewise seen another, which came, it is said, from Aleppo, in the collection of M. Gay at Paris.

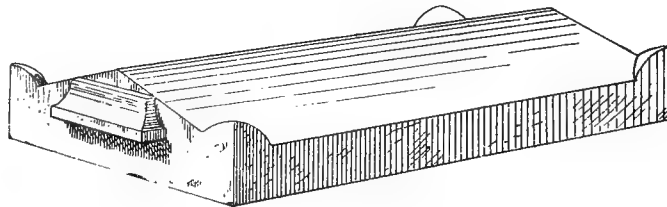
the dove which the Jews, rightly or wrongly, accused the Samaritans of worshipping on Mount Gerizim.

El''neîs.—At the top of the mountain, just above 'Askar, is a ruin called *Khûrbet el''neîs* ;* others pronounce it *Kuneîseh*, "the little church." The first pronunciation, as I took it down, involves the existence of an original form قنيس, which may be for قليس, coming directly from the Greek ἐκκλησία, while كنيسة is an old Semitic word.

Rijâl el 'Amûd.—The sanctuary is held in extreme veneration by the Mussulmans. We found there a box for the offerings of the faithful. A tomb of a "son of Mahomet" is shown there. It was at this place that Adam prayed for the first time. A green column sprung up there. At a later time forty nebys were buried there, whence the name of *Rijâl el 'Amûd*, "the men of the column."

Balâta.—Between the barracks and the little village of Balâta, at the foot of Mount Gerizim, I noticed in passing an ancient tomb, consisting of a deep rectangular trough hewn out in the rock, open to the sky, and without any trace of grooving on the edges. Length 1^m·85, breadth 0^m·70, depth 0^m·95. It must originally have been covered with a large block.

At Balâta I saw, in the house of a fellâh, a cover of a small sarcophagus, which, considering the scantiness of its dimensions, must have been really more like an ossuary. It has a roof-shaped top, adorned at the four corners with *acroteria*, and one of its ends is furnished with a projecting appendage which is exactly reproduced in the drawing below :



LID OF SARCOPHAGUS AT BALÂTA.

The name Balâta at first sight looks as if it might be quite naturally explained by the Arabic word *balâta*, "paving-stone." It has, however, been thought that it might correspond to the Arabic word *Ballût*, "oak," which is of Aramaic origin, and so represent the sacred oak of the Shechemites (Judges ix, 6), which even in Eusebius' time was shown in the suburbs of Neapolis, by the tomb of Joseph. It should be noticed that Yâkût vocalises this name

* The sign " represents the *kâf* (ق) as dropped in the Syrian pronunciation.

Bulâta, a fact that would tend to support this conjecture. On the other hand, he certainly mentions the traditional tree distinctly, when he says that the tomb of Joseph, who was buried at Bulâta, is under "the tree" (*esh Shadjara*); this is evidently the *Shajar el Kheîr* of the Arabic version of the Samaritan chronicle, which is a translation of *ilanah tabah* ("the good oak"). Yâkût further locates here a spring of *Khidr*, which is the name, though it has now died out in local tradition, of the fine spring of Balâta with its ancient structures. I wonder whether by chance the name Balâta could be connected with that of the famous *Sanballat*, the satrap of the king of Persia who ruled over the Samaritans of Shechem, and who is credited, in a legend that Josephus gives a confused account of, with founding the temple on Mount Gerizim, the rival of the one at Jerusalem.

Well of Jacob.—The natives declare that there is a subterranean conduit uniting the Well of Jacob with the Sanctuary of Sheikh Ghânem on Mount Gerizim.

'Askar.—At 'Ain 'Askar there is a long tunnel, partly of masonry, with water running along it. We got into this, but were not able to follow it out to the end.

It was proposed long since to identify 'Askar with the *Sychar* of the Gospel, which itself appears to be a corruption of *Sichem*. The prothesis of the 'ain in front of the sibilant initial, is quite in conformity with the phonetic processes of Syrian Arabic. The name in this form is an ancient one: Yâkût speaks of the village of 'Askar ez Zeîtûn ("Askar the olive-tree") near Nâblus. In this state it greatly resembles the well-known Arabic word 'askar, "army, soldiers," which, I think, has a similar origin, and helps to confirm the onomastic identification of *Sychar* and 'Askar, for I regard the word 'askar as being derived, if not directly, at least through Aramaic or other intermedials, from the Hebrew *sakar*, "to hire," *sakîr*, "mercenary soldier,"* etc., with prothesis of the 'ain which has occurred under the same conditions as in the case of the place-name. These two parallel cases seem to me to explain each other.

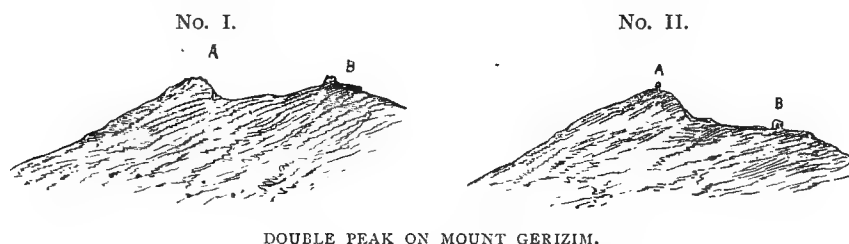
Mount Gerizim.—We paid the regulation visit to Mount Gerizim, and examined the various ruins there, which have been often described. The few observations I made there in the course of this rapid survey are no great addition to those of my predecessors. I made a note in my memorandum-book

* Cf. *eshkar*, akin to *shakar*, in which form the prothesis starts with *aleph*, whence to 'ain is a natural transition (*Ashkelon* = 'Askalân).

that the great apse of the octagonal church, and even the side chapels, might have been a subsequent addition to an older building. This impression of mine would perhaps have been removed by a more attentive examination, but I think I had better mention it, of course with all due reserve, if only to provoke some one into setting me right. In front of the birkeh is a well called *Bîr er Resâs*, which, so legend declares, is in communication with the Well of Jacob in the valley.

I must say that I was particularly struck by the appearance of the conical mound situated to the north of the traditional site of the Samaritan temple. People concern themselves too exclusively perhaps about this latter site. This mound, which bears the rather insignificant name of *Tâhûnet el Hawâ*, "the windmill," seems to me to have been wonderfully well adapted for the site of one at least of the temples that succeeded each other on the summit of Mount Gerizim.

Here are two sketches of this double peak which I took from two standpoints and from different levels: I. From the Sanctuary of Ē'mâd ed dîn. II. From the Mussulman cemetery lying at the foot of the mountain of Sitt S'leîmiyeh; -A. Sheikh Ghânem, B. *Tâhûnet el Hawâ*.



I believe, moreover, that this mound is expressly represented on the coins struck at Neapolis in the name of the Roman emperors. These show the Holy Hill with its two summits, one surmounted by the temple built by Hadrian, the other by an ill-defined building. The first was approached by a staircase, represented on the coins as perpendicular, the other by a winding path. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux actually saw, and probably climbed this staircase, which, says he, had 300 steps in it. If the figures are correct, and if he means real steps, the length of a man's stride, we might manage by calculation to arrive at the height and distance of the portico, or colonnade, which, on the coins, seems to enclose a portion of the mountain-side, and from which the staircase leading to the temple doubtless started. This staircase may have led straight down from *Tâhûnet el Hawâ* towards *Rijâl el 'Amûd*. If this notion be accepted, the general view represented on the coins must

have been taken from a point lying north-north-west. It is even perfectly conceivable that the characteristic name *Rijâl el 'Amûd*, "the men of the columns," may contain some trace of allusion to the colonnade of the portico that must have stood not far away, on the lowest slopes of Mount Gerizim.

'Ayûn Sarîn.—Local tradition at Nâblus often speaks of a place in the neighbourhood called *'Ayûn Sarîn*, or *'Ayûn es Sarîn*, "the springs of Sarîn." It is situated, I was told, above Dawâimeh, and must be the place marked on the Map *'Ain Sarîn*, on the eastern side of Jebel et Tor, above Dawerta. According to the Samaritans, this is where judgments were held and where the Last Judgment will take place. The story goes that a Samaritan girl, a great beauty, having been accused of fornication by two Samaritan priests, whose lustful desires she had refused to gratify, was about to be condemned to be burned alive. The judge having happened to hear some children who were amusing themselves with playing at this *cause célèbre*, was struck by the ingenious method which the one who played the *cadi* adopted to ascertain the truth—he put a question to the accusers on a material point which produced contradictory answers. The judge, inspired by this childish wisdom, succeeded in breaking down the evidence of the slanderers. The innocence of the young girl was clearly established, and the two priests were burned instead of her at *'Ayûn Sarîn*. This, it will be recognized, is the story of Susannah, with a variant that is also found in one of the Arabian Nights.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

— There are at Nâblus a great number of baths, several of them of ancient construction, which would repay an attentive inspection, as the explorer might perhaps discover in them old materials utilized afresh. In one of these baths, belonging to the Tokân family, I was told there was an inscription hidden beneath a layer of mortar. I tried to find it, but without success.

The following is a list of these baths :—

- Hammâm *es Sumarâ* (old).
- „ *el Kâdhy* (new).
- „ *el Jedîdeh* (new).
- „ *el Beîdara* (ancient).
- „ *ed Derejeh* (the most ancient of all).
- „ *et Temîmy* (new).
- „ *el Khalîl* (old, now in ruins).

— Many of the Mussulman houses in Nâblus have over their doors long inscriptions painted in red, nearly all containing the same formula, and designed to inform the passer-by that the owner has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Here is one taken at hazard, which I will translate as a specimen:

“In the name of the gracious and merciful God. Victory comes from God, and the triumph is near; and he has announced to the Mussulmans that Paradise is theirs. Has made the pilgrimage to the House of God, to the Harâm, and has visited the tomb of Mohammed (to whom be blessings and salvation) the Hâjj Mustapha, son of the deceased Ahmed Karâkûsh. Consecration made the blessed day Monday, in the year 1288.”

— Here are a few notes, corrections and additions to Rosen's plan of Nâblus, from information acquired on the spot:—

Jebel Sitt S'leîmiyeh, with makâm not of masonry;

'Ain 'Askar (not *el 'Askar*);

'Ain Dafneh (not *defna*);

The tell formed of ashes is called *Malatôn*;

A fishpond called *Birket et Tawîreh* (الطيرة);

Habs ed Dam;

Khân ez Z'bîb;

el Kariôn (not *Kariûn*);

Ukâl et Tujjâr;

Mosques:—*Jâme' el Kebîr*;

„ *en Nasër*;

„ *el Hanâb'leh* (of the Hanbalites);

„ *es Sâtûr* (الصاطور);

„ *el Khadhrâ*;

„ *et Tîneh*;

„ *el Anbiâ*;

„ *el Masâkîn*;

„ *el Bek*.

ed Derwîshîyeh (tombs of Mussulman Santons).

— A fellâh at Sebüstieh had in his possession the head of a statue of black stone, that might be got for a mejidieh.

— Sem'ân Ishak, the present Latin curate at Râmallah, has in his possession an ancient censer found in the course of the excavations made in building the barracks at Nâblus.

— The Samaritan Yakûb Sheleby assured me that the true tomb of Joshua is at *Kifir Nimmâra* (I give his pronunciation of the name). I have not

been able to determine the position of this place. I found it mentioned in the Samaritan Chronicle in the form *Kefr Nemareh*, and perhaps also as *Tirath Nemareh*. According to others the tomb of Joshua is at 'Awertâ.* At Kefil Hâres is the tomb of Kifil, who is Caleb, son of *Yefenni* (*Jephunneh*).

— To the west of the town, at the place called *Sueîtereh* or *Shueît'reh*,† where there was formerly a convent called *Deir el Bondok*, two large columns, one of them adorned with a cross, are said to have been discovered some time ago during an excavation.

— Near 'Ain Dafneh are remains of ancient masonry and *dekâkîn*.

— Martin Bûlos, a mason by trade, while working at the repairs of the Nâblus barracks, saw in the foundation a column or pillar ('*amûd*), with an inscription, thirty inches long, in large characters, which, as he said to me, resembled those on the Moabite stone, specimens of which I showed him. Unfortunately the column was left where it was, and a wall has been erected upon it.‡

— A Mussulman living in Jerusalem, by name Abu s-S'ûd, told me that a cave had been recently discovered near Nâblus with several large sarcophagi and that one of them had been taken to the town and used as a trough (*rân*) for a fountain, the others being left in the cave.§

* The old Arab geographers also mention Joshua's tomb as being at 'Awertâ.

† I noticed that at Nâblus the *s* and the *sh* are frequently interchanged. Thus *shajara*, "tree," is often pronounced *sajara*.

‡ Note made in 1871 (Carnet IV, p. 29).—It was the same Martin who was once sent with some other workmen to cut out the *bas-relief* of Figû' (discovered in the land of Moab by M. de Saulcy, and presented to the Louvre by the Duc de Luynes). He assured me that the block was square, and the rear face perfectly smooth, without any trace of characters on it.

He saw at Karak, in the drystone wall (*jedar*) of one of the gardens round about the town, a magnificent block of black basalt, representing an eagle in high relief, the workmanship being of the same kind as that of the Figû' *bas-relief*, but of a superior kind. Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, etc., 1841, p. 111) say that they saw at Karak, "close to a well, a great wing sculptured in *basso-relievo*, bearing much resemblance to those which we had seen attached to the globe in Egyptian buildings." They did not notice in it any trace of a globe, and could form no idea of its intended use. This fragment, 7 ft. long and 4 ft. broad, belongs perhaps to the monument described by Martin, whose account is sufficiently in agreement with that of the two explorers to give it credibility.

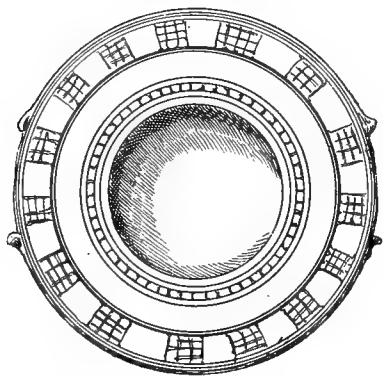
§ November, 1870, Carnet IV, p. 96. The same Mussulman told me also that he had seen at 'Ammân, on the north-eastern side of the town, the ruins of a building called by the Bedawîn *El Masbagha* ("the dyeing-house"), and that there were outside the ruins five or six large carved sarcophagi placed on benches (*mastaba*). This must be the remarkable tomb described in the *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, pp. 47, 48. The verification of this piece of information is a general witness to the veracity of Abou s-S'ûd, whose testimony I quote in Part I with regard to the ancient Arab archives of Jerusalem.

FROM NÂBLUS TO SEBŮSTIEH (SEBASTE).

We left Nâblus on the Saturday morning for Sebaste.

Zawâta.—We followed the water-course of Wâd esh Sh"ir as far as the little village of Zawâta, where we halted for lunch on the banks of a pretty little stream flowing northwards, with delicious watercress growing in it, quite a treat for our horses and ourselves. The inhabitants of the village brought me two antique objects, which I lost no time in acquiring.

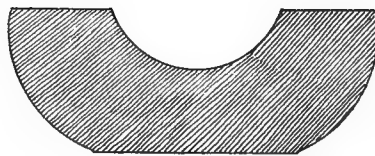
The first was a kind of small vase of very curious shape, made of marble, or rather hard white limestone, polished and carefully cut. It is a nearly hemispherical block, the lower part, from which a segment has been cut off, forming a wide base with a rim. On the sides two handles are carved in relief, lying very close to the rounded sides. On the flat side is a small cup-like depression, so that the whole looks like a kind of basin with an extremely thick edge. The *cupule* is surrounded by concentric incised circles, one ornamented with notches, that make it look as if it were, so to speak, graduated, the other with fifteen squares, each subdivided into twelve parts.



FRONT VIEW OF SMALL LIMESTONE VASE
FROM NÂBLUS (diameter 0m·86).



Side view.



Section (diameter of the central *cupule* 0m·04).

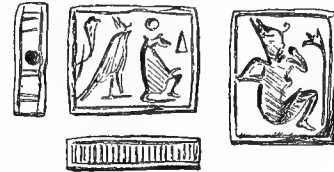
What can this strange object have been used for? Was it meant for libations of a religious character? It seems very small for such a purpose, and the capacity of the *cupule* is quite insignificant.* I wonder whether by chance it was a *sekôma*, that is to say, a standard of measure of capacity.

* $2\frac{1}{2}$ fluid drachms

A little later I found in the possession of a fellâh at Sebaste, and bought of him, a tiny fragment of an exactly similar vase. It may have come from the same place as the other; and matches it completely. So then we have not to deal with an isolated relic, but an object which must have been in tolerably general use.



The second ancient object that I got at Zawâta was a small rectangular *tessera* of Egyptian style, measuring 0^m·28 × 0^m·20, and pierced lengthwise to allow of its being hung on a string. The edges are milled. On one of the sides there is a representation of Anubis, crouching, his head surmounted with the disc, and having a pyramid-shaped mark in front of him; behind him is the hawk of Horus, wearing the double crown; lastly, there is a serpent, perhaps the image of the goddess Isis, serving to complete the divine triad. On the other side is seen Horus as a child (Harpocrates), crouching, carrying his hand to his mouth with the traditional gesture of the little god as he issues from the lotus-flower; in front of him is a lotus-stalk, bent. Judging by the style, M. Maspéro considers that the object must belong to the Ptolemaic period.



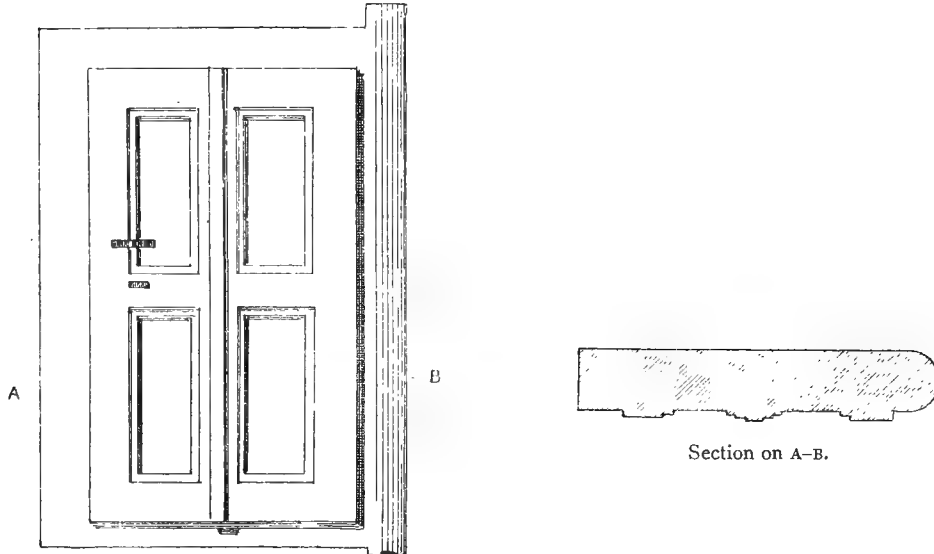
TESSERA OF EGYPTIAN STYLE
FROM NÂRLUS.

Sebaste.—At Sebaste, where we went to camp, we began by examining the ancient church of the Crusaders, principally with regard to tool-marks on the stones, and masons' marks. Most of the blocks with level facings have the normal diagonal striature. The concave facings of the courses in the apses also have it,* whilst in other Crusaders' churches, for instance in the church at Abu Ghôsh, the striated chisel-marks on the concave surfaces approach the vertical, as I have already remarked. The facing of the inner south wall has an admixture of stones with the "pock-marking;" in the outer facing of the same wall are several blocks which certainly have not the mediæval marking. The striature on the cylindrical shafts is normal, and tends to become nearly vertical.

M. Lecomte made a sketch of the stone door that lies on the ground in the crypt of Neby Yahyâ (St. John the Baptist), and once perhaps closed the entrance to it. It is made of basalt, and divided into four panels handsomely carved. Two projecting hinges have been left at top and bottom, the upper

* As in the church at El Bîreh (see *supra*, p. 284).

one longer than the lower. The door has been pierced, after setting up, with two holes intended to receive a bolt. The character of the stone would appear to indicate that it was brought ready hewn from the Haurân, where basalt doors of this kind are frequently met with.



ELEVATION OF STONE DOOR AT NEBY YAHYÂ, SEBASTE.
Scale, $\frac{1}{30}$.

The two rows of three loculi constructed in the wall at the back were perhaps surmounted by a third row, which would make the original number of loculi to be nine.

Sarcophagi.—In the course of exploring the western slopes of the hill on which Sebaste was built, we came across a great number of vats and lids of sarcophagi belonging to the Greco-Roman period. There was at this place a burying-ground, of some size, traversed by the ancient road, which ascended to the colonnade, and to-day even passes between the ruins of what appear to be *propylæa*, marking one of the principal entrances to the city. To judge by the number of the tombs we saw dotted over the surface, a great quantity of them must yet be hidden in the ground, and if excavations were undertaken at this spot the result would be certainly some interesting finds. All the covers are of the same type, being ornamented with *acroteria* at the four corners and occasionally on the long sides. Several of the vats have an ornamental pattern on them. The vats and the covers are of limestone. Here follows a list of those we observed, in their order as I noted them in my field-book.

Just at the foot of the hill, fragments of an enormous sarcophagus with a head-rest and a piece of a cover, near the mouth of a cistern.

Some fifty yards higher up, another sarcophagus, with a roof-shaped cover. Yet higher, as you mount towards the right, is another group of fragments of sarcophagi, one of them carved on one of its longer sides.

A little to the left of the first sarcophagus, fragments of a cover and of a fine cornice. Further on still to the left, a fine cover. A little below to the left, another cover. Further on to the left, near a clump of olives, a third cover.

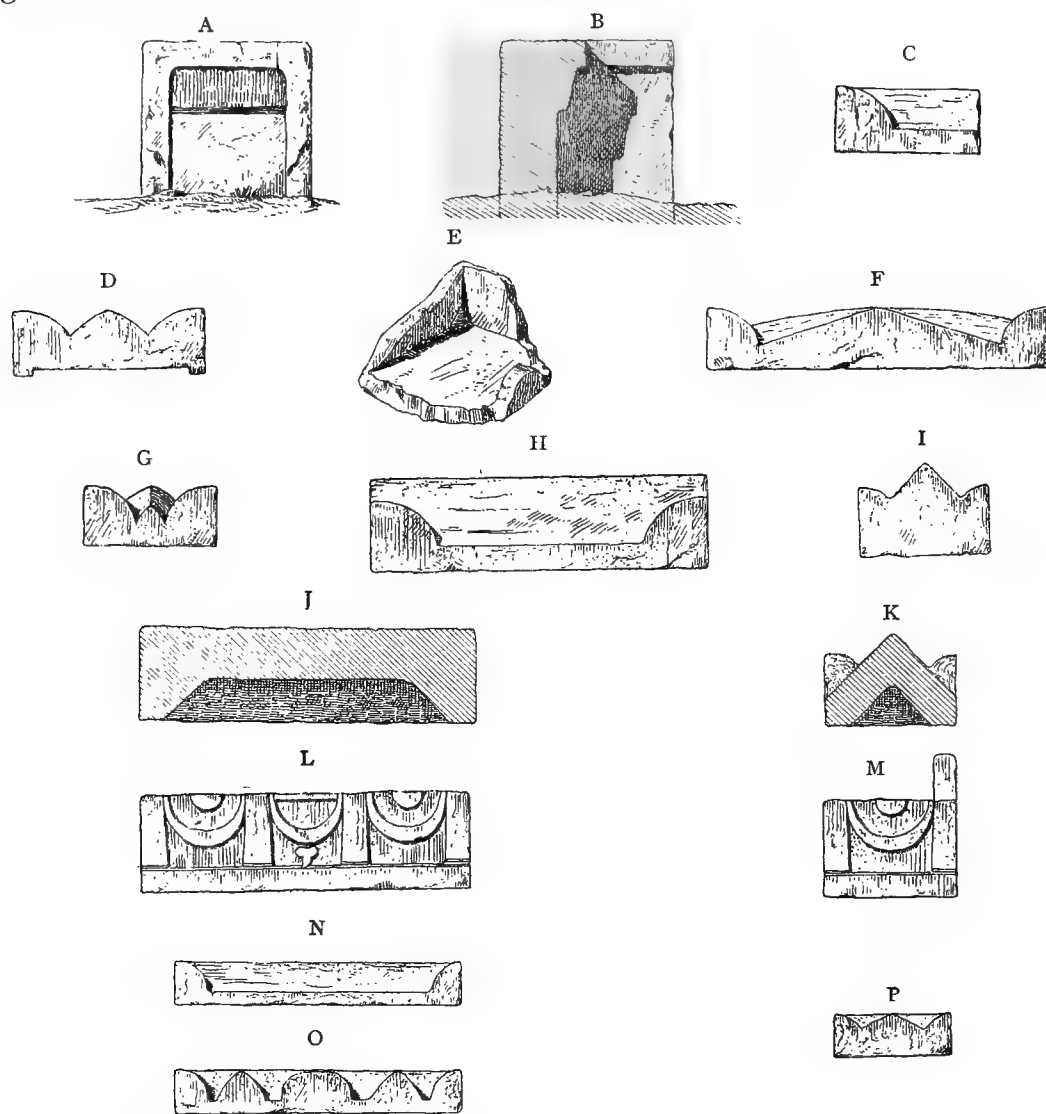
To the left of the road, yet another group of covers and vats. Not far from there, a fragment of an arm of a colossal statue.*

I had some of the covers turned over, and several half-buried vats cleared out, in the hope of finding some inscription, but to no purpose.

The cemetery was not confined to the west ; it must have extended over the other side. In fact, I found more or less mutilated vats and tomb-covers on the hill opposite, in the direction of the Arab aqueduct, and as far as the neighbourhood of Beit Imrîn.

* The existence of colossal statues at Sebaste is attested by a magnificent marble head found some years ago, and taken by me to the Louvre in 1882. (See my *Rapports sur une Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie*, Rapport No. 5, p. 58, Plate II, A.) It is a woman's head, in the best Greek style, measuring 0^m·30 from the chin to the roots of the hair. The fragment of an arm now under discussion perhaps belonged to the same statue. I regret that we did not make a drawing of it, or at all events make a note of the kind of stone.

Here are a few specimens of these various funerary remains, which will give an idea of the rest :—



SPECIMENS OF FUNERARY REMAINS SEBASTE. Scale $\frac{1}{80}$.

Fragment of sarcophagus (with head-rest), sunk vertically in the ground :

- A. Elevation.
B. Section.

Fragment of a cover :

- C. Short side.
D. Long side.

Fragment of sarcophagus, E.

- Cover : F. Long side.
G. Short side.
Cover : H. Long side.
I. Short side.

J. Longitudinal Section.

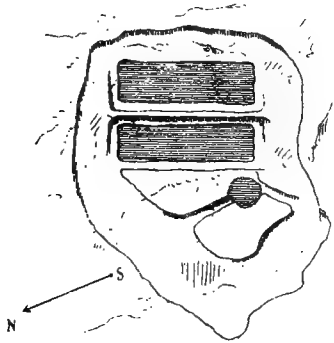
K. Transverse Section.

Sarcophagus with decorated sides (upper part mutilated) :

- L. Front.
M. Side.

- Cover : N. One of the longer sides.
O. The other longer side.
P. Short side.

Finally, about 100 yards to the east of Sebaste, we found a twin rock-hewn burial cave open to the sky, with a small round hole, also rock-hewn. A groove running round the edges of the two graves, which are rectangular, and separated by a partition of rock, was intended to fit close to the two blocks that served as covers.

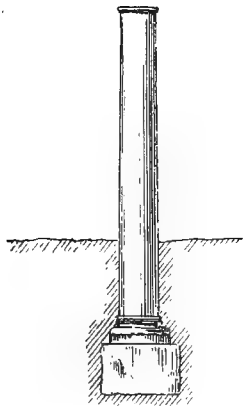


PLAN OF ROCK-HEWN BURIAL CAVE, SEBASTE. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.



TRANSVERSE SECTION.

I made my men clear out one of the columns in a long rectangular group there was of them, in order to ascertain the character and take a side-view of the base, all the colonnades at Sebaste being at the present day deeply sunk in the soil. The result of the excavation is appended :—



ONE OF THE COLUMNS AT SEBASTE CLEARED TO ITS BASE, AND SHOWING PRESENT LEVEL OF SOIL. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.



PROFILE OF THE BASE.. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

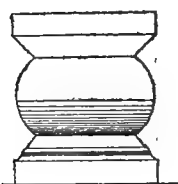
The base itself rests on a bed of hewn stone.

At another spot in the ruins—I cannot indicate it precisely—we found a quadrangular base. The very peculiar shape of this base strikingly recalls

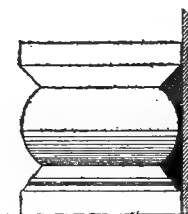
that of a base of large size discovered at Jerusalem near the arch called Ecce Homo. Below is a detailed drawing of the latter.

There is a certain dissimilarity between the profiles of the lower mouldings, but that is all.

Legends.—Sebaste, the natives say, was formerly called

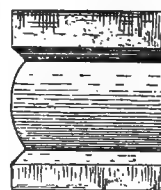


Front, height 1m. 18.



Side face.

BASE OF COLUMN AT THE ECCE HOMO
ARCH (JERUSALEM).



Height, 0m. 60.

Falastîn el Kubrá, "Falastîn the Great" (to distinguish it from the usual Falastîn Ramleh).^{*} It was the town of Queen Helena, and she it was who brought the water from Nâblus to Sebaste. When the work was ended, she said in the church, "I have brought the water with my money and my men," forgetting in her pride to add, "with the help of God." To punish her, God caused the water to disappear (*khasaf*) at the village of Nâkûra, at 'Ain Hârûn. I must confess that I do not quite grasp the meaning of this last detail in the legend. As a whole, it may be a faint memory of the floods by means of which, according to Josephus, John Hyrcanus completed the destruction of the town when he took it after a long siege.

This legend was narrated to me by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, called Beit Imrîn and also *Beit Nimrîn*.[†] This last variant is confirmed by the existence of an eponymous saint, *Neby Nimrîn*, whose sanctuary lies at the bottom of the village.

Mediæval Topography.—In the north-west vicinity of Sebaste is a whole group of villages of particular interest with regard to the historical geography of the Crusades and the ancient Arabic statements. I have written a separate account of them, and can only refer the reader to it.[‡] I will merely add here that the village of *Fendakûmiyeh* appears to me to be mentioned by Yâkût (in the marginal annotations to the *Marâsed*), only in an altogether mutilated form, which misled Mr. Guy Le Strange: "*Funaidik Damâyah*, a village belonging to and lying among the hills of Nâblus."[§] Any one who will consider the

^{*} Cf. *supra*, p. 195.

[†] Cf. the Samaritan *Kefr Nemareh* before alluded to (p. 329).

[‡] Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* (1888), p. 326, et seqq.: *Entre Ladj-djotin et Sebaste*. I wish to point out in particular the identification I suggest for the casals *Age*, *Loie* or *Loia*, *Tare* or *Lathara*, *Fendecumia*, *Seletes*, *St. Samuel*.

[§] *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 441.

original Arabic form given in Lord Lindsay's manuscript, فنيدق دمايه, which Mr. Le Strange servilely transliterates *Funaidik Damâyah*, will easily convince himself that this form must represent a primitive form فيندقومايه, *Faindekûmeia*. By the aid of this slight correction we get the ancient spelling of the name of this spot, which tends to confirm the derivation proposed for it from Πεντακωμία "the five villages," the vocalization of the initial syllable Πε being ascertained by the combination فَيّ.

FROM SEBŪSTIEH (SEBASTE) TO LYDDA.

On Monday morning we quitted Sebaste, dropping south-west again in order to regain the direct road to Lydda, as I was in a hurry to get there in order to begin the excavations that I purposed making at el Midieh.

Deir Serûr.—At Beit Lîd we made a deviation so as to look at the ruins to which attention had been directed by Lieut. Conder, and which are entered on the Map under the name of Deir Serûr.

We did not notice there a single stone bearing the mediæval tool-marks. Below is the plan and section of a rather curious little rock-hewn tomb.



ROCK-HEWN TOMB AT DEIR SERÛR.

Sozusa.—The ruins are certainly those of a town of some importance in the Byzantine period. It has been proposed to identify Serûr with the ancient *Sozusa*, the seat of a bishopric. From the onomastic point of view there is no relation between the two names, the forms *Soscuris* and *Sorucis* that have been adduced in support of the theory, being wrong readings and in reality quite valueless. There is therefore plenty of room for guess-work concerning *Sozusa*. Here is a suggestion, or rather two, which I offer for criticism, without however claiming for them a certainty which they do not possess.

Frequent mention is made in the old Arabic writers of an important town situated between Cæsarea, Nâblus and Ramleh, and called *Kefer Sellâm*. The name of this town, which means literally "the village of the Saviour," offers a striking resemblance, as far as meaning is concerned, to the name of Sozusa, "she who saves," and one might be rather tempted to identify the two towns, which must have been in the same neighbourhood. Kefer Sellâm has long since disappeared, and unfortunately its name has not come to light or its site. We know that it cannot have been far from Kefer Sâbâ, and must have been on the direct road from Cæsarea to Ramleh.* This does not hold exactly good of Deir Serûr, which may be, if you will, the same as Sozusa, but cannot in any case be Kefer Sellâm. Of course, one of the consequences of the theory I have hazarded would be to nullify the proposed identification of Kefer Sellâm and Antipatris, wherever the latter town may be located. In order, however, to neglect no aspect of the question, I ought to mention a rather singular fact which would lead to the supposition that, setting aside the attempted identification with Kefer Sellâm, Sozusa might correspond to Arsûf. The Greek name of Arsûf was *Apollonias*, as is well known. Now there was in Cyrenaica a town of the same name, Apollonia, which during the Christian period changed its pagan name to this very name *Sozusa*; similarly in Thrace another Apollonia became *Sozopolis*. One is naturally led to inquire whether the same thing may not have happened to the Apollonias of Palestine, and whether, consequently, Arsûf may not be the bishopric of Sozusa. This onomastic transformation may possibly have been facilitated by the existence of the name Apollo *Soter*, "Saviour." However this may be, the noticeable fact remains that the town Apollonias-Arsûf, though of considerable importance, does not appear on the ecclesiastical lists, and that Sozusa is mentioned there in conjunction with Joppa, which would harmonize well enough with the geographical position of Arsûf.

In any case, whether this lost Kefer Sellâm be Sozusa or not, I think we

* Kefer Sellâm is mentioned in a mediæval document of the eleventh century under the name of *Carvasalim*, the context showing that the place could not be far distant from Ramleh. I hope I may be allowed here to claim the paternity of this latter identification, which was proposed by Mr. Schefer; I had suggested it to him at the time when he was printing the *Sefer-nâmeh* of Nâseré Khosrau. Dr. Sepp had gone altogether astray in wanting to identify Carvasalim with the village of Kefer Lâm, in the direction of 'Athlît. It is certainly the *Cafarsalem* mentioned in a mediæval charter of the year 1131 as existing in the country of Cæsarea, towards Kâkûn and Kalansaweh.

need scarcely hesitate to identify it with the *Kapharsalama** of I Maccabees and Josephus, where Nicanor was defeated by Judas, which has been hitherto sought for in vain. This makes it all the more regrettable that the name of Kefer Sellâm has disappeared from local tradition, and that we are left in such uncertainty as to its exact position. I believe that a fresh investigation on the spot would be the means of supplying this want and of recovering the lost name. I need hardly add that if Kefer Sellâm really is Kapharsalama, and if the two represent Sozusa, it becomes as impossible to identify Sozusa with Arsûf-Apollonias as Kefer Sellâm with Antipatris, Josephus clearly distinguishing between Capharsalama, Antipatris, and Apollonias.

This question is of extreme interest, but very complicated, and I do not pretend to go into it deeply. I merely think that I have introduced into it certain new data which will have to be reckoned with in order to arrive at a definite solution.

Appearance of the Fellahîn.—From the time of our leaving Sebaste I noticed a marked difference in the fellahîn of the country from those of the parts we had hitherto traversed. This difference extends even to the costumes, and particularly to the head-dress, which here consists of a tall tarbush flopping behind the head, not unlike the cotton cap of the Norman peasantry, except that it is red instead of white.

Kalkîlia.—From Deir`Serûr we proceeded without a halt to Kalkîlia, where the inhabitants gave us a most cordial welcome.

Kefer Sâbâ.—At Kefer Sâbâ I was told that the ancient name of the place was *Mulûk* (مَلُوك) *Sâbâ*. Quite near to this place and to Kalkîlia stand two sanctuaries side by side, one of Neby S`râka, the other of Neby Yamîn. The Jewish pilgrims of the 16th century speak of a so-called Tomb of Benjamin (which until that time was assigned by Jewish tradition to Rûma† to the north of Sepphoris) as existing at *Sarâka*. This legend evidently relates to these two sanctuaries: Neby Yamîn is the Benjamin in question, and Neby S`râka is the eponymous saint of an ancient locality,

* Cf. *The Kephâr Shalem* of the Talmuds, located at one time near Kushith or En Kushith, at another near Zagdor or Ogdor.

† Now *Khûrbet Rûneh*. The tradition attaching to this place has undergone curious variations and has changed patriarchs. 'Aly el Herewy locates there the tomb of Judah; the ancient Jewish pilgrims that of Benjamin, and then that of Reuben. With these substitutions before us, we see plainly in what an arbitrary way sacred tombs of this kind might have been assigned to various occupants. (Cf. my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I, pp. 323, *et seqq.*)

that was still in existence three centuries ago* under the name of *S'râka*, *Sarâka*.

Bîr 'Adas.—At Bîr 'Adas we made a fruitless search for an inscription which the fellahîn told us was to be found there.

Jiljûliâ.—We encamped at Jiljûliâ. Next day we passed by Râs el 'Ain, where I examined on the spot the question of Antipatris and other points connected with it. I intend in my turn to treat of it one day, as I have certain fresh data to introduce which it would take too long to set forth here.

Mejdel Yâbâ.—At Mejdel Yâbâ I copied the Greek inscription, which was first noticed by Van de Velde.



LINTEL WITH GREEK INSCRIPTION AT MEJDEL YÂBÂ.

Scale $\frac{1}{14}$.

It is carved within a cartouche with triangular auricles, on a great lintel, above the door of an old building now utilized as a stable.

The lintel is surmounted by an arch, which is very slightly pointed, has a keystone, and is blocked up. The incongruous position in which the lintel is placed would alone suffice to show that the whole arrangement is heterogeneous, and of no great antiquity, though the materials themselves are ancient.

The inscription can be read without difficulty: *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κηρύκου*, "Chapel of St. Kerykos."

St. Kerykos, according to Christian tradition, is a boy martyr, who was put to death together with his mother. His cult appears to have had some popularity in Palestine. According to Johannes Moschus† there was a church dedicated to him at *Phasilais* (*i.e.*, Phasaelis) near the Jordan.‡ Not

* Can it be the Birath *Serikah* (סריקה) of the Talmuds, which is located at one time in the neighbourhood of En Kushith or En Kushi, at another near Borgatha or Barkatha?

† *Pratum spirituale*, ch. 92. This perhaps is the place alluded to in the Roman Martyrologium under date of September 29th: In Palestina sancti Quiriaci anachoretæ. The names *Κήρυκος* and *Κυριακός* appear to have become confused. An inscription from Bosra in Nabatæa (Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 1920) mentions a monastery of St. Cyriac (*Κυριακός*).

‡ It is mentioned among the monasteries destroyed by the Arabs on the 28th of March, 809, between the laura of St. Chariton and that of St. Sabas (de Muralt, *Essai de Chronogr. Byzantine*, I, p. 392).

far from here are some ruins, which the fellahin say belong to an ancient church ; it was perhaps the martyrion to which the inscribed lintel belonged.

Neby Yahyâ.—On reaching Mezeir'a, we went to see the curious monument of Neby Yahyâ, which is not far distant, and is well known. We had to be content with examining the exterior of the ancient building, the interior happening at the time to be full of peasant women in a state of nudity, who had converted the place into a bath-house, and hailed us with screams of fright. Their perfect ugliness, I must say, was a complete justification for their modesty.

Mirage.—Between Rantieh and el Keniseh we observed to our right, in the vast plain that stretches westwards, a magnificent effect of mirage. I never saw this phenomenon in Syria exhibited with such intensity, and in so gorgeous a fashion.

LYDDA.

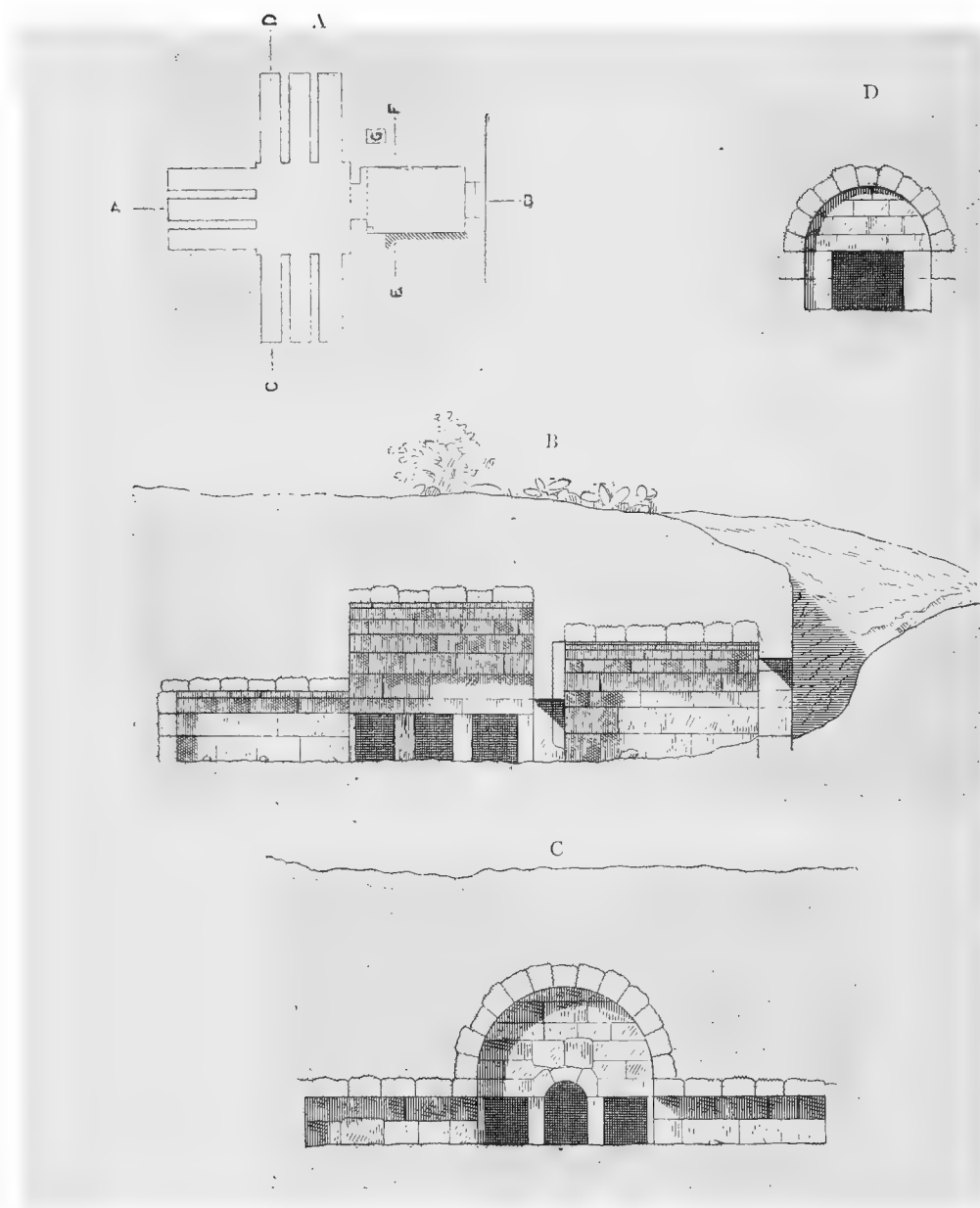
On arriving at Lydda we spent that night there, and also the whole of the next day and the night following. I made some more researches there, and append a *résumé* of them.

The Church.—We were going to make a fresh examination of the ruins of the church of St. George, who bears the title in Arabic of *El lâbes edh dhafar*, "robed in victory," a translation, apparently, of the proper epithet of this Saint, *τροπαιόφορος*, which alludes to his victory over the dragon. During this visit I further discovered traces of another pillar of the mediæval church, belonging to the outer northern row, beneath the eastern lewân of the present courtyard.

Ancient Jewish Sepulchre.—I next occupied myself with the ancient tomb at Lydda that I had explored in 1871,* being desirous of making an exact plan of it with the valuable assistance of M. Lecomte. I also wanted to have another look at the large ossuary with an inscription on it, of which I had formerly taken a squeeze, and to get possession of it, if that might be. After considerable hesitation, the owner of the garden where the tomb was agreed to let me make an excavation. This time, instead of getting in through a hole in the top, as I had had to do previously, we were able to get

* See *infra*, Appendix, p. 471.

in by the proper door, which was now cleared of the earth and stones that choked it up.



JEWISH MASONRY TOMB AT LYDDA. Scale $\frac{1}{200}$.

A. Plan of the tomb.*

B. Longitudinal section on A-B.

C. Cross section of the chamber with the loculi, on C-D.

D. Cross section of the antechamber, on E-F.

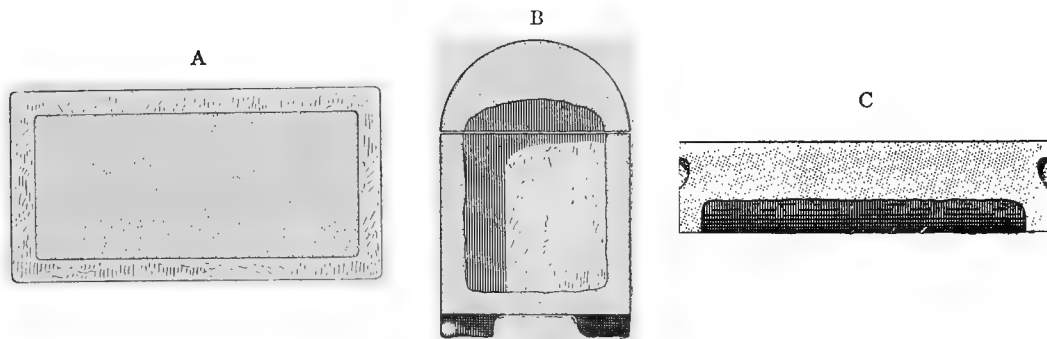
* At G there is a detail marked that I cannot remember the nature of, and I forgot to take a note of it.

The tomb consists of two chambers, entirely built of hewn stones and vaulted (semi-circular) roofs. The first chamber, which is reached by descending a flight of steps, was narrower and lower, had no loculi, and served in reality as an antechamber to the second, which forms the funerary room proper, and communicates with the first chamber by a square door. This structure never formed part of a building intended to project above the ground; it is subterranean, and reproduces in stonework the characteristic features of the Jewish rock-hewn sepulchres. The second chamber is square, covered with a vault appreciably higher than that over the antechamber, and is furnished on its three available walls with nine loculi or kokim arranged in threes. The openings of the loculi are square, with blocks above forming lintels, except in the case of the middle loculus of the back wall, which is covered by a small vault with a semi-circular top formed of three arch-stones.

I am inclined to think this last-mentioned loculus was the place of honour in a family tomb. I was assured that the ossuary, of which I am about to speak, was found in it. The general orientation of the tomb, according to my observation in 1871, is N. 30° E.

The whole of the interior is choked up with earth, which I could not get removed. In digging among it, I found a few fragments of ossuaries of soft stone, one with traces of ornamentation, and a small ring of blue glass.

As for the large inscribed ossuary, it is nearly intact, cover and all. Its dimensions exceed the usual ossuaries that I have come across in Palestine: it is over a yard in length. It approaches the size of a small sarcophagus, and



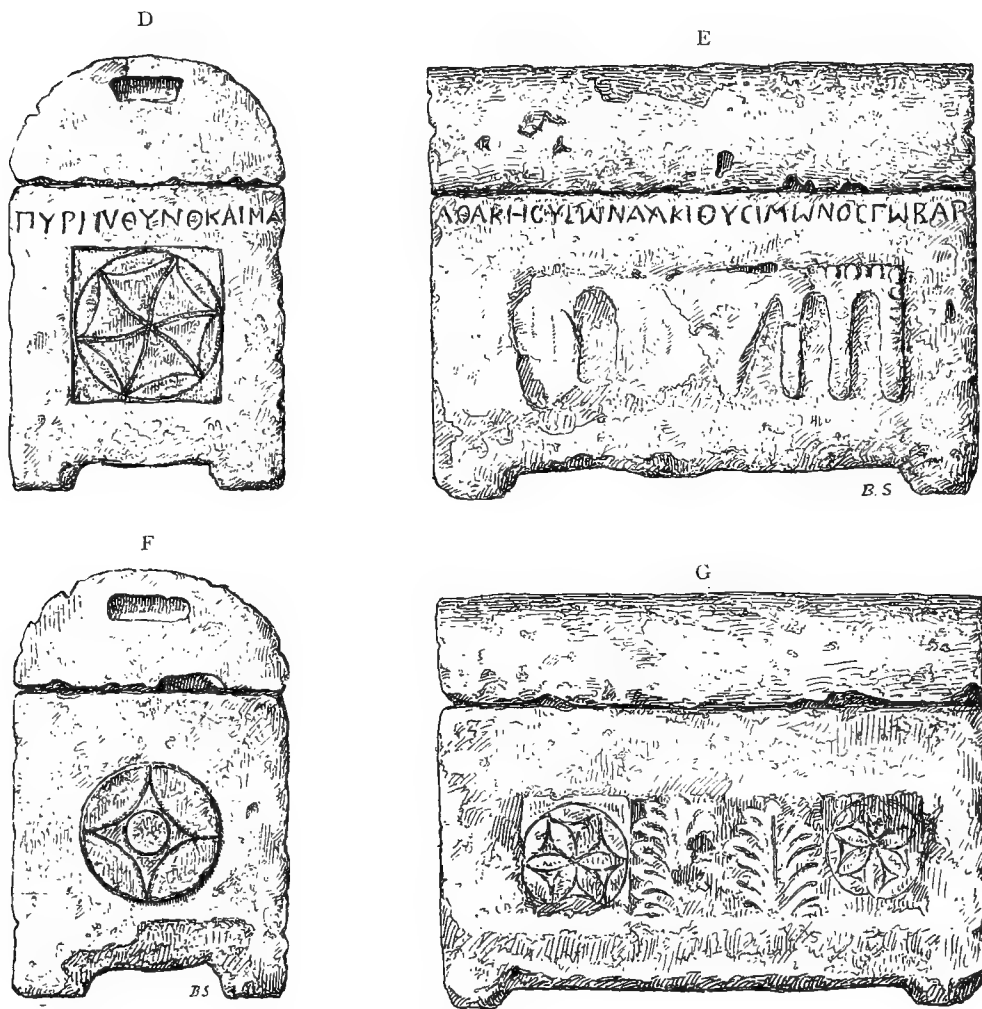
LARGE INSCRIBED OSSUARY FROM LYDDA. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

- A. Plan of the ossuary found at Lydda, without the cover.
- B. Cross section, with the cover on.
- C. Longitudinal section of the cover.

it is a fair question whether it was not really a sarcophagus intended for a child. I do not, however, think so, as it displays the chief characteristics of an

ossuary, only it is an ossuary of an unusual kind, both from its size, its decoration, and the importance of the inscription cut on it. The receptacle is mounted on four small feet forming part of the stone, which is a soft limestone. The cover is semi-cylindrical, hollowed out inside, and provided at the ends with two notches to help in moving it.

On the four sides are carved in semi-relief various decorative patterns.



The front side E (shown to be so by the position of the inscription about to be described) is ornamented with a sort of colonnade with high narrow arches, which appear to be incomplete, and has moreover suffered from the ravages of time. There was perhaps a design in the middle as well, but it is now impossible to determine this.

The two small sides, left and right (D and F), have two geometrical rosettes of different designs, the first of which is inscribed in a hollow square. The large rear side G displays two long upright palm-branches between two rosettes of geometrical pattern, different from the foregoing.

Finally, and this is the most interesting feature for us, a long Greek inscription is cut on the upper part of the receptacle, quite near the edge. It begins on the small side D, and continues along the side E. The copy formerly taken of it is incorrect and moreover incomplete, the whole of the beginning, which is on the small side, having escaped the notice of those who made the copy.

This is a transcription made from the squeeze and the copy that I took in 1871:

ΠΥΡΙΝΟΥΝ (?) ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΘΑΚΗΣ ΥΙΩΝ ΑΛΚΙΟΥ ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΓΩΒΑΡ

Πυρίνου ν(εωτέρου)? καὶ Μαλθάκης, υἱῶν Ἀλκίου Σίμωνος Γωβάρ.

“of Pyrinos (?) the younger (?) and of Malthake, sons (= children ?)
of Alkios (son of ?) Simon (son of ?) Gobar.”

Although there is no doubt worth speaking of as to the reading of the actual letters, except perhaps in the case of one or two, the interpretation of this text presents serious difficulties, connected with the names of the persons and the nature of the family ties that united them. I have marked these doubtful places by notes of interrogation on the above translation, which seems to me the most probable of all the combinations which might be imagined.

I hesitated a long time over the first name, which might conceivably be read Πυρίνου, perhaps even Πυρίνου, but finally rejected the latter reading after a careful examination of the original. The sixth character can only be an O, not a Θ with the stroke in the centre worn, for in this part* the letters are deeply incised, and the middle stroke, if it ever existed, must have left more palpable traces. As for Πυρίνου, this would be a name nearly as inexplicable as Πυρίνου, at any rate in Greek. True, we might say it was a Semitic name, but for my part I do not see which to fix upon. In front of καὶ there is a blank space on the stone, where no letter appears to have

* On the short side of the sarcophagus. On the long side the reverse is the case, the characters being rather superficially cut.

ever been cut.* All that one can see is very faint traces of a sort of small flourish. If it were admitted that there was originally an *o* in this blank space, we might conjecture *Πυρινθιν*, or *Πυρινουν*, [ὁ] καὶ *Μαλθακης*, “Pyrinthyn, *or* Pyrinoun, also called Malthakes.” Under this hypothesis our sarcophagus or large ossuary would only have contained the remains of a single person. In that case, however, *υἱῶν*, “sons,” in the *genitive plural*, becomes absolutely inexplicable; we should have to suppose it to be a barbarous or an abbreviated form for *υἱων*(εὺς) or *υἱων*(ός), “grandson.” Even then, why have given only the name of the grandfather of the deceased, and not his father’s name? Lastly, the form of the name *Μαλθάκης* necessitates a genitive construction, which again is already implied by *υἱῶν*. In fact *Μαλθάκης* cannot be a nominative, it is the genitive of a well-known female name *Μαλθάκη*, belonging to the Greco-Jewish personal vocabulary. In my opinion therefore we must necessarily take the words to mean “of Pyrinus . . . and of Malthake, sons of Alkios, *etc.*” In so doing we conform to the general type of Judæo-Greek funerary inscriptions, in which the names of the deceased persons are very often in the genitive, as here.

Here however a new difficulty arises. Malthake is a woman’s name, not a man’s; we find the name borne by one of Herod’s wives, a woman of Samaritan origin, and among the Greeks it is likewise a woman’s name, never a man’s. More than this, it may be said that it is essentially a woman’s name by signification, *Μαλθάκη* being for *Μαλακή*, “tender.” How does it happen then that Malthake, *daughter* of Alkios, and her brother, are called *υἱῶν*, “sons?” An expression of mixed gender is at least required, such as *τέκνων*, “children.” There are only two ways out of this, either to suppose that the name Malthake might have been borne by boys as well as girls among the Jews, a fact of which we have no proof, or else that in this inscription, which is of Jewish origin, *υἱῶν* has improperly the force of *τέκνων*. This second hypothesis would square very well with the general sense of “children,” which sometimes seems to belong to the Hebrew plural *בנים* (*cf.* the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius, s.v.). At Palmyra in a family inscription† in Palmyrenian and Greek, mention is made of four brothers and their sons (*בניהון* and *υἱοῖς*), but among these so-called *sons* (*בנין*, *υἱοί*) a number of *daughters* appear, mentioned by name. In another Greek inscription, likewise from Palmyra,‡ “the *male*

* The **O** that appears in this place on the engraving is due to an arbitrary interpretation on the part of the draughtsman, and no notice need be taken of it.

† De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscr.* No. 37.

‡ *Id. op. cit.*, No. 71. *Cf.* *בן זכר*, “male son” (Jer. xx, 15) and *υἱός ἀρρεν* (Rev. xii, 5).

sons" (*υιοῖς ἀδρεσι*) are specified. Lastly, and most characteristic of all, in an epitaph in the Jewish burying-ground at Venosa,* I find: "Andronicus et Rosa, *fili*i Boni." So the word *υιοί* on the Lydda sarcophagus might have the general sense of children, by virtue of a sort of Jewish idiom. In this case Malthake would remain what it always must have been, a feminine name, and we should really be concerned with an epitaph, not of two brothers, but of a brother and a sister, lying in the same tomb.†

As regards the name of the brother of Malthake, with which the inscription begins, after much reflection I am decidedly inclined to regard it as Πύρριος. Πύρριος is a Greek word that may have a double meaning: (1) "fiery, red like fire" (derived from πῦρ); (2) "of corn, like corn" (derived from πυρός). The name, as borne by a Jew, may perhaps correspond, as often happens, to a Hebrew name with a meaning somewhat analogous.‡ We meet several times with the name Πύρριος among purely Greek personal names, the original meaning of it appearing to be "red."§ In any case the fact suffices to warrant our recognizing it here. The absence of any doubling of the ρ could be easily justified by numerous instances of this orthographic variant.

But the name Pyrinos, being regarded as in the genitive on the model of Malthakes, is here followed by an Ν that has to be accounted for: Πυρίνου. I am quite prepared to believe that this Ν, which is isolated from the word next following by a blank space, is an abbreviation for ν(εωτέρου), "the younger," an epithet often used in Greek inscriptions to distinguish between the younger and elder brothers (πρεσβύτεροι), and capable of being shortened in various ways: ΝΕΩΤΕΡ, ΝΕΩΤΕ, ΝΕ, Ν̅, Ν̅̅ and even simply Ν, as here.

Two ossuaries at Jerusalem, that I described some time ago,¶ prove that

* Ascoli, *Iscrizioni*, etc., p. 56, No. 11.

† I have satisfied myself from the actual inscriptions, that with the Jews a single ossuary might in certain cases receive the bones of two persons united by family ties, for instance a husband and a wife. Cf. Βερονταρίου καὶ Νικάνερον, on an ossuary at Jerusalem described in my *Rapports sur une mission entreprise en Palestine, etc.*, en 1881, p. 100, Series II, No. 29, and other ossuaries besides.

‡ Cf. for instance the name אדמון *Admon*, which appears in the Talmud, and may be connected with אדמוני, "red;" or such names as *Uri*, *Uriel*, *Uriyah*, etc.

§ Cf. Πυρίνης, masculine proper name, Πυρίνη, feminine proper name, Πύρρος, and its congeners. See: Pape, *Wörterb. d. Gr. Eigennamen*, s.vv.

|| Cf. for instance, in a Christian inscription at Smyrna (Corp. Inscript. Græcarum, No. 3169): ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΗC ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥΝ ΤΑΜΙΕΥC, etc.

¶ *Rapports sur une Mission, etc.*, 1881, pp. 100, 102, Series II, Nos. 28, 32.

the use of these distinctive epithets was also widespread among the Jews, one of them running thus: Τρύφωνος πρεσβυτέρου, "of Tryphon* the elder," the other: Βερουταρίου νεωτέρας, "of Berutarios† the younger." It is also possible that in the blank space following this isolated Ν in the Lydda inscription there was a small sign of abbreviation more lightly cut than the letters. At times it seems possible to make out in front of the κ of the καὶ something like two dots, not deep ones, it is true, which might also have served to mark the abbreviation of the preceding word.

Thus, by this process of feeling about, we arrive at the reading: "of Pyrinos the younger and of Malthake, sons, *i.e.*, children, of Alkios" With regard to the father's name, Alkios, I shall merely refer the reader to my remarks on the subject already made in speaking of the Gezer inscriptions, where it reappears accompanying the Hebrew words "boundary of Gezer." Whether the two persons are identical or merely homonymous, it is at any rate certain that both of them are of Jewish origin. The name *Simon*, which here follows that of Alkios, is significant enough in this respect. The same is true of *Gobar*, which is palpably a transliteration of a Semitic name or surname. We cannot fix exactly the original form of the latter, but it is assuredly a derivative from the root גבר. Vocalization of the Greek seems to lead us to the Aramaic forms גַּבְרָא† and גֻּבְרָא,§ *Gubar*, akin to the Hebrew גֶּבֶר *geber*, "man." Now this latter Hebrew word is used as a proper name, *Ben Geber*|| and *Geber, son of Uri*,¶ which warrants the supposition that the Aramaic form** was similarly used. Ought we to go further, and assign to this name the meaning of "strong, valiant man, hero," which belongs to the derivative גִּבּוֹר *gibbor*?

What it concerns us to know is whether the three names found in juxtaposition: Ἀλκίου, Σίμωνος, Γωβάρ, indicate three steps of a genealogy: "sons of Alkios, (son of) Simon, (son of) Gobar," in accordance with the usual

* Τρύφων is the origin of the name *Tarphon*, borne by several ancient rabbis.

† Note this name, quite masculine in form, but borne by a woman.

‡ The existence of this singular is implied in the plural גְּבֵרִים and גְּבִרִים, which appears in Dan. iii, 8, 12, etc. Cf. the Talmudic form of the name of the town *Beth Gubrin*, גֻּבְרִין.

§ Form found in the targums.

|| 1 Kings iv, 13.

¶ 1 Kings iv, 19. Given as Γάβερ in the Septuagint and Γαβάρης in Josephus.

** To the same onomastic group may also be assigned the name *Gabriel*, and Γαβρίλ which appears in the Book of Tobit. I may just remind the reader of the Persian names Γωβάρης (cf. Γώβαρης) and Γαβρίλ.

Greek construction, which expresses the patronymic by the simple genitive; or else, having in view the custom of double names that prevailed among the Jews, we might interpret either: "sons of Alkios Simon, (son of) Gobar," or "sons of Alkios, (son of) Simon Gobar." I leave the question wrapt in doubt.

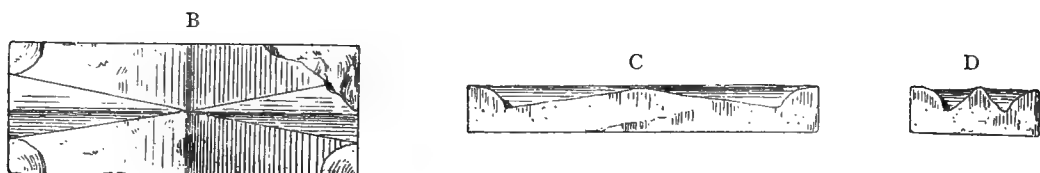
The palæography of our inscription has a very special interest for us, because of the chronological problem that arises if it be connected with the Gezer texts already discussed. The characters are not of the cursive kind like those of ordinary inscriptions on ossuaries, they are proper lapidary characters. The **A**, **W**, and **C** recall the shapes of the letters on the coins of Herod Agrippa. From the end of the first century B.C. the forms **W**, **C** prevail, as is well known, in Egypt and in Syria. The crescent-shaped sigma (**C**) is already to be found on a coin of the Hasmonæan prince Antigone, 40–37 B.C. In **Σίμωνος** the μ tends to the form **Λ**, which is more archaic than **M**. Everything considered, I think there are no obstacles, from a palæographical point of view, to locating our inscription about the end of the first century before our era.

If, as I suppose, we have here an epitaph on two persons, a brother and a sister, it follows that we must regard the repository of their remains not as a small sarcophagus but a large ossuary.

The exploration of this very important sepulchre took us several hours, and was a most troublesome task. The heat was suffocating inside, and we came out bathed in perspiration. However, we had to go just as we were without changing, along with the owner, Daūd Hajir, who insisted on our joining him at his family meal, a repast in the open air, and not particularly enticing. I accepted, because I hoped I could induce him to let me have this precious ossuary for a reasonable sum. He had offered it me three years before for about thirty piastres, but his ideas on the subject had undergone a remarkable expansion. Finally, at dessert, he told me that, as he was in debt, he was willing to sell the garden with the article in question, and I might take the offer or leave it. Some years later the French vice-consul at Jaffa persuaded him to listen to reason, and the relic is now added to the collections in the Louvre.

Neby Danian.—Next day we went to Neby Danian, where M. Lecomte made a sketch of the large tomb-cover that I had noticed there in 1871.*

* See *infra*, Appendix.

TOMB COVER AT NERY DANIAN. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

B. Plan (as seen from above).

C. Side elevation (long side).

D. Side elevation
(short side).

I was again told, what I had noted the time before, that the ancient name of the spot was *Kufūr Tâb*. It was occupied some thirty years since by a band of fellahin from Râfât (near Râm Allah). This is a fresh example of those migrations which have to be guarded against in Palestine, and may exercise considerable influence on toponymy, by contributing either to the disappearance of ancient names, or even, in some cases, to the appearance of new ones, which is worse still, and calculated to disorganize the process of topographical exegesis. It was from this time that the place began to lose its name of *Kufūr Tâb*.*

The Tower of Ramleh.—On our way back we stopped at the Tower of Ramleh, called the Tower of the Forty Martyrs, where we noted some stones with the mediæval dressing, and bearing masons' marks. (See the Special Table in Vol. I.)

Sundry Items.—Miscellaneous data gathered at Lydda from the natives :—

— The old road (a Roman way) which goes to Jerusalem by way of Kûleh, Lubbân, 'Abbûd, etc., is called *Er R'sîf* الرصيف, that is to say, "the paved causeway." The road that goes by Jifneh, Jalazûn, el Bîreh, Er Râm, K'bûr el 'Amâl'ka,† and Jerusalem, is called *Tarik es Seîsaneh* (طريق السيسنة), "the horses' road." These two appellations, which are taken from the technical terms of camel-drivers, are curious, and doubtless ancient. The second contains a word, *seîsaneh*, which must not be confounded with *seîsâneh* (I took particular notice that it was *seîsâneh*), plural of *sâîs*, "ostler," and which seems to be connected with the Hebræo-Aramaic *sûs*, *sûsâ*, "horse."

Boundaries of Lands.—The boundaries of the lands belonging to all

* In this place in my note-book I see I have written down the name Djemâl ed Dîn in connection with the place called *Shîha* (see *infra*, p. 472); but I cannot now remember the reason of this scanty note.

† The camel-driver from whom I had this information must certainly have meant by this legendary name, "the tombs of the Amalekites," something different from the K'bûr Benê Isrâîn near Hizmeh, probably the Tombs of the Judges, or rather, the K'bûr el Mulûk, as the road, which he briefly described, does in fact pass by them.

the villages in Palestine are minutely set forth, it is said, in a kind of great catalogue called *El Kurumiyeh*, or *El Ka'deh*, which is in the care of Mohammed Derwish, at Jerusalem. In case of dispute, the fellahin refer to him as their authority. I have not been able to assure myself of the correctness of this statement, and I earnestly beg those who are in a position to do so to supply the needed information. It is unnecessary to add that if such a document is really in existence, it would be of priceless value for the study of topography, and would partly compensate for there being in Palestine no counterpart of the valuable cadastral *rûk*, which has been preserved in the case of Egypt.

The fellahin of Syria, like all peasants, attach great importance to the delimitation of their lands. With this view they adopt various expedients, probably of immemorial antiquity. In addition to the more or less rudimentary stone landmarks, *rujûm*, etc., they make use of underground marks consisting of egg-shells and pieces of charcoal buried at a great depth. In case of dispute they dig down, and the affair is settled by these indications, which, they say, remain permanently white and black. In order to find the spot again they plant over it a thorny *sidër*, which is extremely hardy and always grows up again if injured. As early as the Koran this same tree is spoken of as forming a landmark (indicating the boundary of heaven, to the right of the throne of God). In other parts the fellahin told me that the tamarisk was used for the same purpose. The reader is requested to take particular note of this point, as I shall shortly have occasion to refer to it. In the Middle Ages mention is made in the regulations instituted or confirmed by the Crusaders* of similar devices, involving the use of stones and *bits of charcoal*. The Talmud also says that boundaries are marked by stones and by *hasuboth*, a tree or plant with a root that strikes vertically, which was said to have been used by Joshua to mark the boundaries of the land of Israel.

The Tree of Beer-Sheba.—I could mention numbers of parallel instances of these customs from the various notes I have collected,† but that would

* *Assises of Antioch* (Armenian text), p. 38. In the charters of the Crusaders there are curious details about the traditional boundaries of the lands they treat of. In order to determine them, recourse is often had to the old fellahin of the neighbourhood. At times crosses or signs were cut on the rocks, which may help to explain the origin of the marks we sometimes notice in such places.

† This practice is moreover ancient and universal. For instance, in the laws of Manu it is said that secret marks ought to be buried in the ground to fix landmarks, which may be the subject of dispute (through the possibility of their being displaced), such as *charcoal*, *pebbles*, *ashes*, *bricks*, *sand*, etc. Also large trees of certain species should be planted there.

take me out of my way. I will merely point out one small matter of exegesis on which I think the rustic tradition still current throws unmistakable light. This is the story of the tamarisk planted by Abraham at Beer-Sheba: "And he planted a tamarisk* in Beer-Sheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God."† This is not, as has been generally supposed,‡ a case of a purely religious act, which would point to the existence among the Hebrews of a worship paid to sacred trees. The tree placed in the ground by the pious patriarch was not put there in a casual sort of way. Abraham had a more practical motive for doing it, one that the Bible narrative hardly thinks it necessary to mention explicitly, but which seems to me to result clearly from the following considerations.

First, what were the circumstances of this planting, which seems at first sight to happen so unexpectedly? Immediately after the treaty of alliance concluded at Beer-Sheba between Abraham and Abimelech, King of Gerar, after a dispute among their followers for the possession of a well in the neighbourhood. This treaty is accompanied by every kind of ceremony calculated to perpetuate the memory of it. The planting of the tree in my opinion is directed to this same commemorative end; it is just simply a detail artlessly and faithfully borrowed by the narrator from old popular customs, which, as I have just pointed out, still survive among the autochthonous peasantry of Palestine. And now for the proof.

The tree in question, the tamarisk, is called in the Hebrew text *eshel* אשל, which is exactly, species for species and word for word, the *ethel* or *ethleh*, اثلة, ائله, of Syrian Arabic, that is to say one of the two trees used by the fellahin as living witnesses, so to speak, of the harmony prevailing when a boundary is fixed, and as landmarks of the boundary itself. Such, I think, is the function we should assign to the tamarisk of Abraham, a tree planted in consequence of an arrangement about the possession of a disputed territory. The invocation of the name of Jehovah performed by Abraham on planting the tree, is of no more consequence than the *bismillah* of the Mussulman peasant as he plants an *ethleh* with a similar object. Thus, the sanctity that may have attached to the tamarisk of Abraham belongs essentially to the

* Genesis xxi, 33. The account of this incident begins at v. 22, and the whole should be read in order to understand the new meaning that I assign to it.

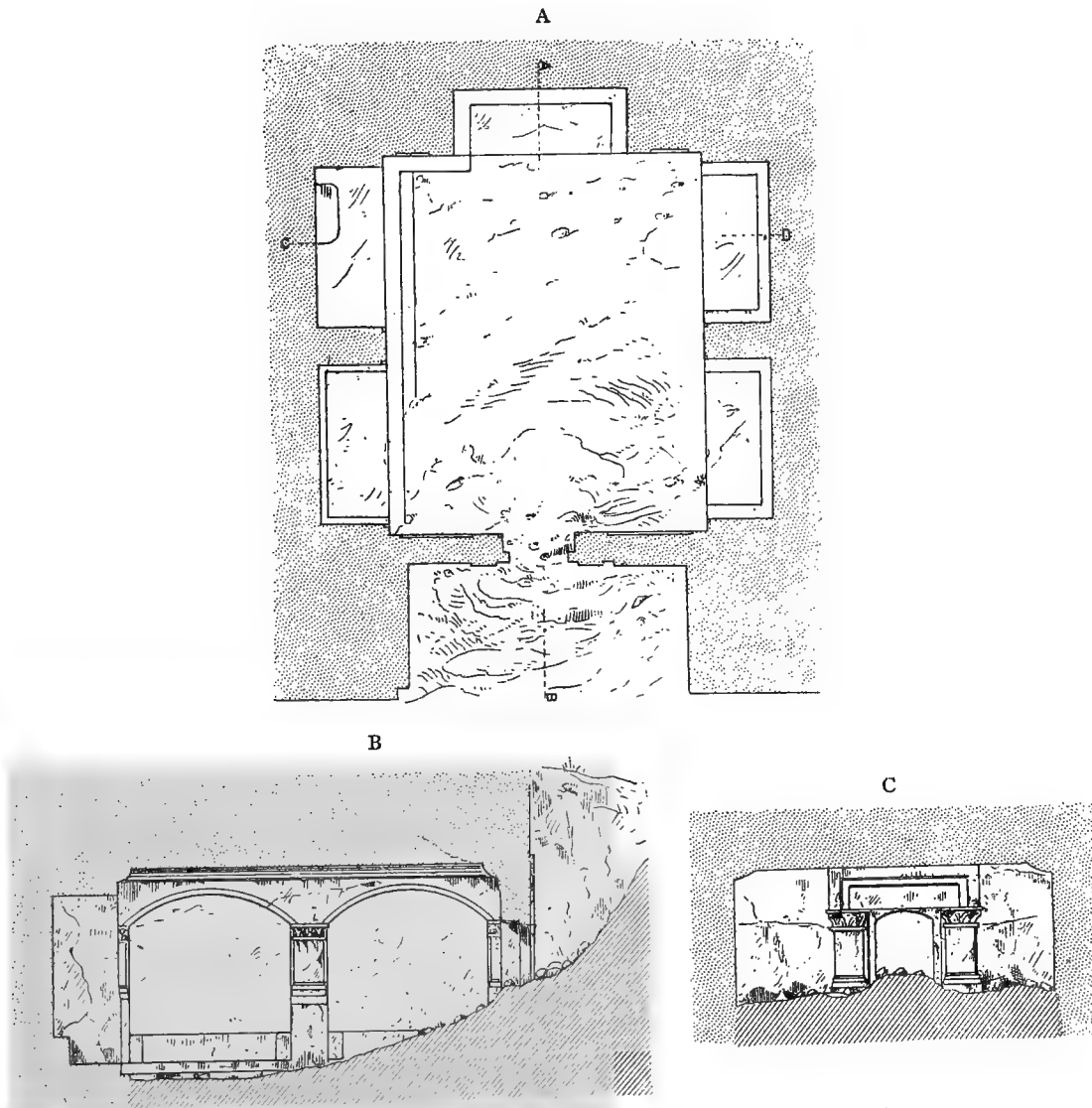
† In the A.V., "tree" (margin, "or grove"). (Translator's note.)

‡ See, for instance, von Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Geschichte*, II, p. 218.

same category as that which attaches to any memorial erected to commemorate an agreement, for instance, a boundary-stone, which may be venerated *quâ* boundary, and not necessarily *quâ* stone (*baitulion*).

MODIN AND THE TOMB OF THE MACCABEES.

On Friday morning we left Lydda for el Midieh, where I had made up my mind to excavate thoroughly the so-called Tomb of the Maccabees.



A. Plan of the tomb.

B. Section on A-B in the plan.

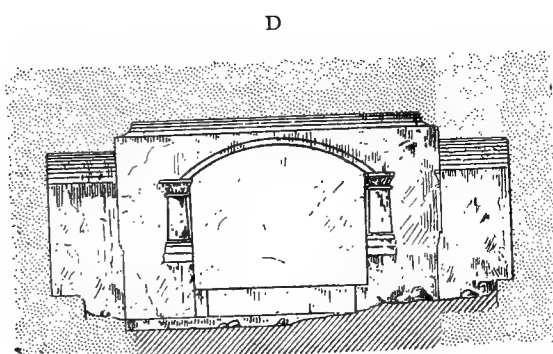
C. Elevation of the entrance (inner side).

ROCK HEWN TOMB AT KHÛRBET ZAKARIYEH. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

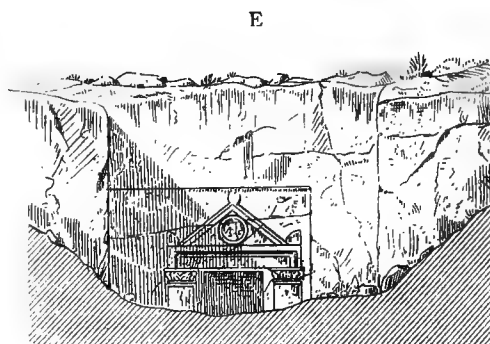
Harvest being over, there could be no longer any objection on the part of the fellahîn. I took with me my old friend Daûd Abu Hanna, who had acted as my middleman when I was treating with them before, and whose devoted assistance was again to stand me in good stead.

Ornamented Sepulchre.—We stopped by the way at Khûrbet Zakariyeh, Khûrbet el Kelkh and el Habis, to make plans of the various remains that I discovered there in 1871.*

We occupied ourselves first of all with the fine rock-hewn tomb with carved façade. The entrance, which I had had cleared three years before, was now obstructed by a decaying carcase, which made our work most irksome; moreover the heat inside was stifling. The engravings will give an exact notion of this remarkable tomb. The inner chamber, which has five arcosolia, must originally have been lined with a layer of stucco, traces of which we found here and there. It is choked up with soil and stones. The bird carved on the tympanum of the triangular pediment of the façade, over the entrance, must be an eagle. This ornament recalls those on certain Nabatæan tombs of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.† The whole of the architectural decoration is most carefully executed.



D. Section on C-D.



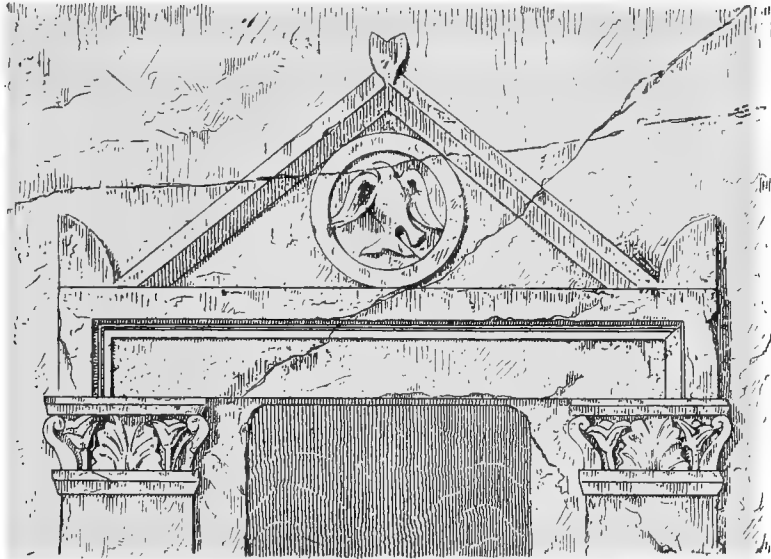
E. Elevation of the entrance (outer side).

Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

* See *infra*, Appendix.

† See the plates of Mr. Charles Doughty's work: "*Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie.*"

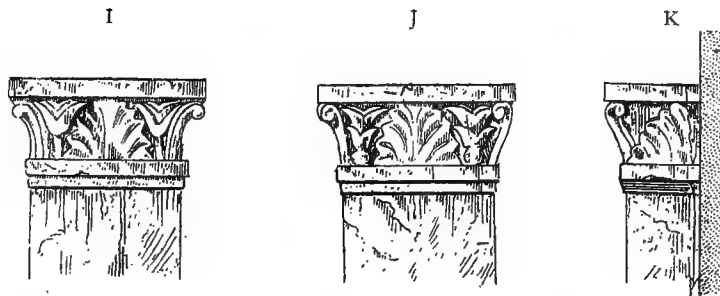
F



Scale $\frac{1}{32}$.



Scale $\frac{1}{16}$.



Scale $\frac{1}{32}$.

F. Detail of the entrance.

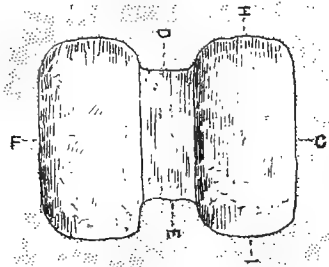
H. Profile of the moulding over the pediment.

G. Profile of the moulding on the coping of the pediment.

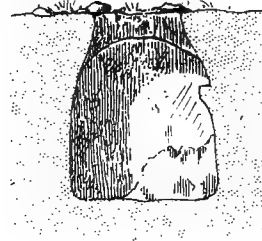
I J K. Capitals of the engaged pilasters in the interior.

Inscribed Tomb.—I next searched for the tomb where I had formerly copied a Greek inscription, and found it with some trouble. It consists of

two loculi with demi-cupolas, joined together, access being gained by a square opening hollowed out of the horizontal surface of the rock.



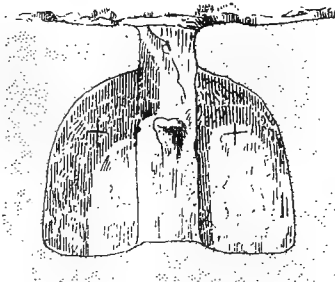
Plan.



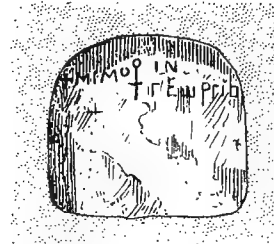
Section on D-E.

INSCRIBED ROCK TOMB AL KH. EL HABIS.

Each of the vaults has a cross carved on it; one of them, shown by the section on H-I,



Section on F-G.

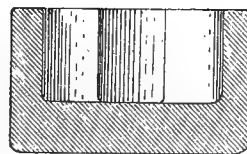
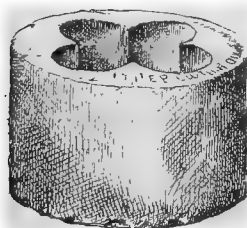
Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

Section on H-I.

has in addition a short Greek inscription consisting of two words, accompanied by crosses, the whole being deeply incised: Μιμόριον Γεωργίου(ν), "Tomb of George." Μιμόριον is for μημόριον, a hybrid Latin and Greek word already familiar to us in Christian funerary epigraphy.*

Inscribed Font.—Last of all I turned my attention to a fine baptismal font with an inscription, which latter I had taken a squeeze of and copied on the previous occasion. Here is a facsimile of it.

* This tomb is very like one of those at K'bûr el Yahûd which I describe further on (p. 375, A B C D E F).



Section.



Top view.

INSCRIBED BAPTISMAL FONT AT KH. EL KELKH.

This font is made of a large cylinder of “*mizzeh*” stone, carefully polished, and about three feet high; the basin is hollowed out in the shape of a four-lobed cross, formed by four intersecting circles. At the bottom of the basin a hole has been made to let off the water. On the upper side has been carved a Greek inscription of one line. It is rather carelessly cut, and is moreover defaced by pieces being chipped off; therefore certain portions, towards the end especially, present some difficulty in deciphering.

✠ Ὑπὲρ σωτηρ(ίας) Σωφρονήας (sic) (καὶ ?) ἀναπ(αύσεως ?)
 Βαρ[ι]χα * † μου τ (?)

“ For the salvation of Sophronia, and (?) for the rest (?) of Baricha (?) . . .
 my (?) . . . ” ‡

* The *iota* is doubtful.

† Here, a lacuna of about four letters.

‡ After I directed attention to this monument, it was seen and described by Frère Séjourné (*Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 123; cf. 1893, p. 212). His copy of the inscription is not quite correct and is incomplete in the latter part. On the other hand, his numbered drawing appears to have been very carefully done; he gives 1^m·56 as the diameter of the object and 0^m·90 as its height.

The deceased person, *Barcha*, or *Baricha*—the name has a very Semitic look—whose memory is associated by Sophronia with her dedication, was perhaps her son or husband; there is room for some such word as $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ before $\mu\omicron\upsilon$, if this latter word is the personal pronoun, “of me.” In this case, however, there would be a very sudden transition from *oratio obliqua* to *oratio recta*, so one may ask whether $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ is not the last syllable either of a patronymic, or a substantive, expressing some degree of relationship.

EL MIDIEH AND MODIN.

On arriving at el Midieh I immediately entered into negotiations with the peasants to begin the excavations. The process was laborious, but at length came to an end, thanks to the intervention of Abu Hanna, who had had dealings with the inhabitants before. We agreed upon the indemnity to be paid to the owners of the ground, and the wages of the workmen. I took on about a score, but had to more than double the number within the next few days in order to satisfy all demands and avoid spiteful opposition. This gang of lazy, clumsy fellows, ill-provided with tools, was extremely difficult to keep going. We had constantly to be at them to get any work out of them. The operations lasted from Saturday the 12th to Friday the 18th of September. I had to be away for two days of this time, being summoned to Jerusalem on important business, and the superintendence of the work devolved entirely upon M. Lecomte, who was admirably seconded by our trusty Abu Hanna. The owner of an old fig-tree that had grown into the interior of the principal chamber remained for some days so deaf to reason, that in order to make him lessen his claims, I diplomatically kept the clearance of that chamber till the last, pretending meanwhile that I had given up the idea. The manœuvre succeeded, and the fellâh, thinking I had made up my mind on the matter, finally consented for a reasonable backsheesh to sacrifice the tree. I fancy there was some superstitious tradition connected with it. In order to get on faster we set light to the tree, and also to the brushwood round it. The flames dislodged an enormous black snake, which had taken up its abode in one of the loculi invaded by the roots of the fig-tree. I had already noticed the presence of this *genius loci* in the course of the partial excavation that I made in 1871. This time he did not manage to get away, and our men despatched him with their shovels.

One day we had rather a fright. An effendi came riding up, accompanied by two Government troopers. I dreaded a repetition of the disagreeable episode at Gezer, but luckily I got off this time with nothing worse than my alarm. The effendi, a son of the mufti of Jaffa, farmed the tithes of el Midieh, Na'lin and other villages in those parts, and was come in person to see to their collection. He proved to be very good-natured, and did not worry us about the excavations, so we were able to go on with them without restriction.

The Name.—The fellâhs gave me confused and conflicting information as to the name of the ruined building that I had undertaken to thoroughly explore. Besides the names *Gherbâwy* and *Gherbâwy Abu Subha*, which have been already noted,* it is called *Beit Gh'birreh*, *El Khûrbeh*, and *el Kufriyeh*. *Gh'birreh*, according to some, is the plural of *Gherbâwy*; but, according to others, the name of a certain *Gh'birreh*, father of *Gh'bâr*, the owner of the famous fig-tree that had cost us so much trouble. This tree was said itself to be a shoot from an old stump of much greater antiquity, belonging to the personages above mentioned. It was called *Tîn't sitt Gh'birreh*, "the fig-tree of *sitt Gh'birreh*." The name is quite ambiguous, and I could not make out whether *sitt* was the word meaning "My lady," and used to denote a holy woman (this was the idea of several of the fellahîn, who told me that *sitt Gh'birreh* was a "female dervish"); or whether it was the word *sitt*, "six," so that one should take the expression to mean *the six Gh'birreh* (*Gh'birreh* being reckoned a plural). In the latter event some argument might be derived from this name in favour of the identity of the building with the mausoleum of the Hasmonæan brothers.†

Modin.—Before going on with the description of the monument as the excavation revealed it to our gaze, I will state succinctly the condition of the problem.

It is Father Emmanuel Forner, Latin Vicar of Bethlehem, who appears to have first, in 1866, conceived the idea of identifying the name and site of el Midieh with those of the Modin of the Maccabees, for which various suggestions had been confidently put forward. The identification appears

* This latter by the Survey; the fellahîn did not mention it to me.

† Among the derivatives of the root غبر there is one, غبراء, *ghabrâ*, which has the two-fold meaning of "earth" and "tomb" (cf. the same double meaning of تربة, *turbah*). Taking the latter meaning, one might consider whether *Sitt Gh'birreh* may not have originally signified "the six tombs." However, all this remains most obscure.

extremely plausible, and I think I have myself contributed a few new arguments of a toponymic nature tending to confirm it.*

Three years later M. Sandreczki,† for his part, arrived at the same conclusion. He further inclined to recognize the tombs of the Maccabees in the K'bûr el Yehûd, of which we shall shortly have occasion to speak. In 1870 M. Guérin, whose attention had been drawn to this problem by Frère Liévin, took it up in his turn, and announced that he had discovered in the ruined building of el Gherbâwy the genuine mausoleum of the Maccabees, with characteristic traces of the famous pyramids that surmounted it, and even bones presumed to have belonged to members of the illustrious Hasmonæan family. The announcement of this discovery caused a great sensation, but it was in reality far removed from the certainty with which M. Guérin invested it, and to say the least the indications that he relied on, and that he had noted somewhat loosely, were highly debateable, as we shall see. I believe he allowed his imagination to run away with him, taking a hint from a suggestive passage in the Guide of Frère Liévin. In that work, Frère Liévin, in speaking of the ruins of el Midieh, which he, following Father Forner, identified with Modin, expressly mentions "a rectangular ruined structure, the history of which could only be learned by excavating it."‡ If one day it comes to be proved that this structure is identical with the celebrated Mausoleum, it will really then be Frère Liévin who ought to have the credit of it, just as the credit of having identified el Midieh and Modin belongs to Father Forner. As regards the latter point, it may even be said that M. Guérin passed by the truth without seeing it, for he actually visited el Midieh on his first tour in Judæa in 1863,§ and mentions it in his report under its correct name, but without suspecting in any wise its importance.

However this may be, M. Guérin in the year 1870, after a superficial clearance of the ruins in question, thought he detected the existence of a large building, in shape a rectangular oblong, appearing to be divided into seven contiguous chambers, one for each member of the Hasmonæan family. The

* The form of the ethnic, *cf. supra*, p. 89, and *infra*, p. 376.

† *Quarterly Statement*, 1870, p. 245.

‡ Frère Liévin, *Guide indicateur des sanctuaires et lieux historiques de la Terre Sainte*, (1st edition) (p. 43, note), Jerusalem, 1869.

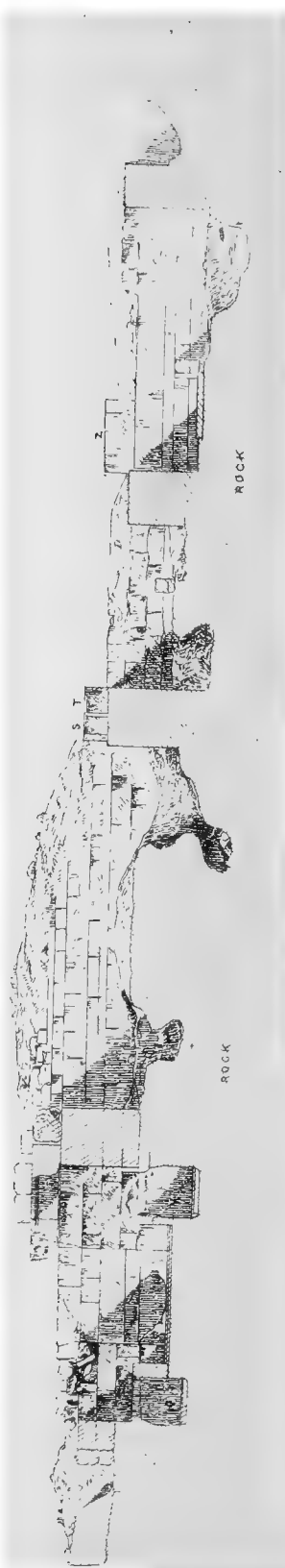
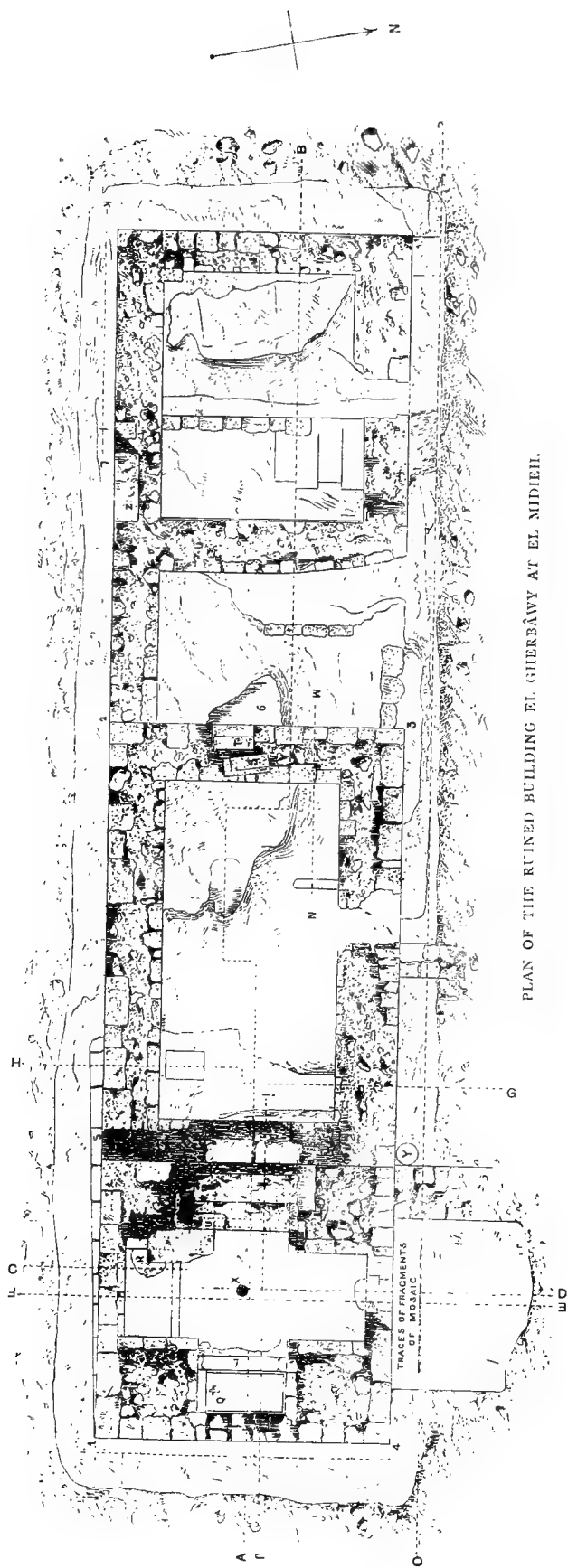
§ *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 1864, I, 1^{re} série, p. 405: "el Mediah المديّة, a small village of 250 inhabitants, on a hill." *Cf.* p. 380: "I have gone through all the ruins of Lydda, and not one was pointed out to me with a name remotely resembling Modin. This celebrated name has therefore died out in Palestine." (!)

first chamber, on the east contained, he thought, a funerary trough hewn in the rock, and had two entrances, north and south ; the six other chambers were similarly arranged. M. Mauss, who made a plan of the building at the request of M. Guérin, considered, on the contrary, that there were only five chambers, the first and the last, at the two extremities, containing two troughs each, to the right and left, and the three intervening chambers a single one each ; which would make the total as before seven tombs, to which figure essential importance appears to be generally attached.

Further, having noticed certain recesses on the upper side of a slab belonging to the ceiling of the eastern chamber, as well as on two blocks of a transverse wall situated about halfway up the rectangle, these gentlemen concluded that these recesses were intended to admit the base of the pyramids surmounting the building. I will content myself with mentioning the many-coloured mosaic cubes, and the fragments of bones which M. Guérin took to be "the ashes of the heroic and holy old man Matathias, who, being the first to die, had probably occupied the first sepulchral chamber of the mausoleum." The reader will in a few moments be able to judge of the worth of these various hypotheses.

— Let us consider, first of all, the general bird's-eye view and the longitudinal section of the building in dispute as it was laid bare by our excavations, which extended down to the rock, and were conducted with all requisite precautions. I lay stress on this latter point in order to controvert certain insinuations made by M. Guérin.

We notice, at the first glance, a kind of long parallelogram, with an evident tendency to an east-and-west orientation, divided into four contiguous chambers without any direct communication between them. On inspecting our plans more closely, it immediately appears that we have to distinguish in this whole two quite different parts, which must have been built on two distinct occasions, and, to all appearance, at two periods separated by a noticeable lapse of time. The primitive portion forms the parallelogram, of which the angles are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4. This primitive portion has had later additions made to it, prolonging it westwards. Although in the course of



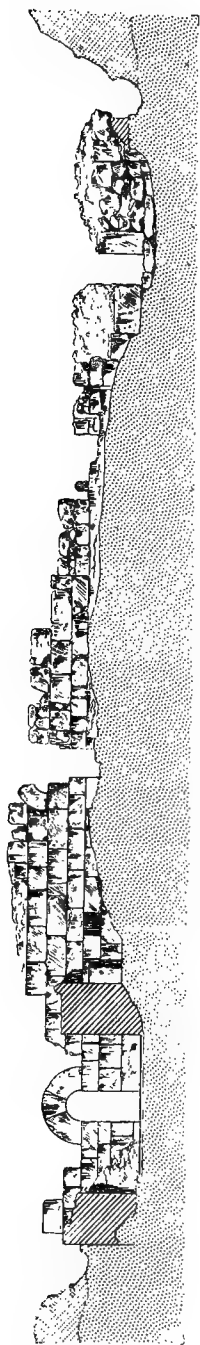
Scale 1/150.

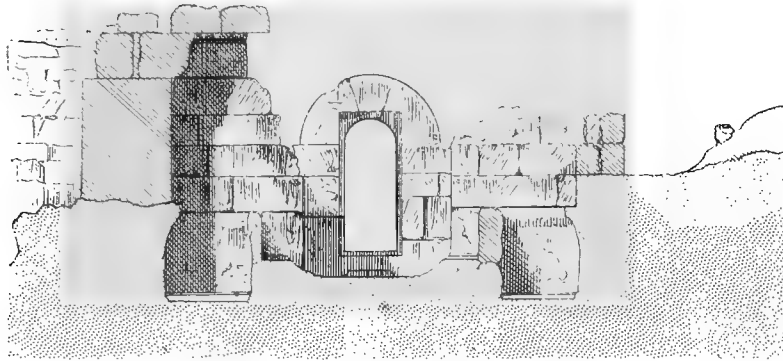
this prolongation the line of the north and south walls has been adhered to, the join is conspicuous, and the straight joint at (2) and (3) plainly indicates the outer angles of this first building. The side elevation, O-P on the plan, will conclusively establish this essential point, and at the same time show the general appearance of the north side in its whole length, the respective levels of the rock and of the courses, and various details which I will proceed to mention.

Let us first confine our attention to the primitive parallelogram 1, 2, 3, 4.

I will begin by drawing the reader's attention to a point marked 5 on the south side, where there is a lower course of masonry, which was a bottom course, and deviates from the general direction of this south side, forming an appreciable angle with it. This deviation is remarkable. Does it point to a still earlier state of the building than that in which we now see it? I cannot undertake to say, but assuredly it is significant of something. Along the small (east) side certain vestiges of masonry are also to be noticed. They are not so apparent, but may point to an eastern extension or addition at some period.

The primitive parallelogram 1, 2, 3, 4 is divided into two chambers of unequal size, separated by a thick wall, which completely isolates the one from the other. The smaller and more interesting of these chambers, which occupies the eastern extremity of the parallelogram, is quadrilateral. It is a burial chamber, with its entrance opening out of the north wall. This door, which is high and narrow, was surmounted by a semi-circular arch, formed of three large arch-stones, that fell down during the excavations, and are depicted in their original position. The lateral elevation O-P shows this doorway as seen from the outside. The section on I-J (p. 364) gives a view of it seen from inside as you look to the north. The reader will notice the groove cut to receive the leaf of the door, which opened inwards.



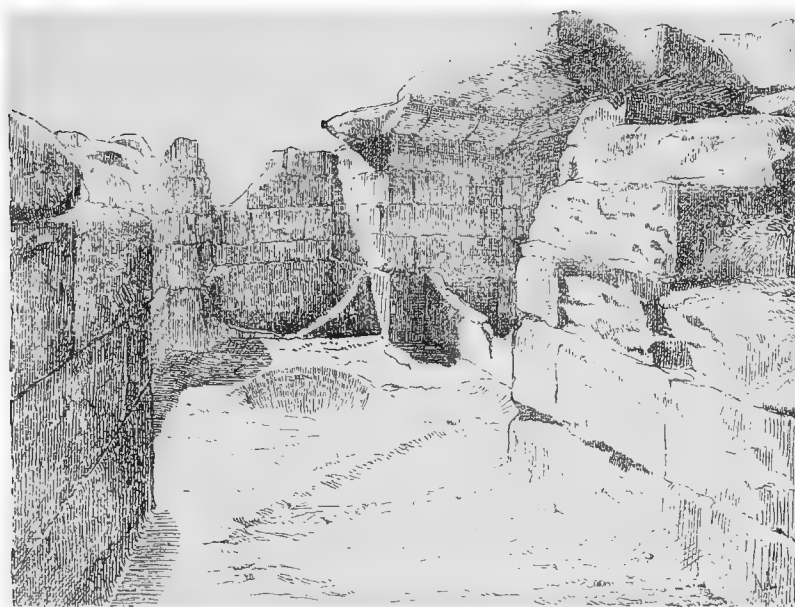
SECTION ON I-J. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

The entrance must have had in front of it a vestibule formed of two thick walls to right and left, meeting the north front at right angles. Outside, on a level with the threshold of the door, we found some fragments of mosaic consisting of cubes of small size, indicating that the vestibule had a mosaic pavement. In the exterior angle formed by the west side of the perpendicular wall and the principal front was the shaft of a monolithic column (y), standing upright, and certainly not *in situ*.

The chamber to which access is obtained by this door contains on each of the available sides a funerary loculus, making three in all.

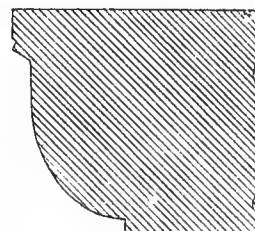


VIEW OF EXTERIOR FROM NORTH-EAST CORNER.



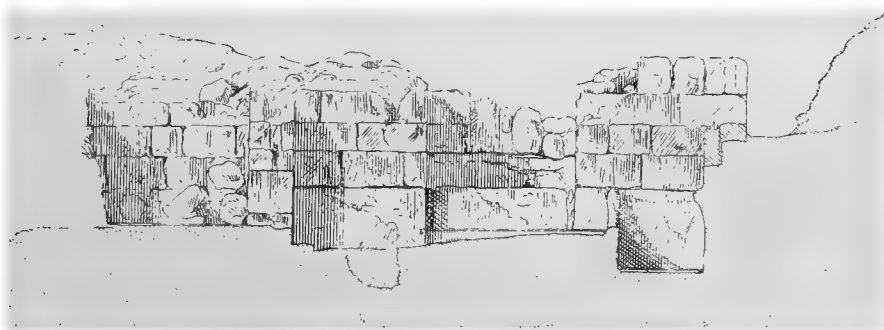
VIEW OF INTERIOR FROM NORTH-EAST CORNER.

The lower part is hewn out in the rock, the upper part built of squared stones. The floor of the chamber, in which the rock is visible, was covered with a mosaic pavement, of which only traces here and there are left. The roofs of the loculi were formed of great slabs resting on quadrant shaped blocks that acted as brackets.

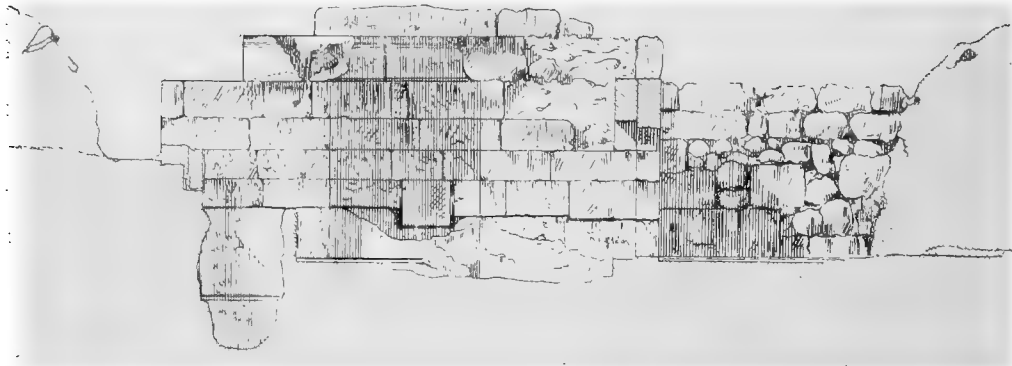
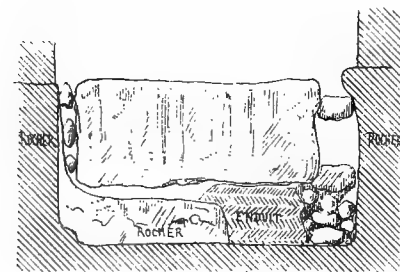


Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

Most of these slabs, which must have covered the whole of the vault, have disappeared; the chamber has been broken down and blocked up with soil and with the great fig-tree which had extended its roots into the eastern burial trough. The sections below, if compared with the foregoing, will give a better idea of this arrangement than any description could do.



SECTION ON E-F. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

SECTION ON C-D. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.

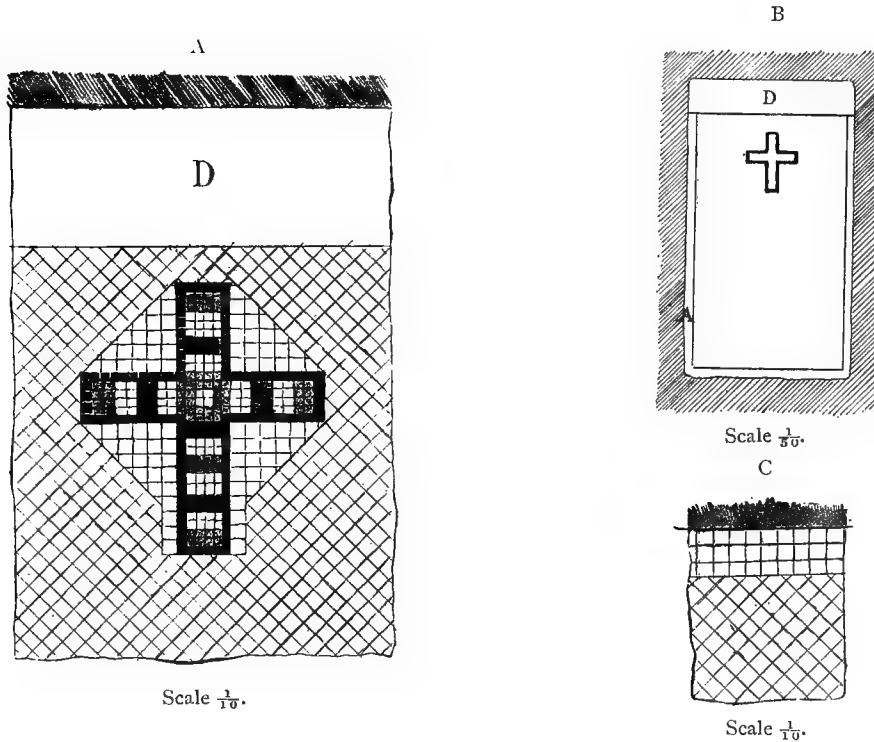
The front wall (7 on the plan) of the eastern trough Q must originally have been recessed in the rock, like those of the two other troughs. It has been partly destroyed, and restored by the aid of a slab placed edgewise, and the intervals filled up with rubble and miscellaneous *débris*, containing among other things a fragment covered with plaster.

The floor of the sepulchral troughs was paved with coloured mosaics. M. Guérin had already secured some scattered cubes from the floor of the western trough, and I am afraid that the spades of his workmen have destroyed the whole of which they formed part. We also found traces of mosaic in the southern trough, not, in this case, in a state of disorder, but in patches still *in situ*; we could not, however, make out the scheme of the decoration.

This is not true of the eastern trough (Q on the general plan), which, having been partly preserved by the famous fig-tree, afforded us a find which throws a bright light on the origin of these much debated buildings. While cautiously clearing this trough of the soil that choked it up, I found to my great delight an almost intact mosaic covering the whole of the floor of it.

The engraving (B) shows the plan of this trough, which is hollowed out in the rock, together with the projecting head-rest on the south side formed by leaving a portion of the rock uncut, and indicating the position of the head of the deceased. The mosaic, which is preserved almost entire, stops at the head-rest, and must have extended to the place occupied by the feet. It is formed of small cubes of white stone. On this floor, just below the head-rest,

there appears a fine cross, of the shape called *immissa*, which certainly cannot be earlier than the fifth century, and may be of distinctly later date (A).



A. Details of the Mosaic of el Gherbawy, showing the Cross and the Head-rest D.
 B. Plan of the Trough hollowed out in the Rock.
 C. Detail of the Border A, showing the Fitting of the Mosaic Cubes.

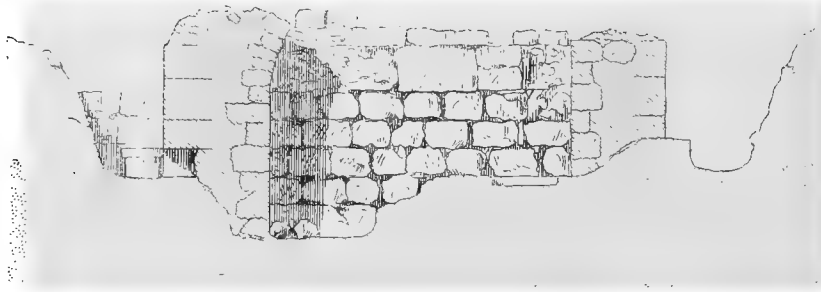
Its exterior outline is marked by a row of dark green cubes. Its four arms are ornamented with alternate red, white and yellow bands. At the intersection of the two arms is a yellow square with a small white square in the centre of it. The engraving (c) shows exactly the arrangement of the cubes.

It is very probable that the two other troughs were ornamented with mosaic crosses similar to these, and that this ornamentation was contemporaneous with the laying down of the mosaic on the floor of the chamber and of the vestibule.

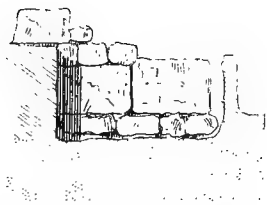
The unexpected discovery of this symbol, belonging as it does to an advanced period of Christianity, in the deepest part of a structure which had been thought to contain not only the Tombs of the Maccabees but even their relics, naturally calls in question the too hasty conclusions which had been arrived at from insufficient observation. This structure, whatever it may be,

must henceforth be regarded as not earlier than our era, at any rate in its present shape. However, before I return to this unavoidable conclusion, I will finish describing the rest of the structure.

The large chamber next the one just described and occupying the remaining portion of the primitive parallelogram, afforded no trace of tombs, though we cleared it right down to the rock. The two irregular depressions and the small rectangular basin without any depth to speak of, which we found in the rock, can never have been utilized as tombs. The partial sections on G H and M N will give an idea of the interior arrangement



SECTION ON G-H. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.



SECTION ON M-N. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

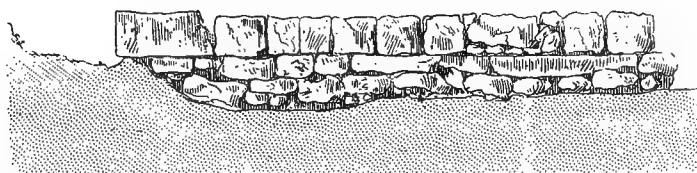
of this chamber. It seems originally to have communicated with the outside by a small door opening on the north side. Above the left upright we found the first stone of a semicircular arch, which may have formed part of it, but does not appear to be *in situ*. Outside, indications of a wall, not such a thick one as those forming the vestibule of the eastern chamber, join perpendicularly the wall of the façade, in a line with the left upright of the doorway. Inside, against the eastern side, was a rather badly built vaulted structure, now in part destroyed, beginning at the north wall and probably reaching the south wall. The western wall, forming the boundary of the primitive parallelogram (from 2 to 3 on the plan), is capped by two blocks *r* and *s*, the latter of which has been displaced, which display grooved recesses on their upper side corresponding with each other. It was this *grooving*, according to MM. Guérin and Mauss, that admitted the bases of the famous pyramids which play so important a part in their scheme. This hypothesis will not bear looking into. In order to appreciate it at its proper value, it is sufficient to consider the small size of these insignificant

recesses, and the level of the blocks that bear them, which level is sensibly *lower* than that of the ceiling over the eastern chamber.

These gentlemen assigned the same signification to another recess existing on the upper side of one of the slabs (v) covering the western loculus of the eastern chamber. Now we have ascertained beyond doubt that this latter groove is merely one that existed in the rock *before* the block in which it appears was cut out in the quarry. It has no connection with the grooves on the blocks s and t.

It is hardly necessary to add that the base of the supposititious pyramid would have rested, according to this system, directly on the ceiling of an almost subterranean chamber, and would have been insecurely supported on thin slabs suspended over an empty space and liable to break beneath the weight.

The western portion of the building is, as I have said, evidently of later construction, joined on to the primitive parallelogram which stops at the line 2—3. The join is everywhere apparent, and it belongs probably to a late period; the walls are very carelessly built and are not of the same thickness as those of the primitive parallelogram. We even found towards the western end of the south wall, at the spot marked k, a slab that had been removed from the ceiling of the ancient eastern chamber and used as building material, perhaps by the Arabs.



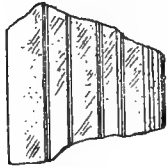
ELEVATION ON K L (S.W. ANGLE). Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

This second part is composed of two chambers touching one another, each having a door opening out in the north front. The smaller and more easterly of these chambers is divided into two by a low wall formed of a few small blocks placed together; we noticed there an excavation in the rock (6) too irregular to have belonged to a tomb.

The last chamber, which is larger than the foregoing, is likewise divided into two by a low wall formed of blocks laid together; a part of the floor is covered by four large slabs. These two last chambers, as well as the larger and older one which divides them from the first chamber of the eastern end, seem to have served at one time for dwelling-houses or store-rooms. We

found there a piece of a bracelet of Arab glass-ware, and, what is more significant in this connection, a fragment of a basalt millstone.

Besides these, the excavations did not lead to the discovery of any really interesting object, except a small figurine of bronze which seems to represent a recumbent



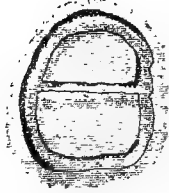
PLAN. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.



SECTION.

quadruped, perhaps a ram (?), and a fragment of white moulded marble, with a slightly convex surface. It would require a strong imagination to recognize in it a part of the planking of one of the ships represented in the sculpture of the Hasmonæan mausoleum.

In the course of the first excavations that I made in 1871, I noticed (at the point marked 6 in the plan) a roughly carved capital; a drawing of it follows. The upper part measures 0^m·55 by 0^m·48, the diameter of the column that it surmounted was about 0^m·42.



I had also picked up a badly squared block, with the following mark cut on it. This mark measures 0^m·30 in height and 0^m·25 in width; it resembles a large *theta*, but I doubt its being really a letter.

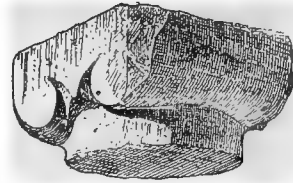
To sum up, there are no characteristic traces of sculpture which might be adduced in favour of the identification suggested for this structure; its age is doubtful and its formation hybrid. I have examined all the blocks with great care, and have not found a single one with a slanting face, which might have allowed of its being assigned to one of the pyramids. These pyramids might, it is true, have been formed of successive steps—we have examples of this—and consequently constructed of squared blocks.

To complete this general description, I will add that I noticed to the north of the northern wall of the structure, some 19 yards from corner (3)—see plans, pp. 362 and 371—of the primitive parallelogram, the entrance to a rock-hewn tomb, and, a few yards to the south-west of this tomb, a round aperture forming the mouth of a cistern, also rock hewn.

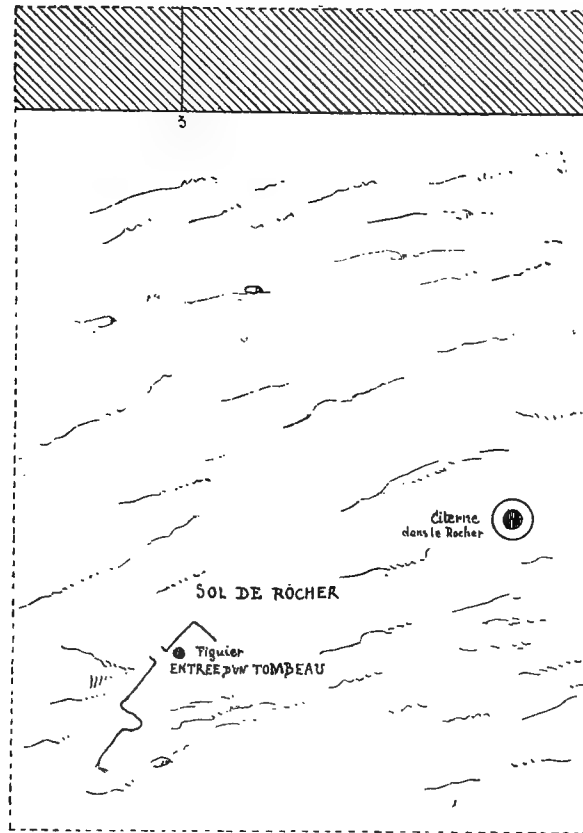
Finally then, if we examine this complex and heterogeneous structure without being biassed by any preconceived notions, we shall arrive at the following conclusions. Before the unascertained period when the building was begun, there existed at the spot where the eastern chamber to-day is, a small burial vault, altogether *rock-hewn*, walls, roof and all; to this vault



BRONZE FIGURE FROM
EL MIDIEH.



access was obtained by a small door formed by cutting vertically into the rock, and opening out on the north side. On entering you discovered on the



SKETCH-PLAN SHOWING THE ENTRANCE TO TOMB IN THE RUIN OF EL GHERBÂWY.

three available walls of the chamber three arcosolia, with demi-cupola arches such as the tombs hereabouts have (notably at K'bûr el Yahûd),* one in front of you in the back wall, the two others to the right and left. This sepulchre must have been hewn in the living rock, and have been bare, and without ornament of mosaics or masonry work. It is one of the ordinary type of the Palestine tombs, and not of the most ancient kind.

Later on, the whole of the upper part of the sepulchre having been broken in, either accidentally or intentionally, this upper part was rebuilt with hewn stone; all the curved surfaces of wall and ceiling being replaced by plane surfaces; the entrance door was raised and a small semicircular arch

* See *infra*, p. 375.

added on the top of it. The tomb thus restored was enclosed in a rectangular structure of which it occupied the eastern extremity, and which may be noticed at points 1, 2, 3, 4. In front of the door of the tomb a vestibule was built, formed of two thick parallel walls joining the north front, perpendicularly, and perhaps forming part of some structure that extended out northwards, to what distance we cannot say.

The insignificant elevation of the roof of the chamber above the level of the adjacent rock, would seem to indicate that the walls that remain standing only represent, so to speak, the lower portions, and that the edifice erected on this basis must have been of much greater height, judging by the thickness of the walls. Possibly the chamber still remained subterranean, and the roof of it formed the floor of the vanished building. What was the nature of the latter? Was it a Christian sanctuary, to which the burial chamber formed a kind of crypt? If the addition of the mosaics took place at the time when the chamber was rebuilt with its walls of squared stone, the question would be decided; but one can never be sure that this ornamentation was not added as an afterthought to some previously existing structure. In any case it indicates a thorough re-arrangement of the primitive structure, whatever the origin of the latter may have been, and explodes the sentimental theories of M. Guérin and his followers.

As for the much later additions forming the western prolongation of the structure, beyond the line 3-2, I think I have sufficiently shown that they may be disregarded for the purposes of the problem.

It is open to anyone to believe that the tomb of the Maccabees was formerly here, but nothing hitherto brought to light proves it. The fact that there are only three *loculi*, instead of the seven which were supposed to have been discovered, has, I think, no significance. Although I assert the non-existence of the seven sepulchral chambers which M. Guérin considers indispensable for his hypothesis, I am far from assigning similar importance to this small point. If an inscription, a characteristic fragment of sculpture or an architectural detail should happen to-morrow—which I should be glad of and do not regard as impossible*—to bring the hitherto missing proof that this is where the mausoleum of the Maccabees really stood, I should

* My idea is that if the monument of the Hasmonæans ever existed in this place, it is in the actual materials used in constructing the ruined building itself and the neighbouring wely, or else in certain houses at Ramleh or Lydda formerly pointed out to me by the Arabs, that we might have a chance of finding some conclusive remains.

have no difficulty for my part, in lodging in this narrow chamber, with its three receptacles, not only the seven historic members of the illustrious family, but their predecessors too. Many Jewish tombs, that have served for centuries the needs of whole generations, have been of no greater size. As deaths took place, room was made for the new arrivals by removing the old bones from the receptacles, "ovens," troughs or benches, and putting them into those small coffin-shaped ossuaries of soft stone of which we have such a number of examples, and which I have found existing in the immediate vicinity of el Midieh. The texts tell us expressly that the Hasmonæans were successively buried *in the tombs of their fathers* (consequently in an old family tomb), and that it was *over* this tomb that Simon afterwards erected the remarkable structure that we know of.

Have we the remains of this structure in the present ruins? Appearances go rather to prove that the transformation of the sepulchre took place after the Christian era. These transformations are not unprecedented in Palestine. It might be and has been said that the mosaic cross that decorates one of the troughs was in fact placed there by the early Christians to hallow the memory of the Maccabees, whom they held in great veneration, confusing them with the seven martyred Maccabee brothers of the legend. If such was the origin of this cross, the fact would not even then be decisive. It would merely tend to prove that the Christians regarded the place as the tomb of the Maccabees, but they may have been mistaken as well as we of to-day, inasmuch as Christian tradition concerning the site of the tomb of the martyred Maccabees has undergone numerous variations. Moreover since M. Guérin, so he assures us, has found human bones in one of the troughs above the mosaics, which latter are certainly Christian, this re-utilization of the tomb for burying purposes is hard to reconcile with the idea of a purely religious consecration by which he has attempted to explain the inconvenient and unexpected appearance of this cross.

Briefly, the identity of el Midieh and Modin does not necessarily imply an identity between the ruins of the Christian tomb of el Gh'birreh and the mausoleum of the Maccabees, any more than the identity of Tibneh and Timnath-Serah implies, to the scientific mind, identity between one of the tombs in the necropolis there with the tomb of Joshua. To adopt this plan, it would be easy to people Palestine with historic tombs, for there is hardly a place of any antiquity which has not its necropolis attached, where the boundless field for selection is all that hinders one in finding places as fancy dictates, for the celebrated personages who were doubtless buried there.

A good critic will therefore do well, I think, to maintain an attitude of prudent reserve with regard to the identification of the ruins of El Gh'birreh with the mausoleum of the Maccabees, after the precise information I have supplied.

As for the aspect that this mausoleum must have presented, judging from the Book of Maccabees and from Josephus, I consider that nothing can give a more accurate notion of it as a whole and in detail, than certain sepulchral monuments that are still visible at several places in Syria, for instance at Hurmul, Sueideh, Hâss, el Bâra, Dâna, and elsewhere.* However, I will not here involve myself in this archæological discussion, it would take me far out of my way. I shall resume it elsewhere.

K'bûr el Yahûd.—We availed ourselves of our stay at el Midieh to make a detailed examination of the very curious necropolis in the neighbourhood,

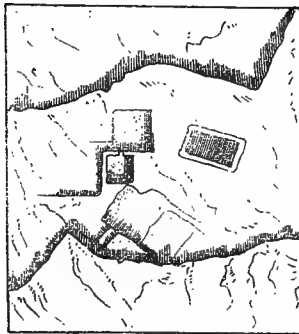


K'BÛR EL YAHÛD NEAR EL MIDIEH.

which is known by the name of K'bûr el Yahûd, and made some drawings of it. First, a general view, showing the exterior aspect of some of these tombs, with their rectangular graves hewn in the rock and furnished with a

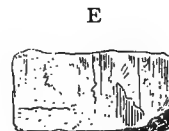
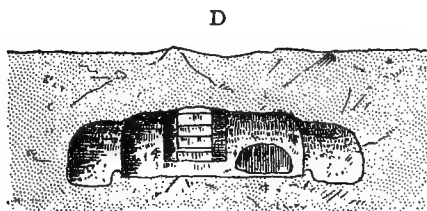
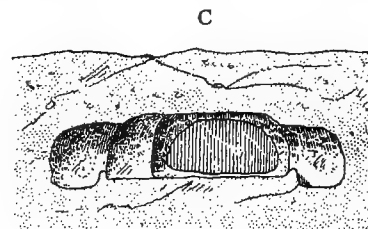
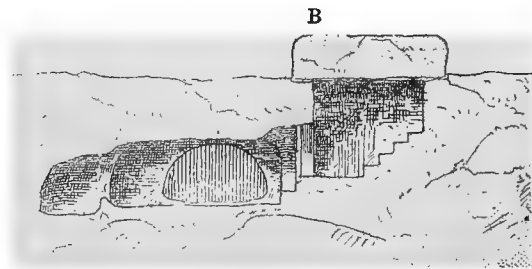
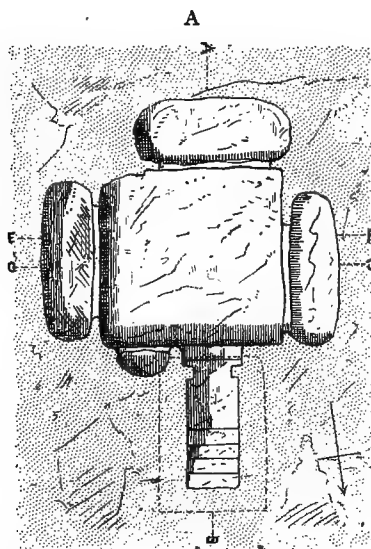
* Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 118. De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Architecture civile et religieuse*, plates, 1, 70, 74, 75, 77. The first of these monuments especially, with the pyramid that surmounted it, the colonnade that surrounds it, and the trophies of arms sculptured upon it, seems to me to correspond in rather a striking way to the descriptions of the Mausoleum of the Hasmonæans.

groove to hold the large blocks that covered them. Alongside the opening of one of these tombs traces of vats and presses are visible.



Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

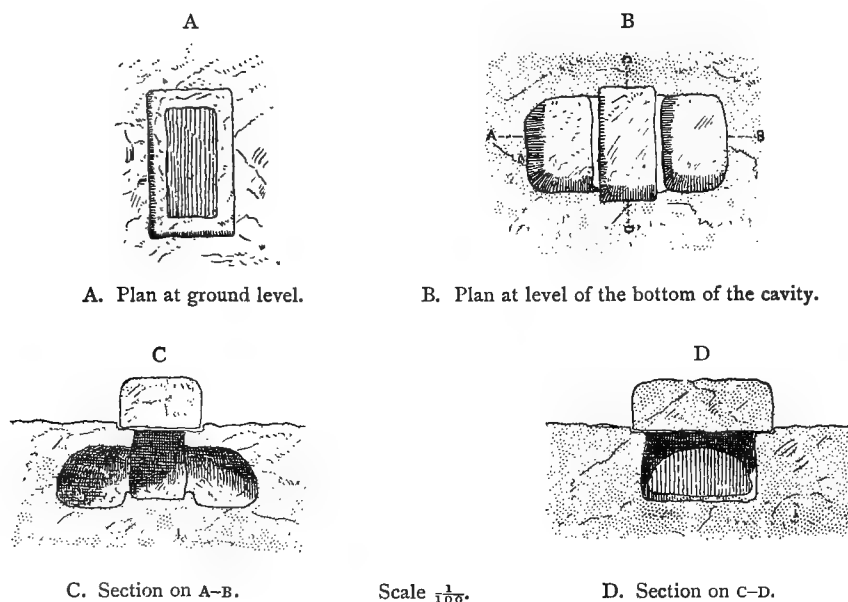
Here are a plan and sections of one of the most remarkable of these tombs. The rectangular grave forms the frame of a staircase of four steps, leading to a chamber with a low ceiling and three demicupolas covering three sepulchral troughs, an arrangement that strikingly reminds one what the primitive chamber in the edifice at El Gh'birreh must have been like originally, before it was restored.



DETAILS OF ROCK-HEWN TOMBS AT K'BÛR EL YAHÛD. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

- A. Plan (the dotted lines indicate the groove intended to admit the covering block).
- B. Section along the axis on A-B.
- C. Cross section on E-F (the observer having his back turned to the door).
- D. Cross section on C-D (the observer looking towards the door and the steps).
- E. Plan of the covering block.
- F. Lateral elevation of the same block.

Here again is another tomb of a similar type; the rectangular grave opens directly into the vault, which consists of two arcosolia (*demi-cupolas*), arranged symmetrically to right and left.



The sections show the covering block in its place in the groove running round the top of the hole.

This tomb presents a striking likeness to the one with a Greek Christian inscription that I have described a short way back (p. 356), near Khûrbet Zakariyeh, and both are strikingly reminiscent of certain tombs at Kokanaya in Northern Syria, which are well known to be of the Christian period.*

El Midieh and its Neighbourhood.—The various groups of ruins near el Midieh which I had examined some years before† are called: *Khûrbet el Hammâm*, *Khûrbet el Lauz*, *Khûrbet el Kal'a*; they belong, say the fellahîn, to a town formerly called *el Munieh*. The plural of the ethnic *Mednâwy* is *Medân'weh*, and also *Medâw'neh*. The inhabitants of el Midieh came originally from *Ya'bad*, to the north of Nâblus, at any rate one branch of them did; they belong to the clan (*hammûleh*) of *es Sadakiyeh*.

* Cf. particularly the one represented in Plate No. 96 of M. de Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale*. The epitaph cut on this is exactly assignable to the year 368–369 of our era.

† See *infra*, Appendix.

Various Observations.—On making a fresh visit to the village of el Midieh I noticed a fragment of a marble slab having incised on it a Greek cross inscribed in a wreath. It closely resembled a slab used in the decoration of the Sakhra at Jerusalem.

— One of our workmen at el Midieh declared he knew of an inscribed stone at Khûrbet el Hammâm. He was to look for it next day, but I never heard any further tidings of it.

— At Beit Likîâ there is said to be an inscription over a door.

— Another inscription was mentioned as being near Khûrbet Rakkûbis.

— One of the workmen engaged on our excavations, who belonged to Na'îlî,* a little to the north-east of el Midieh, brought me some fragments of an ossuary of soft stone, ornamented with rosettes of an ordinary type engraved with point, which he had found in an old tomb near the village. I went there myself to make sure of the fact, and saw there another ossuary in a complete state, also of soft stone, furnished with four rests, a roof-shaped lid, and notches to assist in moving it about. The fact is interesting, as it shows that the use of these ossuaries, which properly belong to Jewish archæology, extended at least as far as these parts.

Beit 'Ûr and el Jîb.—On Monday, September 14, I left el Midieh for Jerusalem, where I was wanted on business in the matter of Gezer. I merely went straight there and back, returning late the next night.

On this hurried journey I could only make very short observations. The ascent between the two Beit 'Ûrs (Beth-horon the Upper and the Lower) is called *el 'Arkûb*; it is a bad road, cut in the living rock, with small steps here and there. At the top, on the left hand, is *Khûrbet Râs S'nôbar*, where are hewn stones and lintels with rosettes. After the first hill, in the middle of the road, is a piece of a milestone (?). Near Beit 'Ûr el Fôkâ, on the ancient way, to the right, are numbers of small steps cut in the rock; a birkeh with a staircase hewn out in the rock.

— At el Jîb, the ethnic of which is *Jîwâby* in the singular, *Jêwâbeh* in the plural, I was told of a cave with writing over the door. I visited it on my way back. It is a rock-hewn tomb, one of a group lying near the rather extensive ruins of Iben Nada, to the west of el Jîb. I did, in fact, notice over the door the remains of an inscription in square Hebrew characters, but

* One of the subscribing witnesses to a deed of gift of Baudoin de Mirabel, in the year 1167 (Paoli, *Cod. Diplom.*, I, 213), bears the name of Isaac of *Naalîn*. I believe he belonged to our village of *Na'îlî*.

could only make out the first letters ידו? "Yeho"
(Commencement of a proper name)?

FROM EL MIDIEH TO GAZA.

We left el Midieh on the Saturday morning for Gaza, passing through Ramleh and Berkâ, where we slept. At Berkâ is the sanctuary of the eponymous saint *Neby Bark* (برق),* regarded in tradition as a son of Jacob.

Ascalon.—Next day we proceeded on our way to Gaza. As we passed through Jôrah, near Ascalon, I copied some Greek characters of the



GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM JÔRAH.

Christian epoch, cut on two fragments of a marble slab. The letters **ACK** that appear on one of them may perhaps have been part of the name 'Ασκάλων or 'Ασκαλωνίτης.

A Greek monk from Jerusalem named Parthenios had told me some years previously† that there was at Ascalon a large sarcophagus of white marble with bas-reliefs of men and horses and an inscription, "Syriac interspersed with Greek characters." I was not able to ascertain what foundation there might be for this statement, so I set it down here for the benefit of future explorers.

Barbarâ.—At Barbarâ is a wely consecrated to *Sheikh Yûsef*. This is quite an historical personage. We are in a position of certainty on this matter, thanks to a passage in the Arab chronicler *Mujîr ed Dîn*,‡ who tells

* Also pronounced *Neby Berg* (see *supra*, p. 192).

† 1870. Carnet III, p. 29 b.

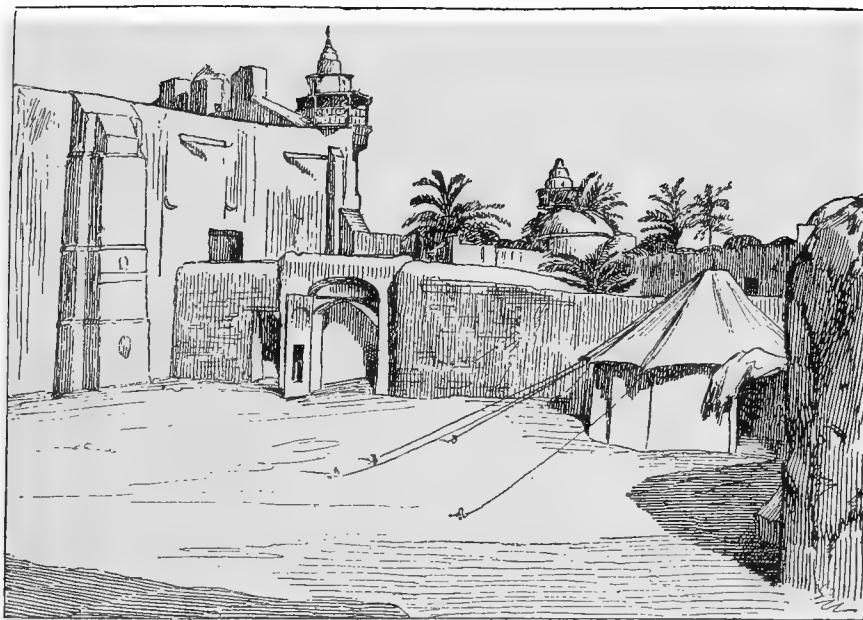
‡ Bulak Arabic text, p. 491.

us that there is at Barbarâ (بربرا), a village in the province of Gaza, near Ascalon, the venerated tomb of a celebrated lawyer, Abu'l Mahâsen *Yûsef el Barbarâwy*.

Beit Jerja.—A little south of Barbarâ is the village of Beit Jerja. I have no hesitation in identifying this with the puzzling place *Jarha*, a village of Ascalon according to *Yâkût*, which has had its name mutilated into *Jarhar* by the *Marâsed* (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 462). I consider the two readings of the MSS. جرحة and جرحر are alike erroneous. The mere restoration of the point of the letter *jîm*, which has disappeared, suffices to give the name of the modern village (جرجة).

GAZA.

We stayed at Gaza from Sunday the 20th till Saturday the 26th of September. We had pitched our tent in the courtyard of the Greek convent, beside the interesting little church, which it was part of my programme to study.



COURTYARD OF GREEK CONVENT AT GAZA.

These six days were taken up in making notes of the numerous inscriptions and other remains at Gaza, most of which I had already had

an opportunity of examining on the occasion of my former visit in January, 1870, when I was summoned to that city by my consular duties to direct the salvage of a French brig that had been wrecked off the coast.

Various Observations.—I will begin by making some extracts from the notes I took at that time.* I am not speaking of the numerous Greek inscriptions that I copied there and took squeezes of,—these I shall give later on, together with some new ones.

— “On the beach at Gaza, about a quarter of an hour to the north of the Quarantine building, I noticed some sand-hillocks with ruins underneath, comprising walls, cemented masonry, potsherds, etc. The spot is called *el B'lâkhiyeh* (البلخية). Quite close to the Quarantine building are some more heaps of ancient *débris*, without name.”

— “*Nizleh* (the Nesleh of Van de Velde) is someway inland, and, according to information I received, must be about opposite the spot where the French vessel ‘Clémence’ went down, further north than *el B'lâkhiyeh*, and about one hour distant.”

— “There is a part of the town called *Bâb ed Dârân*. This quarter is near *el Muntâr*, and a market is held there. The Christian Arabs pretend that this name is a corruption of *Bâb Deîr er Rûm* (‘the gate of the convent of the Christians’).”

— “Between Sheikh ‘Ajlîn and Sheikh Hasan, as you go along the shore from south to north, the following places occur: *Sheikh ‘Ajlîn*; *Zawalan* (? a word partly obliterated); *el Kishâneh* (القشانة); the Quarantine Building; *Sheikh Hasan*; then (?): *el B'lâkhiyeh*; *Hajar en Nusrâny* (‘the Christian’s stone’); *es Siâfeh* (السيافة).”

— “Sheikh ‘Ajlîn (عجلين), according to local tradition, was a son of Jacob and brother to Rûbîn. The place with which his name is connected is about an hour to the south of Gaza, on the sea-shore, and comprises a few small houses built of loam or mud, and a small mosque on a picturesque cliff by the edge of the sea. On a block of marble built into a well apparently of some antiquity, quite close to the sea, was an Arabic inscription considerably worn, which I copied. Translated it runs thus: ‘Restored this blessed well the Emir Ahmed Aghâ, *mutesellem* of the liwâ of Gaza at the present time. Year . . . (*figures obliterated*).’”

— “The memory of Samson has been kept alive in local tradition at Gaza. He is called in it *Shemshûm Abul ‘Âzem* (شمشوم ابو العازم) and *Shemshûm el Jabbâr* (الجبار) ‘the hero’.”

— “I paid a visit to the Great Mosque. There I noticed on one of the columns, very high up, a wreath carved in relief, with the seven-branched candlestick inside it; below, a cartouche containing an inscription in four lines. I could not make out what character it was in on account of the distance, but some of it looked like Greek.”

* 1870. Carnet III, p. 30, and Carnet IV, p. 6.

"I ascended to the top of the minaret so as to get a general idea of the disposition of the town, but had to come down again hastily and get out of the place, for some soldiers of the garrison having noticed me from outside, rushed in a body into the mosque, threatening to do me violence."

— "M. Koutzourelli, the Greek consul at Jerusalem, who has lived in Palestine for many years, told me that there existed at *Khürbet Tabiyeh* (?) about four hours south of Gaza, in the interior,* an ancient sarcophagus, on the lid of which the figure of a man was carved. Can this be a sarcophagus with anthropoid lid like those at Sidon?

The small Mediæval Church.—The small church of the Greek convent, close to which we were encamped, is rather, from its diminutive size, a chapel than a church. It is in its way an architectural gem, in a rare state of preservation, having all the features complete, even to roofing, eaves, and buttresses. The building consists of a single nave with only two bays, and was erected by the Crusaders, though apparently on the plan of a previously existing Byzantine chapel, to judge by the depth of the apse, and also from materials provided by an earlier structure.

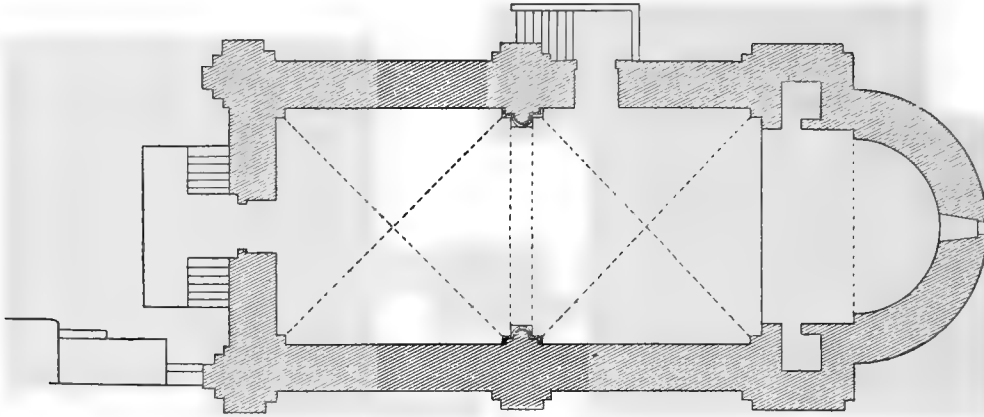
Throughout the building ancient marble columns are used (1) as bonding-pieces, with the object of binding the walls, which are built of small blocks; (2) as horizontal courses, lintels, moulded string-courses, and corbels. The bases of the columns are likewise of marble. The columns and the capitals belong to another period (earlier than the Crusades). The capital has neither the proportions nor the general character of the mediæval period to which the church belongs.



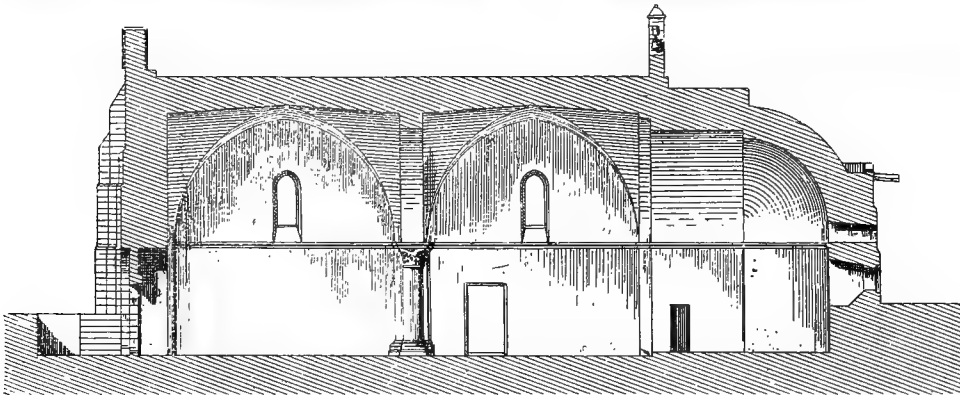
SIDE ELEVATION.

* Perhaps the *Khürbet Zettanieh* of Guérin, near the ancient Gerar? The name *Tabiyeh* recalls that of *Thabatha*, an ancient locality that I speak of further on; but the distance will not suit.

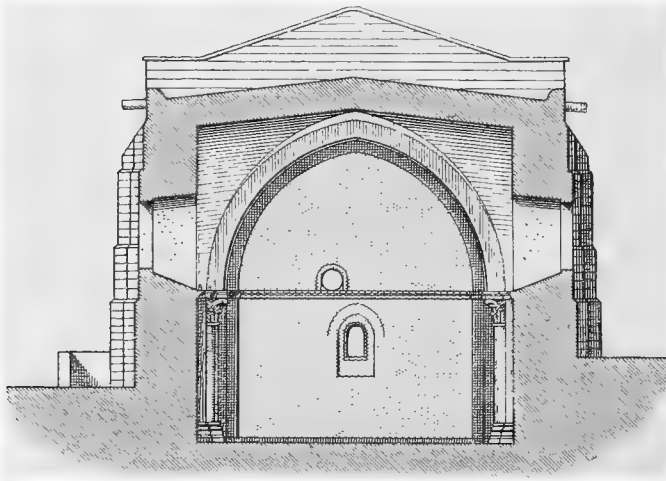
We noticed the following masons' marks on several marble or stone blocks that gave signs of the mediæval tool-marks. (*See Part I, the *Special Table of Masons' Marks.**)



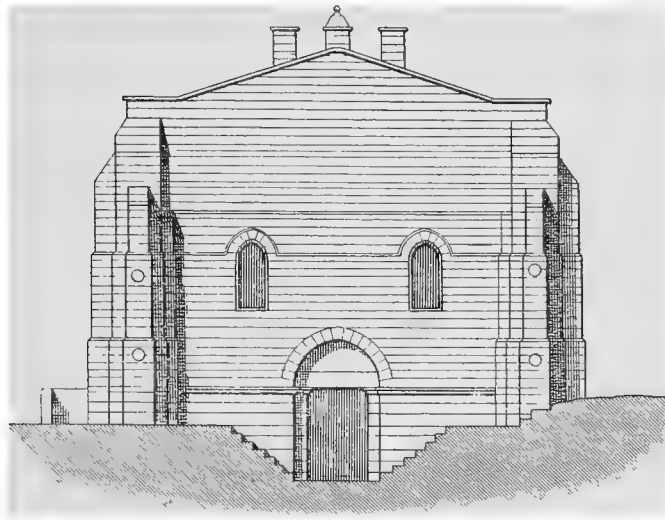
PLAN OF SMALL MEDIÆVAL CHURCH AT GAZA. Scale $\frac{1}{330}$.



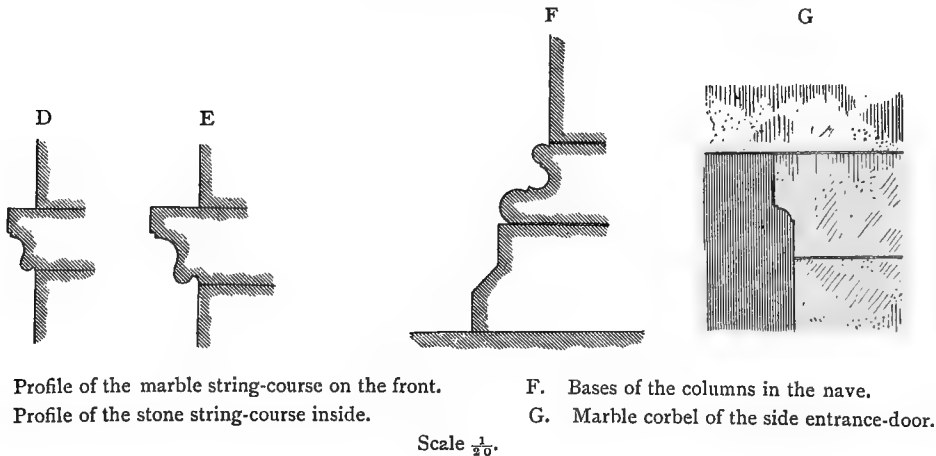
LONGITUDINAL SECTION. Scale $\frac{1}{330}$.



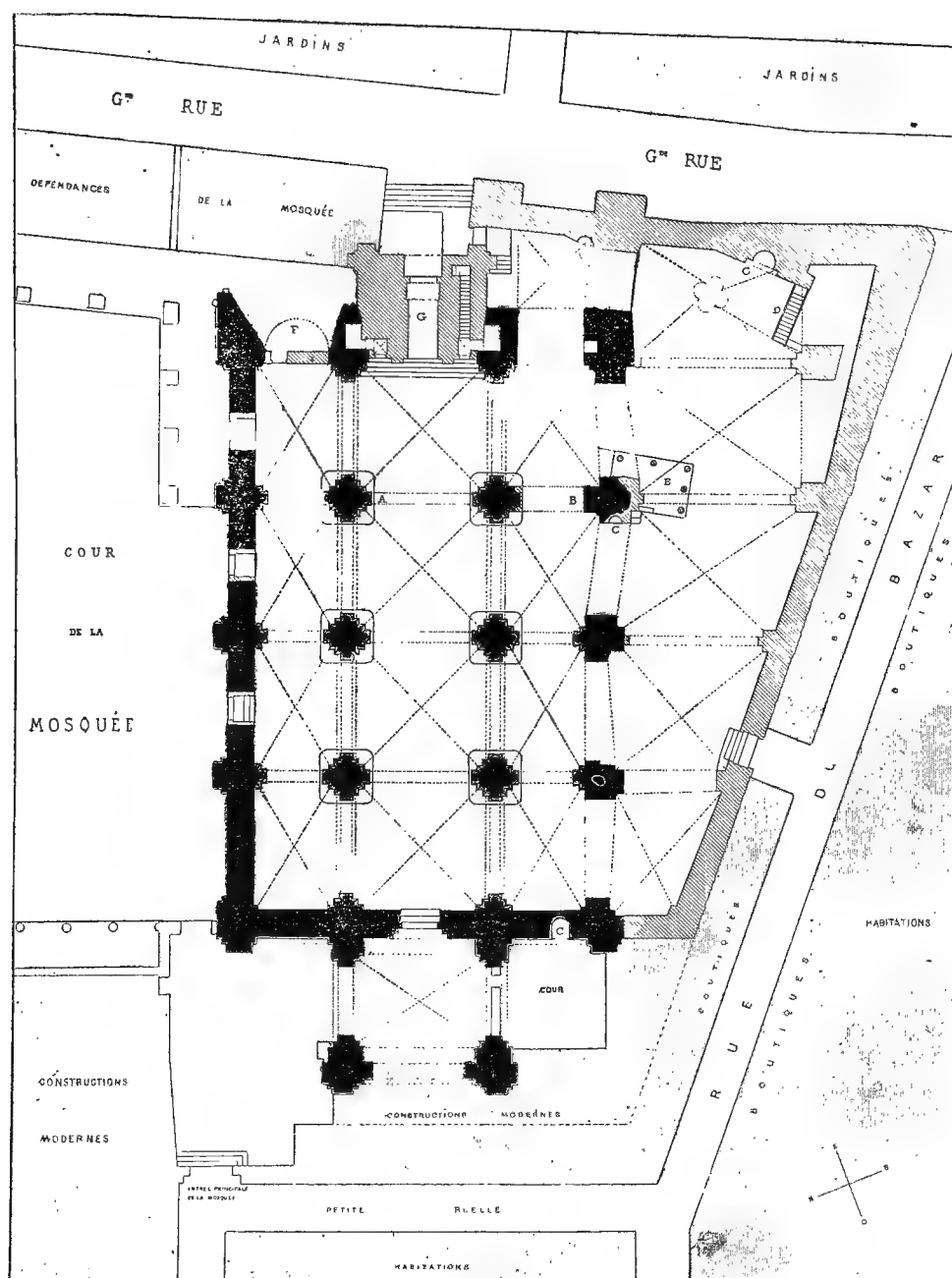
TRANSVERSE SECTION, LOOKING TOWARDS APSE. Scale $\frac{1}{330}$.



PRINCIPAL FRONT. Scale $\frac{1}{320}$.



The Great Mosque.—As has been recognized long since, the great Mosque of Gaza is simply a Crusaders' church, altered and disfigured by the Mussulmans, who have appropriated it to the needs of their worship. This church was built by the Crusaders out of older material, most skilfully adapted. I will not follow in the steps of so many other travellers by giving a general description of this edifice. The excellent drawings of M. Lecomte, executed on a large scale from our detailed observations, though engraved on a reduced scale, speak for themselves, and are worth more than any description. I will confine myself to putting forward a few statements, laying stress on those that have escaped the attention of my predecessors.

Scale $\frac{1}{358}$.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE GREAT MOSQUE (CRUSADERS' CHURCH) AT GAZA AND THE ADJACENT STRUCTURES.

(The black portions denote the parts built by the Crusaders; the hatched portions those built by the Mussulmans).

A. Pier containing a column with carved shaft; this will be discussed later on.

B. Pier "of the oozing of blood" (after a native legend connected with the origin of the church, which is said to have been dedicated to St. John the Baptist).

C C C C. Niches for *mihrrābs*.D. *Menbar* (pulpit for the *khatīb*).

E. Tribune for the readers of the Koran.

F. Remains of a small apse.

G. Minaret, occupying the position of the central apse.

The church is not regularly orientated, which would seem to indicate that, though it may have utilized the materials, it has not exactly followed the original plan of the Byzantine basilica which it is supposed to have replaced, and which perhaps was not far distant. The Mussulmans have destroyed the whole of the boundary-wall of the right aisle (as you look in the direction of the apse), and have carried it further to the south, giving it quite a slanting direction with regard to the axis of the building. Furthermore they have destroyed the apses and set up in the place of the central one a large minaret, from the top of which the eye can rove over the whole extent of the town. However, we detected (at F on the plan) the remains of the small apse on the left side.



VIEW OF THE FAÇADE IN ITS PRESENT STATE.

The church consists of three aisles. The middle one is much higher than the side aisles, and is formed by two orders of pillars superimposed. On the four sides of each of the pillars are engaged columns of bluish-grey marble, with handsome capitals of the Corinthian order.

In the left boundary-wall, and in the axis of the three bays nearest the apse, are cut three square openings, two of which are closed by railings and serve as windows, and the third serves as door communicating with a large courtyard belonging to the mosque. Above these three openings are cut

three pointed windows of less breadth, with deep reveals. The fourth bay, on the side next the door, has only one window, similar to the preceding ones, but without a corresponding square opening above it.

The wall of the façade is pierced with two similar windows on the same level, in the axis of the two side aisles, and in the midst, in the axis of the central nave, with a rose-window, at the same height as the upper story. This upper story is itself lit (on the left side as you look at the apse) by four other windows like those below, and cut, as they are, in the axis of the four bays.



ELEVATION OF THE FAÇADE, CLEARED OF THE RUBBISH OBSTRUCTING IT. Scale $\frac{1}{32}$.

The left boundary-wall is flanked on the outside by buttresses, formed of four weatherings, and corresponding to the bays on the inside, in such a way as to sustain the side thrust of the cross arches of the aisle.

The original door, which opens out of the north-west front, has before it a porch supported by four large pillars. This porch, which is well preserved, though half sunk beneath the rubbish accumulated outside, is extremely curious, for as far as I know it is the first certain instance we have of the kind in a Crusaders' church.

In the façade, over the door, is the rose-window, with a very refined moulding. This façade, with its pointed gable, its two buttresses, its rose-window in the centre, and its porch, exactly resembles those of western

churches of the 12th century.* The general effect, though very simple, is quite charming. The stones of the façade have suffered a good deal; they are deeply weather-worn, and the characteristic tool-marking of the Crusaders is only recognizable here and there.

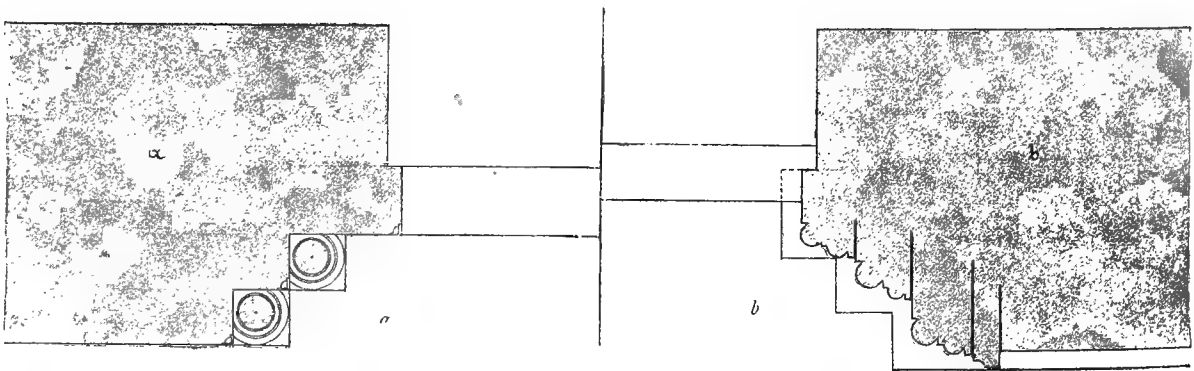


PROFILE OF THE ROSE-WINDOW OF THE GABLE.

The principal door of the church, which opens out under the porch, is a pointed arch of three orders, each of which is formed of a *torus* and a bead, and resting on an abacus which is prolonged as a string-course to right and left along the wall of the façade. The abacus beneath the inmost covering rests directly on the uprights of the door; the springs of the two front coverings are supported, by the aid of the abacus, on two dwarf columns surmounted with crocketed capitals. The columns rest on square bases, ornamented with three vertical flutings.† The archivolt, formed of a moulding of a plain description, displays at its two springing points a small acanthus-leaf bent back, handsomely carved in relief. It should be noticed that the archivolt has a vertical joint in the middle, whereas the inner arches have keystones.

* Gaza having been occupied and partly rebuilt by the Crusaders in 1149 (William of Tyre, VII, 12), sacked by Saladin in 1170 and finally taken by him after the battle of Hattin in 1187, the building of the mediæval church should probably be assigned to a date between 1149 and 1170. It was probably set on foot by the Templars, who were established at Gaza by Baldwin III. The documents of the time unfortunately give us no information about this church.

† Compare the similar fluted bases in the porch of the mosque of el Aksâ, and another built into the rampart wall of Jerusalem (near the so-called Gate of Herod, above a loop-hole). See also *supra*, that of Neby Mûsa, engraving p. 49.

6^m.ELEVATION OF THE ENTRANCE-DOOR. Scale $\frac{1}{63}$.5^m.PLAN OF THE DOOR (*a*, AT THE LEVEL OF THE DWARF COLUMNS; *b*, ABOVE THE STRING-COURSE). Scale $\frac{1}{40}$.

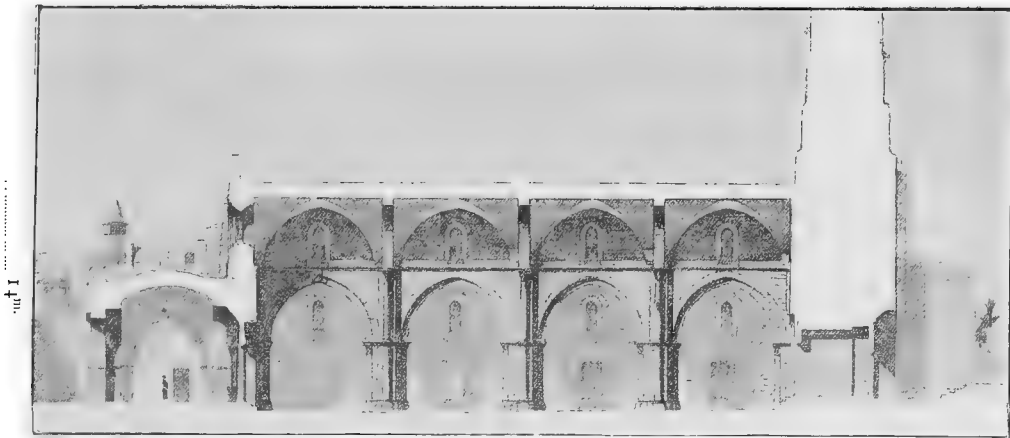
All the component parts of this doorway are of marble, as well as the lintel which rests, in the tympanum, on the abacus. On examining from the interior the back of the door, I noticed that this lintel was made out of an ancient column of which there is still visible a cylindrical portion, polished; the surfaces where the shaft has been squared by the Crusaders show the characteristic diagonal tool-marking.

The inner side of the tympanum, above the lintel, is covered with plaster of modern date, beneath which there appears some more of older origin, with painted imitation courses.

The three sections below, compared with the plan given above, will conduce to a better understanding of the interior disposition of this remarkable edifice, disfigured as it is by the alterations to which the Mussulmans have subjected it.



0^m40
DETAIL OF THE SPRINGING POINT OF THE
ARCHIVOLT. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

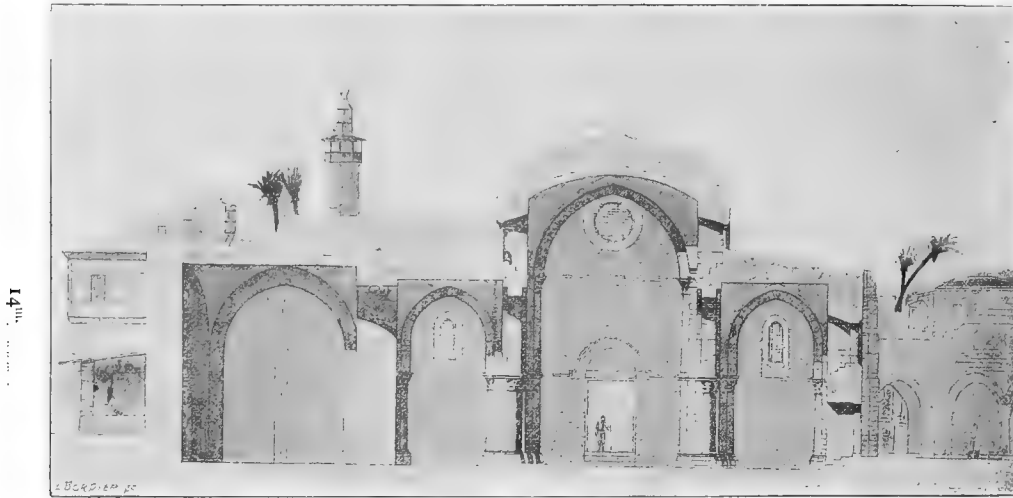


LONGITUDINAL SECTION ALONG THE AXIS. Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

I give also below the details of the construction of the first lower string-course, which will show how the architects of the Crusaders managed to incorporate with their work the ancient columns that they made use of.

Bilingual Inscription in Greek and Hebrew.—I had noticed in 1870, as I said before, on the shaft of one of the upper columns of the central nave (marked A on the plan) a carved *bas relief* representing the seven-branched candlestick inscribed in a crown, and below it a cartouche with an inscription

of three lines. I had taken a sketch of it as well as I could, but even with the help of a field-glass I had only been able to make out a few Greek characters, the inscription being placed too high, and the letters being moreover partly obscured by a thick coating of dust. This time I resolved to set my mind at



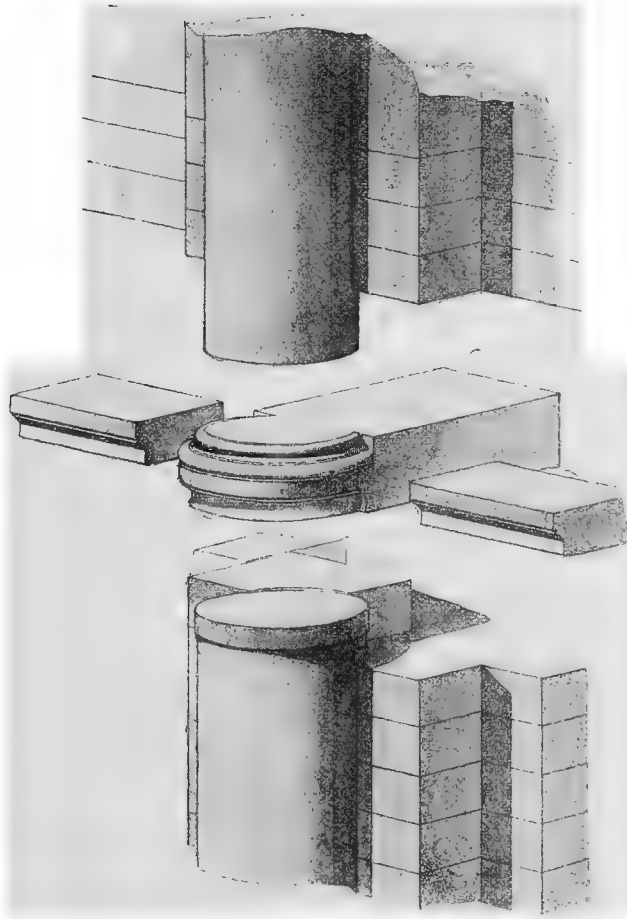
TRANSVERSE SECTION, AS YOU LOOK AT THE ENTRANCE FROM INSIDE. Scale $\frac{1}{32}$.



TRANSVERSE SECTION, AS YOU LOOK IN THE DIRECTION OF THE APSE. Scale $\frac{1}{32}$.

rest. I caused several ladders to be tied together, and managed to scramble up to the *bas relief*. I must confess that I did not feel very comfortable when I found myself perched at a height of over twenty feet on this unsteady support, the bottom of which rested on the slippery flags of the mosque, and the top

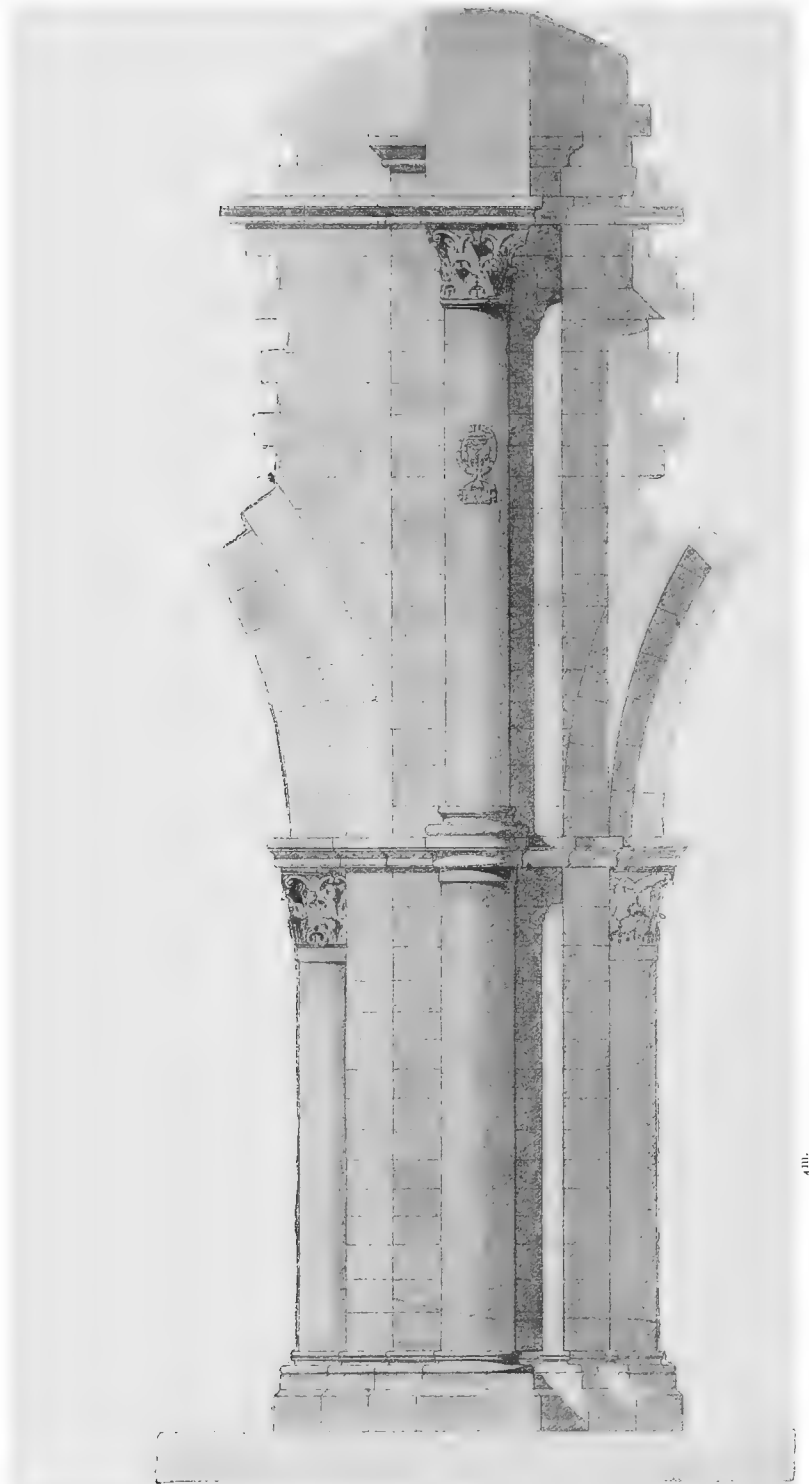
only touched at one point the smooth cylindrical shaft of the column. A single false step, and I should very likely have been thrown down and dashed on the ground. I nevertheless attempted, under these precarious conditions, to take a squeeze of the *bas relief* and the inscription after having carefully cleaned them. The operation was a long one, as I had to deliberate on every movement, in order not to lose my balance. Finally it succeeded, and I uttered a sigh of relief when I got back to *terra firma* with good squeezes.



DETAILS OF STRING COURSE.

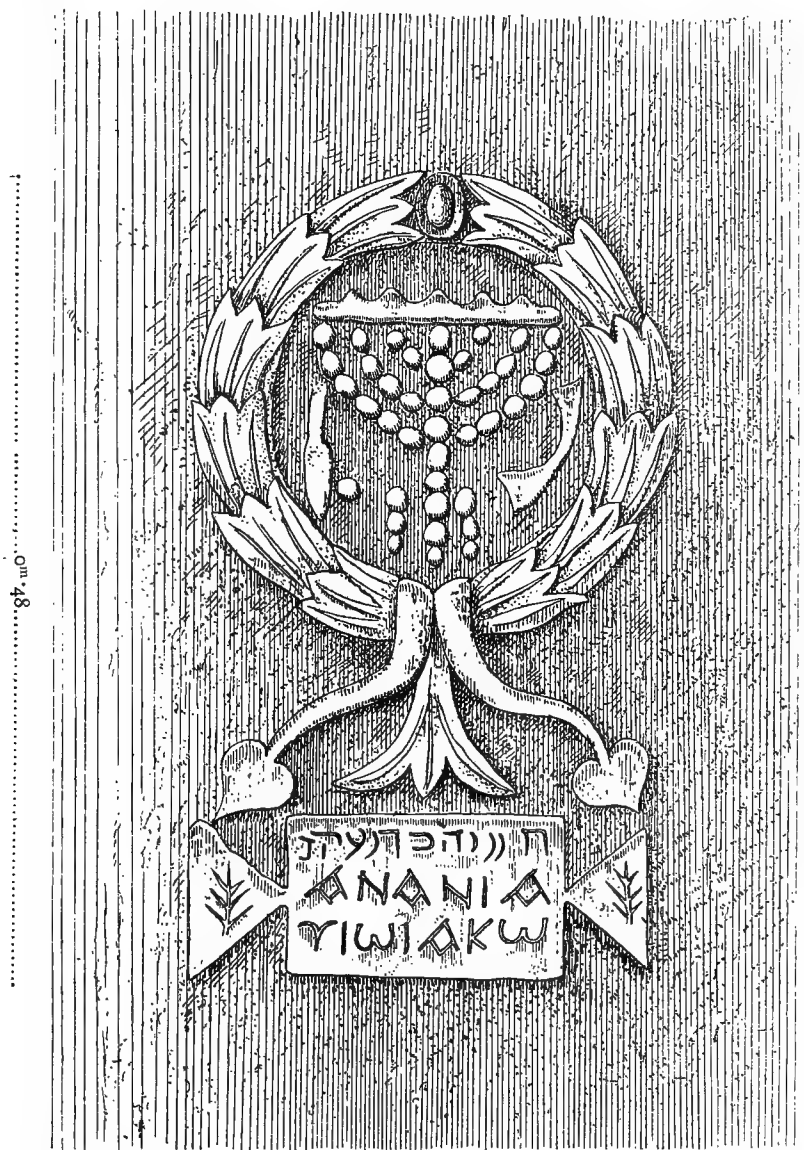
It might have cost me dear, but these are the slight risks attendant on the archæologist's calling.

However, I was well rewarded for this risky climb by the importance of the inscription and *bas relief*. I succeeded in obtaining a faithful reproduction of it, the interest of which will be shortly apparent. I give, first of all, the geometrical elevation of the pier A, with the two columns placed one above the other, of which the upper one bears the *bas relief* in question.



ELEVATION OF PIER BEARING HEBREW AND GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (GAZA GREAT MOSQUE). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Next comes a reproduction on a larger scale of the *bas-relief* itself.



THE BAS-RELIEF ON PIER OF GREAT MOSQUE AT GAZA.

It measures 0^m. 48 in height. It consists of a crown of leaves closed at the top with an egg-shaped gem, and bound round the bottom with a fillet with its two ends terminating in ivy-leaves. In the centre is carved a conventional representation of the seven-branched candlestick, flanked as usual by the horn for holy oil and the sacrificial knife. This symbol alone

would suffice to ascribe a Jewish origin to the carving, and the ascription is expressly confirmed by the inscription below it. This consists of three lines, incised in a cartouche in relief furnished with triangular auricles, in which are cut two small palms. The first line is in square Hebrew characters, apparently of some antiquity.* I read it thus :

חנניה בר יעקב, "Hananiah son of Jacob."

From the palæographical point of view, the shape of the *nuns*, and from the philological point of view, the use of the Aramaic *bar* for *ben*, "son," are to be noted.

The two other lines are in Greek characters, perhaps of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., they read: Ἀνανία υἱὸς Ἰακώ, "To Ananias son of Jacob(b)."

The inscription therefore, it will be seen, is really bilingual, and the two parts, the Greek and the Hebrew, explain each other in the places where an isolated examination might result in doubt. The name of *Jacob* is written Ἰακώ, instead of Ἰακώβ. It is impossible to suppose that the final *β* has been accidentally destroyed, my squeeze shows not a trace of it. It was therefore never cut. Was this an omission on the part of the workman? I do not think so. I am rather inclined to believe that a popular abbreviated form *Iakô* existed, together with *Iacôb*, among the Hellenising Jews. Another instance is to be found, if I mistake not, in a long and curious *tabella devotionis* incised on a sheet of lead discovered at Hadrumetum in 1890, and published by M. Maspero.† Here we read twice over: τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τὸν Ἰαὼ τὸν τοῦ Ἰακὼ, "the God of Abraham (Jaô Sabaoth is here meant) and Jaô, the God of *Iakos*." M. Maspero proposes to correct to: Ἰ(σ)άκου, "of Isaac;" but is this correction absolutely necessary? I should believe that it is the God of *Jacob* rather than of *Isaac* that is meant, at any rate the name of Jacob has as much right as that of Isaac to figure in this well-known formula. The Hadrumetum text, confronted with that from Gaza, proves to us that the name of Jacob in its form Ἰακω became finally assigned to a nominative

* The shape of the *heth* is not very accurately rendered in the engraving; it is really like this: .

† *Collections du Musée Alaoui*, Sér. I, Livr. 8, p. 101. It is a magic incantation by which a certain Domitiana tries to win the love of a certain Urbanus to whom she is attached.

Ἰάκος.* We have grounds perhaps for taking this form into account, now that it has been shown to exist, in explaining those which the name of Jacob has assumed in the Romance languages: *Iago* (*Diego, Tiago*), and *Jacques*. This tendency to alter proper names by eliminating the final consonant is moreover noticeable at an early period among the Jews. There are several examples of this, but one of the most striking is afforded by the name of *Joseph* יוסף, which commonly becomes in the Rabbis: יוסי, יוסה, and יוסא, *José, Josah, Josa*, and in Greek and Latin (in the inscriptions of Syria): Ἰωσῆς, Εἰσοσῆ, *Iose*.

The dative νῖφ in the Greek portion of our inscription shows that we have before us a dedication made to Hananiah son of Jacob and not one made by him. On the other hand it is difficult to suppose that this is a funerary dedication, considering the nature of the object on which it appears. This great column over 4 mètres in height, with its handsome capital, is evidently a portion of an architectural scheme of considerable size. I am rather inclined to think that it is an instance of a column of honour, on which the name of our personage, together with the *bas-relief*, has been carved, in order to reward him for some services of a religious or perhaps civil nature. If so, the column would be of the same kind as those of Palmyra, with long dedications to such and such a personage.† These columns at Palmyra (of the Corinthian order just like ours) form long avenues or adorn the courts or porticos of the temples, and mostly, though not in all cases, have brackets fixed into their shafts, for holding the statue or bust of the personage. As the Jewish religion does not allow of the representation of the human form, this representation has been replaced here by the symbolical *bas-relief* surmounted by the name of Hananiah.

It is very probable that this column belongs to a colonnade that formed part of some Jewish edifice, perhaps some monumental synagogue. This conclusion is interesting, as it might be applied to the other kindred materials used over again by the Crusaders in building the great church at Gaza, which have been the subject of various more or less plausible hypotheses. We have too little information about the history of Gaza during the early centuries of

* I believe I have come across another instance on a *titulus* from the Jewish necropolis at Joppa, which I took a squeeze of in 1881. This ends with: *παρὰ Ἰακω*. I find the same form, abbreviated, in a *graffito* from Mt. Sinai (Lepsius, No. 84; Euting, *Sinait. Inscr.*, No. 510) where the name **IAKΩ** occurs in combination with that of **IWB** = (*Jacob* and *Job*).

† De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale. Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 2, and *passim*.

our era, to assert the possible existence in that town of a synagogue as important as this fine column would imply, at the time to which the inscription on the latter refers us.* Gaza remained till quite late in the arms of paganism. It does not appear that the Jews had ever got a footing there, and they would not have been allowed to choose the time when Christianity was established there for building a sumptuous edifice devoted to their cult.

Accordingly I begin to wonder whether by chance our column was originally in some other town, and was brought to Gaza. One's thoughts turn to Alexandria or Cæsarea, these being two important centres of Judaism, and sea-carriage from them being easy. It must not be forgotten that when the Empress Eudoxia, at the beginning of the 5th century, built the basilica called after her *Eudoxiana*, on the very site of the Sanctuary of the god Marnas, she *sent thirty-two columns* to help build it.† Where did these columns come from? Perhaps the one we are dealing with, and its fellows, was among the number. According to a not improbable tradition, the church of the Crusaders of which it now forms part was erected on the site of the basilica of Eudoxia. However that is a mere conjecture. There were other Byzantine churches at Gaza, which might have been transformed by the Crusaders, for instance the churches of St. Sergius and St. Stephen the protomartyr, built by Bishop Marcianus under Justinian, also with old materials fetched from a distance: in Proconnesos, at Lacedæmon, at Karystos, at Sangarios in Caria, etc. Choricus of Gaza has left us some most curious details about these two churches. The first stood in the north part of the town, not far from the market, the second near the eastern gate, on an eminence.

I will add, to complete this description, that this column displays the mediæval tool-marking over all its lower part, up to about a yard below the cartouche; above which point it is polished. The primitive surface evidently must have been touched up in parts by the Crusaders, but, luckily for us, they have left the *bas-relief* intact.

Ancient Columns.—Another column displays a cross, originally carved in relief, and then scraped down by the Mussulmans, leaving, however, distinguishable traces. On another column I noticed a symmetrical arrange-

* The Προσευχή at Gaza, mentioned by the Deacon Mark in his *Life of St. Porphyry*, was a Pagan, not a Jewish place of prayer.

† The Deacon Mark, *op. cit.*, § 84.

ment of holes, which doubtless served to fasten on a cross, probably a metal one, with two cross-beams. This cross is of the type known as the patriarchal, and dates from the Crusading period.

Another column presents numerous *horizontal* cuts, evidently made by the rubbing of ropes. This detail alone would suffice to prove that it was existing before the Crusaders, and has been like the others used over again by them to build their church. These deep cuts, resulting from long friction, can only be accounted for in one way. The column must have been placed, in accordance with a practice still existing, near the mouth of a cistern or well, to serve as a support for the ropes belonging to the buckets by which the water was drawn up. It must have taken years, perhaps centuries, to score the marble so deeply.

Another indication helps to show that the columns were not made by the Crusaders themselves, and that is that the columns and capitals, although built into the piers, are complete. If we had to deal with architectural details of really mediæval origin, we should probably find applied semi-columns, divided into drums corresponding to the blocks behind, as for instance in the great church at Lydda.

Besides, numerous shafts of columns have been built into the walls as bonds.

In the inner walls, at projecting corners, I noticed many marble blocks displaying simultaneously the characteristic diagonal tool-marks of the Crusaders on one side, and a quite different marking, of the kind known as "pocking," on the other. It is probable that these blocks also are part of the old material that was re-utilized in the twelfth century. Several masons' marks are carved on them, some occurring repeatedly. (See the Special Table, Vol. I.) The mark ✱ appears again on several blocks on the outer walls.

Sculptured and Inscribed Fragments.—In the flagging of the Mosque I discovered several ancient fragments: two pieces of marble flagstones with traces of wreaths carved in low relief.

In the left aisle (as you look at the original entrance-door from the inside) is a fragment of a marble flagstone, cleft in two, and worn by the tread of feet, with remains of a Greek inscription, which I copied and took a squeeze of. It was at least five lines long, one line being in much smaller characters than the rest. It is too much mutilated for a restoration to be possible, but was doubtless a dated Christian epitaph, after the manner of those that I shall give later on,



I can only make out with certainty the words [μ]η(νὶ) [Ξ]ανθικο[ῦ], "in the month Xanthikos," in line 4, which were doubtless followed by numeral letters indicating the day of the month; and, in line 5, the word ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), denoting the indiction, which must also have been followed by a numeral. Line 4 may, perhaps, begin with the well-known funerary formula, ἀνεπάη, "rested."

From another marble flag in the central nave I copied the letters Ο Ν, forming part of an inscription that has been quite worn away.

On a marble flag in the pavement of the outer courtyard are almost indistinguishable traces of a Greek inscription, with remains of a cross below. The first line, which is worn away all along the tops of the letters, seems to me to be also the beginning of an epitaph:*

[Ε]ΝΘΑΔΕ Κ[ΕΙΤΑΙ] . . . "Here lies."

Among these flags are perhaps some of still older date, belonging to the sanctuary of the god Marnas, if it be admitted that the Crusaders' church was erected on the site of the basilica of Eudoxia. We know, as a matter of fact, that the marble slabs which lined the Pagan temple were placed in front of the basilica so as to be trodden under foot.



INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED AT GAZA.

Up to 1870 nothing was known of any inscriptions at Gaza, with the exception of a small square leaden object, measuring 0^m·063 by 0^m·065, which was obtained in Syria by M. Waddington† and presented by him to the Department of Medals at the Bibliothèque Nationale. This object, probably

* For these scraps of inscriptions, compare what is said further on under the heading of the Gaza inscriptions.

† *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, No. 1904.

a weight, bears on its face the mark Ψ , the Phœnician *mem*, which is the well known initial of the name of the god particularly connected with Gaza, *Marnas*; and on the reverse a Greek inscription of five lines: *Κολωνίας Γάζης, ἐπὶ Ἡρώδου Διοφάντου*, "Of the colony of Gaza, under Herodes Diophantos" (probably some magistrate of the town). Below are the two letters **IE** which appear to be numerals=15, expressing perhaps the value of the weight,* or else a date(?).†

* The object in its present state weighs 178.5 grammes.

† If these letters *ie*, which, by the by, cannot be read with absolute certainty, represent a date = the year 15, two explanations suggest themselves: The year meant may be the year 15, according to the special era instituted at Gaza by the Emperor Hadrian in 130 A.D., which era appears (harmonized with the ancient era of Gaza) on a series of coins of the Emperor struck in that town; in this case the date would be 145-146 A.D. Again, this date may mean the year 15 of the reign of Hadrian, and would correspond to the year 130-131 A.D., if reckoned according to the calendar of Gaza. It is rather a striking fact that we have coins struck at Alexandria in the name of Hadrian in 130 A.D. bearing this very date, year 15 (L. IE), representing the 15th year of the reign of Hadrian as calculated by the calendar of Alexandria, and this calendar, as we shall see, presents a close similarity to that of Gaza. (Compare likewise the famous Greek inscription carved on the colossus of Memnon and bearing witness to the visit of Hadrian in the 15th year of his reign (November 21st, 130 A.D.)) In the latter case we should arrive at the interesting fact of which no memory has been handed down by ancient authors or by numismatics, namely that when Hadrian, on the occasion of his journey to Syria and Egypt in 130, visited Gaza, where as we know from other sources he had founded important institutions, he bestowed the title of *Colony* on that ancient Philistine town.

One of my former pupils, M. l'Abbé Chabot, who had occasion to visit Gaza early 1893, has just sent me copies of various antiquities which he saw there. Among them is a square leaden weight, weighing 144 grammes, and presenting strong affinities with the one above described; it bears the following inscription in relief:



My reading of it is: *Ἔτους δξρ' ἀγορανομοῦντος Δικαίου*, "Year 164, Dikaïos being agoranomos." According to the statement made to my correspondent the weight comes from a place near Gaza they called *Khürbet Lakiyah* (*sic*, I suppose it must be *Beit Lahyâ*, north and near to Gaza, the ancient Bethelia of Sozomenos). If this object really does belong to that neighbourhood, it may be presumed that the date on it is calculated by the local era of Gaza, which, as will appear further on, is reckoned from October 28th in the year 61 B.C., this date being therefore 103-104 A.D. I do not think we may consider the era of the Seleucids, which would give us B.C. 148, much too far back of course for the palæographic character of the inscription. The reverse of this new weight bears no symbol as does the other, merely displaying a network of small lines crossing one another so as to form lozenge shaped compartments.

I had already collected a number of inscriptions* at Gaza in 1870, and these were added to during the stay I made there in 1874. Since then new texts have been discovered there, and everything points to the conclusion that Gaza is one of the places in Palestine which has the richest crops of inscriptions in store for future explorers. To say nothing of the excavations that would need making and would certainly prove most fruitful, we may meanwhile discover quantities of texts merely by a careful inspection of the houses, which are built for the most part with ancient materials. The task is one of some difficulty, as the inhabitants of Gaza are not as a rule inclined to be friendly, and the Christian Arabs, who are well-nigh as fanatical as the Mussulmans, do not like allowing strangers to enter their homes. They have much altered since the 6th century, and are no longer the *homines honestissimi*, the *amatores peregrinorum* that Antoninus the Martyr found there. An excellent method, which I employed with success during my two visits to Gaza, and can recommend to future explorers, is to get an introduction from the Greek Vicar (*Khûry*). Few are the Christian doors that remain closed when this aid is invoked, and one has a chance even of obtaining access to certain Mussulman houses.

Here are the texts that I collected in 1870 and 1874, by hunting through the houses in this fashion.†

The exact sources of these inscriptions are difficult to determine. Many of them were found on the sea-front, not far from the place where the ancient Maiumas, the port of Gaza, must have stood. In any case they do really belong to Gaza, at least the greatest part of them, as appears from an express statement to that effect on one of them, which will be found in its chronological place; for most of the inscriptions have this interesting feature about them, that they are dated with great exactness.

With a view to complete this series, I have incorporated with it some new inscriptions that have been noted at Gaza since I was there,‡ as also those which had already been copied or squeezed by me and were done over again. Several of these inscriptions have just been published by Father

* They are set forth in the *Revue Archéologique* for June, 1872, pp. 398, *et seq.*

† To this series must be added the three more or less well preserved inscriptions discovered by me in the Great Mosque, and given above.

‡ A letter from the Abbé Chabot, informs me that the Greek vicar of that town has at his house several Greek inscriptions recently discovered in the environs, particularly at Gerar. I am sorry that I cannot add these new texts to the present list; but I hear we may hope to see them shortly published in the *Revue Biblique* (1893, p. 244).

Germer-Durand,* but I did not know of this till after these pages were written. As will be seen, my readings differ from his in some points, and I have drawn attention to these in a note when I thought it worth while. There is a more serious discrepancy in the calculation of the dates of the era, or rather eras, employed in these inscriptions. The chronological discussion that will be found further on will, I hope, place beyond a doubt the conclusions at which I arrive, and which are distinctly at variance with those of Father Germer-Durand.

1. In the house occupied by M. Pickard, an employé in the Egyptian Telegraphic Service. A slab built into the facing of the embrasure of a window. Width 0^m·32. Copied and squeeze taken in 1870. The inscription is imperfect, and the characters carelessly cut.

..... μιος μ ἐν μην(νι) μφ'
'Αμύν(?) σε

"..... mios ? in the month (in the year)
540. Amen"



This is an epitaph, perhaps with the name *Abraamios*.† The isolated μ before ἐν μην(νι) appears to have a sign of abbreviation on the right stroke of the letter. In front of the numeral letter μ (line 2) there may have been another numeral letter denoting the units: "the year five hundred and forty something." 'Αμύν is for 'Αμύν (as in No. 20). We shall find in these inscriptions several cases where the η is replaced by an ε, and it is not necessary to suppose that this liturgical word was here borrowed directly from the original Hebrew form *Āmen*.

2. House of 'Atâ'llah et Terzy. Small marble slab in the flagging, 0^m·24 × 0^m·24; found near the shore. Squeeze taken in 1874.

†ΘΗΚΗΤΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙ
ΟΤΑΤΟΥΖΗΝΟΝΟCVI
ΟΥΠΑΛΥΟCΚΑΙΜΕΓΑ
ΛΗCΕΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ
ΛΗΝΙΥCΕΡΜΕΡΕΤΕΟΥ
ΥΚΤΟΥΕΞΦΕΤΟΥC
ΙΝΔΓΙ†✠

✠ Θήκη τοῦ μακαρι(ω)τάτου Ζήν(ω)νος υἱοῦ Βαλυδὸς
καὶ Μεγάλης· ἐκατετέθη μηνὶ Ἑ(π)ερβερετέου βκ',
τοῦ ἐξφ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γι' (and a palm-branch).

"Tomb of the blessed Zeno, son of Balys and of Megale; he was deposited on the 22nd of the month Hyperberetæos of the year 565, in the indication XIII."

* *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 239, and 1893, p. 203 (.cf *Cosmos*, April 2nd, 1892).

† As in No. 10.

The B's incline to a cursive small capital form, of which examples are found in Byzantine palæography at the end of the fifth century ; we shall notice the same phenomenon in the case of *alphas* in No. 7a. In the name of the month, the π has been replaced by a β , and $\alpha\iota$ rendered by ϵ . Ἐκατετέθη is a solecism* for κατετέθη, and will be encountered again. The genitive patronymic Βαλύος implied a nominative Βαλύς, on the analogy of ἰχθύς, ἰχθυός. The origin of this name, which is here first met with, remains in obscurity. I am not convinced that it is Semitic.† Might Βαλύς be for Βάλης (= *Valens*, Οὐάλης), incorrectly referred to the ἰχθύς type or declension? The metronymic *Megale*, "the Tall" (*fem.*), may be reckoned among proper names already known: Μέγιστος, a man's name in an inscription from Sueida, in Batanæa, a‡ Μεγιστώ, a woman's name, in books and inscriptions, and Μέγας, which is quite common.§ The name *Megale* occurs again in inscription No. 4, which, although carved twenty-four years later, so essentially resembles this, that one is forced to conclude that it relates to the same Megale, mother of Zeno. I shall revert to this question.

3. From a copy made at Gaza by the Russian Archimandrite of Jerusalem, Mgr. Antonin, and kindly communicated by him in 1870:—

✠ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ

ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ

ΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ

ΓΕΡΟΝΤΙΟCTH

ΚΒ^HΜΛΩΟΥΙΝΔΥ Δ

ΤΟΥΔΟΦΕΤΟΥC



✠ Ἐνθάδε κατετέθη ὁ μακάριος

Γερόντιος, τῇ κβ' μην(νός) Λώου

ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ' τοῦ αοφ' ἔτους.

"Here was deposited the blessed Gerontios, on the 22nd of the month Lōos, indiction IV, of the year 571."

* The occurrence of it has perhaps been favoured by the oft-recurring formula *ἐνθάδε κατετέθη*, the final *epsilon* in *ἐνθάδε* having managed to get joined on to the verb.

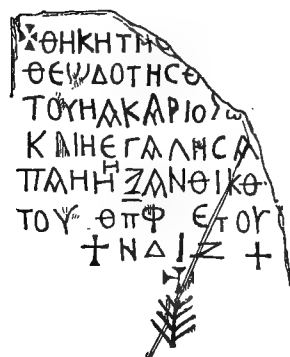
† Cf., however, Βάλας in an inscription from Sâla in Batanæa (Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2260).

‡ Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2328.

§ Cf. for the meaning, גרל, a Nabatæan female proper name, and גרל, a Palmyrenian male proper name, both taken from the root גרל, "to be tall."

4. House of 'Atá'llah et Terzy. Small marble slab in the flagging of the courtyard, broken away on the right side, and broken in two. Height 0^m·30. Squeeze taken in 1874.

Below, a cross and a palm-branch.



✠ Θήκη τῆς μακαρίας Θεοδότης, θ[υγατρὸς] τοῦ μακαρι(ωτάτου) [Βαλνὸς] καὶ Μεγάλης· ἀ[νέ]πάη μῆ[νι] Ξανθικ(οῦ)? . . . τοῦ θπφ' ἔτου[ς] ✠ (ι)νδι(κτιῶνος)ζ' ✠

"Tomb of the blessed Theodote, daughter of the blessed [Balys] and of Megale; she rested on the (?)9th of the month Xanthikos, in the year 589, indiction VII."

The form ἀνεπάη is well known in Christian epigraphy.* Ξανθικός is perhaps written in the abbreviated form ξανθικ., and the θ, which might to some eyes look like an O altered by the stonecutter, stands perhaps for the figure 9, and belongs to the indication of the day of the month, which is always expressed in these inscriptions.

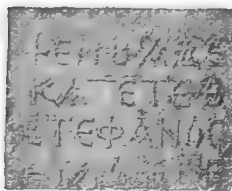
This epitaph, as I have already remarked, offers so many features of resemblance to No. 2, that it cannot be doubted that they belong to the same family; the resemblance between the characters and the shape of the palm branches, as well as the occurrence of the metronymic Megale, hitherto unknown in Greek onomastics, seem to be conclusive on this point. We must likewise take into account the significant fact that the two funerary slabs, having been conveyed to the same building, cannot have been found very far apart. Accordingly I have not hesitated to restore the patronymic Balys, which has been removed by the breaking of the stone. Unluckily this latter prevents one seeing whether the B assumes here the same characteristic shape as in No. 2. Theodote was the sister of Zeno, both were the children of Balys and Megale. Theodote died twenty-four years after her brother. In the interval their father Balys himself had died, as is shown by the epithet "blessed" which is here attached to his name. The mother Megale was the only survivor.

5. House of Salība 'Awad.

A. Marble slab in the flagging of a high chamber; 0^m·36 × 0^m·25. The

* Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 391.

lower half of the inscription is wanting. Copied in 1870; squeeze taken in 1874.



✠ Ἐνθάδε κατετέθ[η] Στέφανος ὁ
εὐλαβ(έστατος), μη(νὶ)

“Here has been laid Stephanos, the very pious,
on the 8th of the month.

B. Marble slab in the flagging of the same chamber; is probably the lower half of the preceding inscription. 0^m.36 X 0^m.25. Copied in 1870. I unfortunately did not make a squeeze of this second fragment, which would have enabled us to judge whether it fitted on to the preceding. It has every appearance of being the sequel to it.

Δεσίῳ η', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)β', τοῦ θρφ' ἔτους
Dæsios, indiction II, of the year 599.”



For the use of the title εὐλαβέστατος compare an inscription from Deir Eiyûb,* in Auranitis, where it is applied to an Igumen.

6. House of Saliba 'Awad. Fragment of a marble slab trimmed and used in the flagging of a *mashrabiyyeh*. Breadth, 0^m.20. Squeeze made in 1874. The greater part of the inscription, which was a dated Christian epitaph similar to the preceding ones, has disappeared.



..... ἰω τοῦ φ' ἔτους

“..... of the year 500”

The numeral letter φ' only gives us the hundred figure of the date; it may have been preceded by one or two others expressing the tens and units.

7A. On a limestone slab, evidently intended to be built in somewhere.

* Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2413 a. For this reason I prefer to restore εὐλαβέστατος rather than εὐλάβης, which is suggested by Father Germer-Durand. (*Revue Biblique* for 1893, p. 204.)

The inscription was copied by Lieut. Kitchener and published in the *Quarterly Statement* of 1878, p. 199, with an attempt at a transcription and a translation by me, from the copy that had been sent me. According to the somewhat vague information I received, it appears to have formed part of one of the four pillars marking the four corners of the race-course at *Meïdân ez Zeïd*, to the east of the town, above the Muntâr.*

The object was afterwards acquired by M. Chevarrier and presented by him to the Louvre, where it is now exhibited as No. 3266 in the room devoted to Christian Antiquities.†

The characters are deeply incised and in a perfect state of preservation. It is still possible to make out the lines ruled by the stone-cutter and traces of red pigment at the bottom of the letters. The inscription has been cut away at the bottom at the 7th line, of which only traces remain.

✠ τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.
✠ Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διακόνου ἐπλακώθη
τὰ ὠδε, ἔτους χ', μ(ηνὶ) Περιτίου
. ὠ(?)

✠ "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. ✠ Under the direction of the Deacon Alexandros was executed the paving, in the year 600 (?), in the month Peritios"



The first two lines are word for word the first verse of Psalm xxiii (xxiv) in the Septuagint Version. This same verse appears in an epitaph

* Another of these pillars (the one marking the south-west corner), formed of grey granite and 18 inches in diameter, is said to likewise bear an inscription, but much worn and half buried. It was not copied unfortunately. The *Meïdân* of Zeïd, or Abu Zeïd, of Gaza, is stated by Makrizî (*Khitat* II, p. 397) to have been founded in the year 723 of the Hejira by the famous Emîr Sanjar el Jâûly ('Alâm ed dîn Abu Sa'ïd), who had successively filled the posts of Mokaddem of Syria, inspector of the two Harams, and Nâib of Jerusalem, Hebron and Gaza. He had erected in these three towns numbers of important structures mentioned by Mujîr ed Dîn (*op. cit.*, pp. 58, 390, 266). It was he, says Makrizî, who made Gaza a flourishing town; he built there a bath, a fine mosque, a chafeîte medreseh, a khân (السبيل), a hospital (*marestân*) and the castle. The same author informs us that this Sanjar erected various buildings at other places in Palestine: the great Khân of Kâkûn; the Khân of *Kariet el Kethîb* (الكثيب; cf. the *el Kethîb el Ahmar*, mentioned *supra* in my account of Neby Mûsa); the *arches* (قناطر; perhaps aqueduct) in the forest of *Arstf* (غابة ارسوف); the Khân *Reslân*, at *Hamrâ* in *Beisân* (probably the modern *Khân el Ahmar*, cf. *Memoirs*, II, pp. 105, 119; I believe that the mosque there, now called that of 'Alâm ed Dîn, actually took the name of our famous Emir for its designation).

† Father Germer-Durand has published it anew (*Revue Biblique*, 1893, p. 205).

at Deir Sambîl (*Cassiotide* and *Apamene*), dated 420.* The second *alpha* of Ἀλεξάνδρου and the *alpha* in διακόνου incline to the shape of cursive minuscules, as I noticed in the case of a Judæo-Greek inscription at Jaffa already given (p. 134). Compare also the cursive minuscule shape of the β in No. 2. The word $\omega\delta\epsilon$, which is an unmistakable reading, is rather embarrassing. Is it $\omega\delta\epsilon$, "here": "the (. . .) which are here"? or can $\omega\delta\epsilon$ be a mis-spelling of $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\alpha$, plural of $\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\varsigma$, "ground, pavement"? (*cf.* $\omega\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ for $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$, threshold). The word belongs, it is true, to the language of poetry, but it is not an uncommon occurrence for poetical words of this description to be used in certain dialects. In any case the inscription relates to a fixing of slabs, executed under the direction of the deacon Alexandros, covering the ground or inner walls of some edifice, probably a religious one. This operation is mentioned in other Syrian inscriptions, for instance on a stele dated 272 A.D., at 'Ayûn in Nabatena: Ἐπλακώ[θ]η τὸ ἱερόν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδ[ρ]ου Β[αθ]ούρου οὐετρ(ανὺν).† At Abila of Lysanias‡ we read in a Christian inscription; Ἐπὶ, etc. . . . τοῦ ἱεραπολ(είου) ὁ ἔμβολος ἐπλακώθ[η]. Here the work is ascribed not to a simple deacon, but to a bishop. The operation is always denoted by the expression ἐπλακώθῃ, "was covered with slabs," *balated* as we might say with the Syrian Arabs. Is the **M** preceding the name of the month Peritios to be regarded as a number, equivalent to 40, and to be connected with the χ' going before it, which is certainly a number, thus making the date 640?§ I do not think so. I regard this **M** as the first letter of the word μην(ός) or μην(νί), "month," which is always expressed in our inscriptions before the name of the month by an **M** surmounted with a small η . This η , which is not essential, has been omitted. Besides, we have noticed in our Gaza inscriptions that in a number made up of several figures the figures always follow in order of magnitude from small to great. Consequently if in this case the engraver had meant to write the year 640 (600 + 40) we should have **MX** (40 + 600) and not **XM** (600 + 40). The name of the month Peritios was doubtless followed in line 7 by one or two figure-letters denoting the day of the month and perhaps the number of the indiction; but unfortunately there is nothing left except the tops of the letters,

* Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2665

† Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 1984b. We must understand by *ἱερόν* not a building, but the sacred precincts open to the sky, which the Semites call *the haram*.

‡ *Id. ib.*, No. 1878.

§ Father Germer-Durand is of this opinion.

and it is impossible to make anything out of them. Although this inscription is not sepulchral, it is to be presumed that the date is calculated by the special era used in epitaphs at Gaza. I shall shortly treat of this era at greater length.

7B. I will recall here *pro memoriâ* an inscription cut on another of the four pillars of the same race-course, which was only given as a transcription in the *Quarterly Statement* (1875, p. 159), and a little more correctly in the *Memoirs* (III, p. 250): Δομεστικὸς(ς) ὑπὲρ Δομεστικοῦ υἱοῦ ἀνέθηκε μ ε "Domestikos consecrated for his son Domestikos" The inscription does not read like an epitaph, it seems rather to have been a consecration of a religious kind, made by a father for his son, bearing the same name as himself. This name Δομεστικός, a Hellenised form of *domesticus*, exists in an epitaph in the Greek Anthology (App., 345); some have sought to read it on a Carian coin (Mionnet, *Suppl.*, VI, p. 550).

8. House of Salība 'Awad. Slab of marble 0^m·86 by 0^m·43, built into the flagging in the interior of the *mashrabiye*^h. Copied in 1870; squeeze taken in 1874.

✠ Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν δούλην σου Διγουν-
θαν Λεοντίου· ἐνθάδε κατετέθη μην(νὶ) Λώου κα', τοῦ
αχ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'.

"O Lord! grant rest to thy servant Digountha, daughter of Leontios; she was laid here on the 21st of the month Lōos in the year 601, indiction IV."



The female name Digountha is new, and does not appear to be Hellenic.* The large cross carved below the inscription is placed on a trefoiled symbol, which in the convention of ancient art stands for a mountain or a hill. I think this should be looked upon as a symbolical representation of Golgotha

* I should be inclined to assign to it, as Father Germer-Durand does, a Germanic or at least Occidental origin.

or Calvary, which popular belief in very early times began to regard as an eminence ("Mount Calvary"). This arrangement recurs in Nos. 11 and 13, and (probably) 24.

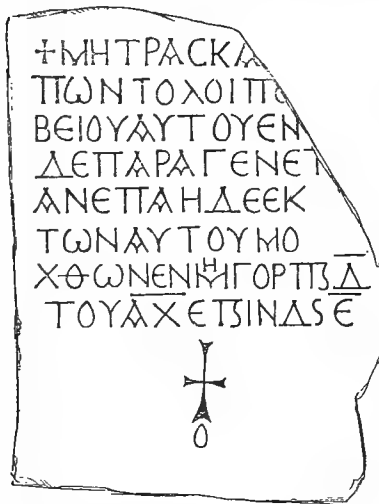
The expressions *δοῦλος*, *δούλη* "(male or female) servant of God," when used of a person in an epitaph, imply that he or she is dead.

9. House of Jiries Na'mât. A long slab of marble broken in two; 0^m·70 by 0^m·27. Squeeze taken in 1874.

✠ Ἐνθάδε κ(ε)ῖτ(αι) ὁ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦλος κ(αὶ) ἐν ἁγίοις, Ἀβραάμιος Πατρικίου, διάκ(ονος), τῇ ἐπαγομ(ένῃ) δ', τοῦ αχ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'.*

"Here lies the servant of Christ, and among the Saints, Abraamios, son of Patrikios, deacon, the 4th *epagomene* (or additional day) of the year 601, indiction IV."

10. Greek convent. Marble flagstone; 0^m·65 by 0^m·50. The right corner is wanting. Below the footed cross, which appears on the engraving below the inscription, is an egg-shaped symbol. Squeeze taken in 1874.



✠ Μητρᾶς κα πων τὸ λοι[πὸν] . . βείου αὐτοῦ, ἐνθά[δε] παραγένε[το]· ἀνεπά[ν]η δὲ ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μόχθων ἐν μην(ὶ) Γορπ(ιαίου) δ', τοῦ αχ' ἔτ(ου)ς, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'·

"Metras . . . the remainder (?) of his life, came here; he rested from his troubles on the 4th of the month Gorpiaeos of the year 601, indiction V."

Metras is a contracted form, already known, of Metrodōros. Father Germer-Durand, who also noted this inscription in 1892,[†] proposes to restore thus: κα[ταλειπων] τὸ λοι[πὸν τοῦ] β(ε)ίου, "having left the rest of his life." The

formula is a singular one. It points perhaps to an early death. *Παραγένετο* is solecism for *παρεγένετο*. The formula *ἀνεπά[ν]η ἐκ τῶν μόχθων*, "he rested from his troubles," which recurs in No. 16, is interesting. It shows the special sense

* Father Germer-Durand reads Ἀβραάμ (ἱ)ῶς Πατρικίου, which is not impossible. For the form which I take to be Ἀβραάμιος, cf. No. 1. I prefer to assign the title of deacon to the deceased, rather than to his father.

† *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 241.

in which we ought to understand the expression ἀνεπάη, "he rested," which is so frequent in Christian sepulchral epigraphy, and is, properly speaking, an abbreviation of the other. M. Le Blant has very appositely pointed out to me that it is a curious echo of the passage in Revelations xiv, 13: ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν, "that they may rest from their labours" (*requiescant a laboribus suis*). The comparison appears to me the better founded as the verse begins with these words, μακάριοι οἱ νεκροί, "Blessed are the dead." We may incidentally notice here the characteristic expression μακάριοι applied so often to the departed in our epitaphs, and in Christian epigraphy in general. It is especially in Egypt that μακάριος is thus used, and I am not disinclined to believe that the old Egyptian word *Makheru* which uniformly denotes the deceased, has had some influence on the remarkable career of the Greek word, popular imagination having detected a fancied relation between these two words, which, of course, are radically different.

11. House of Salība 'Awad. Marble fragment in the flagging of a high chamber. Height of the cross, 0^m·12; squeeze taken in 1874.

This inscription was doubtless an epitaph similar to the preceding ones. Only a few letters of it are left. Below is carved the cross, standing on a trilobed Golgotha.

... το[ῦ αχ', ἰνδικτιῶνος] ...

... of the year 601, indiction ...

12. At the house of the Greek Vicar of Gaza. Copy and reading by Father Germer-Durand.* On a slab of white marble 0^m·72 × 0^m·29, ornamented at the top with a large cross in open work; to right and left two stars and two palm-branches; on the cross a lozenge; below, a small vase. Six lines:—

✠ Ἀνεπάη (ῆ) μακαρ(ία) Ἀθανασία, μην(ὶ) Ἀρτεμ(ι)σίου ιζ', τοῦ ηχ' ἔτους. ✠

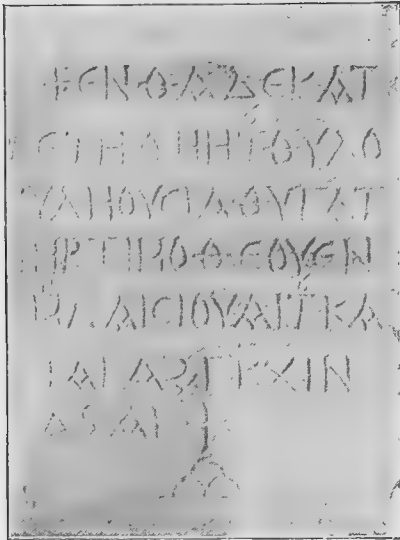
"The blessed Athanasia rested on the 17th of the month Artemisios in the year 608."



* *Cosmos*, April 2nd, 1892, p. 18. Cf. *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 242.—According to a copy made by M. Max van Berchem in 1894, which he has kindly communicated to me, the second line runs thus: ΕΙΜΑΚΑΡΗ. He noted the dimensions of the slab as being 0^m·30 × 0^m·80.

It is noteworthy that, contrary to custom, the year of the indiction is not expressed in this epitaph.

13. Marble slab. Squeeze taken in 1874.*



✠ Ἐνθάδε κατετήθη ἡ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ δούλη
Οὐσία, θυγάτηρ Τιμοθέου, ἐν μηνὶ Δαισίου αἰ',
τοῦ κατὰ Γαζ(αίους) γκχ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) αἰ'. ✠

"Here was laid the handmaid of God, Ousia, daughter of Timotheos, on the 11th of the month Dæsius, in the year 623 according to the people of Gaza, indiction XI."

The female name *Ousia* ("essence") is new. Κατετήθη is for κατετέθη; we shall find this error repeated in the next inscription.

The era of Gaza, mentioned at length in this inscription, gives us the chronological key to this series of dated epitaphs. I shall shortly revert to this important question. We might also restore κατὰ Γάζ(αν) "according to Gaza," instead of κατὰ Γαζ(αίους), "according to the people of Gaza," and put the name of the town or the ethnic in the genitive instead of the accusative, κατὰ governing either case in this formula, as various examples prove. I have preferred to rely on the form of the expression as given at length in the passage where the death of St. Porphyry, the famous bishop of Gaza, is mentioned by his disciple the deacon Mark, a passage that presents more than one analogy with our epitaphs:—

Ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τῶν Ἀγίων μηνὶ Δύστρῳ δευτέρῳ ἔτους κατὰ Γαζαίους ὀγδοηκοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ.

† "He lay down in peace, with the Saints, on the second (day) of the month Dystros, in the year four hundred and eighty, according to the people of Gaza."‡

* This squeeze has unfortunately been lost, and I cannot give the information as to source and dimensions that I wrote on the back of it. All that I have is a photograph of the squeeze. Father Germer-Durand has since noted this inscription in his turn (*Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 243); it measures, he says, 0^m.52 x 0^m.41, and is now in the keeping of the Greek vicar.

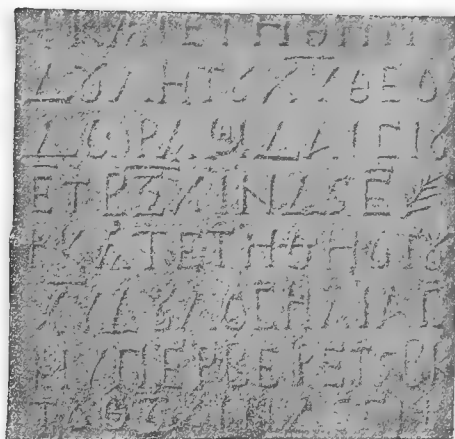
† See the text of the *Life of St. Porphyry* published in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy of Sciences (1874, p. 215), by Haupt.

‡ Corresponding, as we shall see, to Fe' ruary 20, in the year 420 of our era.

14A and B. House of Yûsef Sâbâ. Marble slab built into a window-sill, 0^m.29 X 0^m.26. The first line is cropped at the top. Squeeze taken in 1874.

✠ Κα[τ]ε[τ]ή[θ]η ἡ δούλη τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ
Θεοδώρα, μηνὶ Δαισίου ἐ', το(ῦ) βξχ',
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ἐ'. (Palm-branch.)

✠ Κατετήθη ὁ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ δούλος
Ἑλίας, μηνὶ Ὑπερβερετ(αίου) βκ', τοῦ
θξχ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γι'. ✠



“Was laid the handmaid of Christ, Theodora, on the 5th of the month Dæsius, in the year 662, indiction V.

✠ Was laid the servant of Christ, Elias, on the 22nd of the month Hyperberetæos, in the year 669, indiction XIII.”*

This double epitaph carved on the same slab is probably one of a wife and husband, whose deaths occurred at an interval of seven years. The mis-spelling *κατετήθη* which we have already found in the inscription before this is here twice repeated.

15. At the house of the Greek vicar of Gaza. Father Germer-Durand's copy and reading.† On the white marble slab, 0^m.36 X 0^m.21. Six lines.

✠ Ἐνθάδε κ(ε)ῖται ἡ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ
δούλη Μεγιστηρία, Τιμοθέου θυγάτηρ,
τον βιόν ἀποθεμένε, ἐν μηνὶ
Δαισ[ι]ῳ δι', τοῦ γλ' ἔτους,
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) βι'. ✠

“Here lies the handmaid of Christ, Megisteria, daughter of Timotheos,

* Father Germer-Durand has also noticed this inscription, and published it in his turn in the *Revue Biblique* (1894, p. 248), but he is mistaken in reading in the fourth line ἐ(τους), “of the year,” instead of ἐ', του. The ε has over it a mark clearly showing that it is the figure 5. Besides, one is bound to expect the day of the month after the mention of the month Dæsius. Similarly at the end of the 7th line the reading ὑπερβερετ(αίου) ς', the 6th of the month “Hyperberetæos,” is a mistaken one. My squeeze shows clearly **BK** (=22). The dates he gives as being the corresponding ones in the Christian Era (years 723 and 730) instead of 602 and 609, result from a palpable slip on his part in adding the number 61 to the years as given in the era of Gaza instead of deducting it.

† *Cosmos*, April 2nd, 1892, p. 18. Cf. *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 243.

having laid down her life on the 14th of the month Dæsius, in the year 33, indiction XII."

The name of Megisteria is new. Ἀποθεμένε is for ἀποθεμένη, from ἀποτίθημι, and not for ἀποτεμένη as Father Germer-Durand supposes.

It is evident that in 33, the figure denoting the date, the hundreds have been omitted; we shall find the same peculiarity in the two next epitaphs. This apparently was a custom on all fours with our modern one of writing 93 for 1893. What figure is to be supplied? ϕ', =500 or χ', =600? In the latter case one might perhaps suppose that the deceased was a sister of the Ousia, herself a daughter of a Timotheos, whose epitaph has been given above as No. 13: the two sisters, on this supposition, would have died at an interval of ten years. However, I do not think we need take up time with this conjecture, for, as will shortly become evident, the date (6) 33 is entirely at variance with the mention of the indiction. The restoration (5) 33 would be nearer the mark, but there is still a discrepancy of a year to be accounted for. This question will be examined later.

16. In the house of a native of the Greek faith, whose name I have forgotten to note. A marble slab, imperfect at the top; breadth 0^m·55 Copied and squeeze taken in 1870.



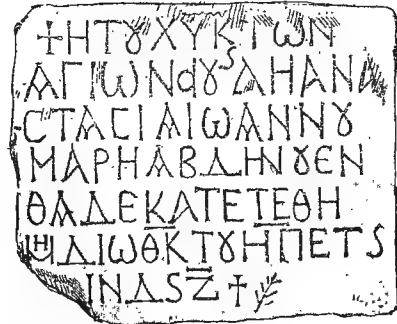
. [ἀνεπά]η δὲ ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μόχθων, ἐν μηνί Δίου ζ', τοῦ θλ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ' (?).

" he (or she) rested from his (or her) troubles, on the 7th of the month Dios, in the year 39, indiction III " (?).

The letter expressing the hundreds is omitted, as in the preceding inscription. The number of the indiction is not sure, the γ' having partly disappeared, but a numerical calculation will show that it really is that letter, which stands for III.

17. House of 'Abdallah es Serrâj: Marble slab said to have come from Ascalon. Breadth 0^m.45. Squeeze taken in 1874. Small palm-branch after the final cross.

✠ Ἡ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τῶν ἁγίων δούλῃ,
Ἀναστασία, Ἰωάννου Μαρηαβδηνοῦ, ἐνθάδε
κατετέθη, μηνὶ Δίῳ θκ', τοῦ η' π' ἔτ(ους),
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'. ✠



"The servant of Christ and the Saints, Anastasia, daughter of John, a Mareabdenian(?), was laid here, on the 29th of the month Dios of the year 88, indiction VII.

The hundreds omitted as in the two foregoing. The shape of the *delta* in δούλῃ is worth noting, it recalls that of the Latin uncial D. The η and the ν in Μαρηαβδηνοῦ are joined together. This latter name has the look of an ethnic, and indicates perhaps that the father of the deceased, John, came from some town or country which I cannot identify, called *Mareabda*. If, on the contrary, it is a regular patronymic of John, it might be compared with the name Μαρεαβδής,* borne by a *chorepiscopus* who came from the banks of the Tigris or the Euphrates, and was put to death by the Persians.

18. Copy made at Gaza by Mgr. Antonin, who was kind enough to communicate it to me in 1870.

✠
✠ ΚΕΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ
ΤΗΝΔΟΥΛΗΝCΟΥ
ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙΑΝΕΠΙ
ΜΑΧΟΥΔΦΕCΤ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΕ

✠ Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν δούλῃν σου Ἀναστασίαν Ἐπιμάχου δφεστ(?).
Ενθάδε κατετέθη)

"O Lord! give rest to Thy handmaid, Anastasia, daughter of Epimachos,
. she was laid here"

* Sozomenos, *Ecclesiastical History*, Chap. II, § 13. The name seems to contain the Syriac elements *Mar*, "Saint" and *abdo*. For the latter element compare the name of the Persian martyr *Abdon*, whose cult is associated with that of his fellow-countryman Sennen or Zennen; for the former element compare the Nabataean name Μαρηαθης in an inscription from Batanæa (Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2104).

The end of the inscription, which doubtless contained the date, is lacking. I do not know what to make of the letters following the name Ἐπιμάχου; they may perhaps have been copied incorrectly.* M. Omont has suggested to me the correction, (ἀ)φέστηκε, "has departed;" but it is not easy to see how this verb can be got into the construction of the sentence. The participle (ἀ)φεστ(ηκυῖαν) I hardly dare suggest. Possibly this group of letters contains some description relating not to the deceased but to her father Epimachos.

19. At the house of the Latin missionary of Gaza. Father Germer-Durand's copy and reading.† Three lines, flanked by palm branches, on a slab of black schist, cut at the top in the shape of a semicircle and broken in two. Letters of the 5th century, roughly cut, with red pigments in the hollows:

✠ Μηνᾶ Κοσμιάνη κασ(ιγνήτη) (αὐ)τοῦ.

"To Menas, Kosmiane, his sister" (??) Αὐτοῦ is spelt ὁτοῦ.

20. House occupied by M. Pickard. Slab built into the flagging of the courtyard, at the foot of a staircase, 0^m·35 X 0^m·28. Copied and squeeze taken in 1870.



The slab is broken across and much worn; the inscription is very difficult to decipher, and appears to be imperfect on the right side.

✠ Ἀνεπ[άη]? ὁ μακάρι[ος] Ἰωάνν[ης]
Ἀμὲν η εσ

"Rested the blessed Johannes
Amen."

Ἀμὴν is spelt Ἀμὲν as in No. 1; this fragment is perhaps of the same period.

21. In the house occupied by M. Pickard. Fragment built in (to the flagging of the courtyard?). Length of the line 0^m·60. Copied and squeeze

* Father Germer-Durand, who has published this inscription in the *Revue Biblique* (1893, p. 205) from the same copy, reads: ΔΙΦΕCT instead of ΔΦΕCT, but this reading does not lead to any more satisfactory meaning.

† *Cosmos*, April 2nd, 1892, p. 16. Cf. *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 239.

taken in 1870. Characters roughly cut, greatly worn and difficult to decipher.



✠ Ἀνεπάε (ὁ) μακ(άριος). . .

"Rested the blessed" Ἀνεπάε for ἀνεπάη, ὦ for ὁ.*

22. House of Haji 'Othmân. Fragment of marble used in the flagging of a terrace. Length of the line 0^m.21. Squeeze made in 1874.

*Ἰσακος Ἰου

"Isakos, son of Iou"



Isakos is the usual Greek transliteration of *Isaac*. The patronymic was some such name as Ioulianos.

23. Fragment of a marble slab brought to our tent by a native. Breadth 0^m.23. Squeeze taken in 1874. Remains of two lines probably belonging, like the foregoing, to a Greek Christian epitaph.



. μ (or ω)† κ? ιανός

. . . ιανός is the termination of an Hellenised Latin proper name.

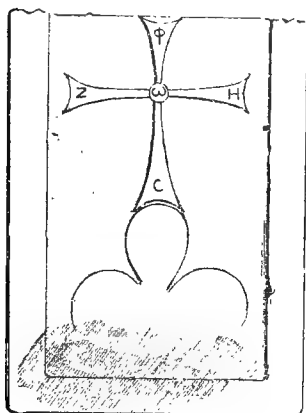
24. In a Greek house.† Carved marble slab. Height 0^m.60. A large cross placed on a trilobed symbol after the kind of that in Nos. 8, 11, 13, representing Golgotha. On each branch of the cross, and also where they intersect, is carved a Greek letter. Sketch taken in 1870.

* We have several instances of this in the Greek epigraphy of Syria.

† Or, perhaps, cursive *beta*, of the shape noticed in No. 2. In this case, βκ' might be the number 22 used to denote the day of the month.

‡ I have forgotten the name of the owner. The stone, according to an entry in my note book, probably came from Ascalon.

The four characters in the corners and the fifth in the middle make the following combination :



Φ
Ζ Ω Η
C

This is formed of the two words, ζῳή, "life," and φως, "light," arranged in the shape of a cross, with the *omega* common to both. These two holy words denote two essential characteristics of Christ, and there are several instances in Syria of crosses formed by the intersection of them, for example, on a bronze patera found on the Mount of Olives, which I published in 1883,* and on an amulet from Jebail.† These two words, which the symbolists had used, by an ingenious and mystic combination, to form the component parts of a cross, are found connected in the well known verse of St. Damasus which sets forth the symbols of Jesus: "Spes, via, *vita*, ratio, sapientia, *lumen*." They are found side by side in the octett set out by St. Irenæus.‡

Λόγου, καὶ Μονογενοῦς, καὶ Ζωῆς, καὶ Φωτὸς, καὶ Σωτῆρος, καὶ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Ἰοῦ Θεοῦ.

25. In a house at Gaza. Portion cut off a marble flagstone, broken into three, 0^m·40 × 0^m·45. Found on the sea-shore. Copied and squeeze taken in 1870.

* *Revue critique*, September 10th, p. 194. I will mention one more analogous case of these two symbolical words on a monument at Anayunt, in Phrygia (*Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1893, p. 288); they are thus disposed:

ΦΩ|C
ΖΩ|Η

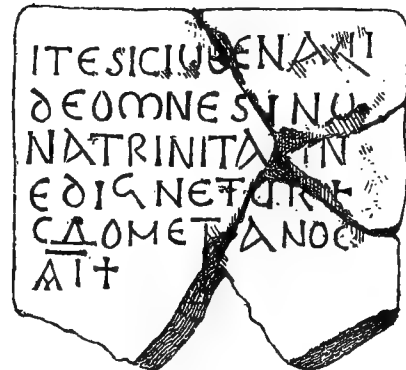
I will cite yet another example of the formula ΖΩΗ ΦΩC, recently found at 'Akrabah in the Haurân (*Statement*, 1895, p. 51, No. 26). In this case it does not present the usual cruciform arrangement; but the order in which the two words follow one another is interesting as showing in what direction the combination should be read. *First* the *horizontal* and *then* the *vertical* line is to be read: ζῳή, φως, "life, light." Note that this order is the very same as in the definition given by St. Irenæus, which I adduced to explain the formula.

† Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 216.

‡ *Contra hæreseos* (Migne, *Patrologie*, VII, Col. 543).

The inscription is incomplete on the left-hand side; possibly quite half is wanting.

..... ite sic Juvenali
 de omnes uno
 . . [una or æter]na trinita [s] in*
 e dignetur ✠
 s Δομ[ε]τ[ι]ανός
 αὐ' ✠



The Greek portion consisted of two lines, the ends only of which are left; the first terminates with the name of *Dometianos*, and the second with the figure XI, which is probably that of the indiction.

The four lines with which the inscription began are in Latin. This juxtaposition of the two languages is a very curious fact, and it is a great pity that this fragment, difficult both to understand and to restore, is all that we have of the original. The *e*'s and *a*'s are of Greek form in the Latin text; the type of the *m* points to a late period, perhaps somewhere about the tenth century. The inscription appears to be a profession of faith concerning the dogma of the Trinity, possibly derived from the Athanasian creed.[†]

What is particularly interesting about this inscription is the appearance of the name *Juvenalis*, probably the celebrated Bishop of Jerusalem who lived under the Emperors Theodosius II and Marcianus. I do not mean to assert that it is really contemporary with this personage, who played so great a part in the political and religious history of Palestine in the fifth century. Although the name Dometianos, contained in the Greek portion, recalls that of Dometianos, disciple of St. Euthymius, ordained by Juvenalis; and although Juvenalis knew Latin, as appears from the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, in which he took a most active part, it seems impossible, palæographically speaking, to make our inscription date back to his time. It may however be a reference to some episode in the life of Juvenalis that was

* Or *trinita[t]i n ?*

† Cf. in an inscription at Ezra', in Trachonitis (Waddington, *op. cit.* No. 2501): ἡ μὴν ἐν τριάδει καὶ ἡ τριάς ἐν μονάδει. See also No. 2261 of the same collection, a mention of the ἅγια τριάς or Holy Trinity.

concerned with Gaza. We know that he consecrated several bishops on the coast of Palestine, and in so doing acted for the first time as Metropolitan, to the great scandal of the Archbishop of Cæsarea and the Patriarch of Antioch, and asserted the supremacy of the see of Jerusalem.* What inclines me to think that the name Juvenalis here is really that of this historical personage is the allusion to the dogma of the Trinity that accompanies it. We know, as a matter of fact, that Juvenalis must have had a particular devotion for the Trinity, the nature of which was much discussed in the troublous times that saw the birth of the heterodox doctrine of Nestorius and Eutyches concerning the two natures of Christ. We are indebted for this characteristic detail to a letter of the Emperor Marcianus himself, in which he ascribes to the particular favour of the Trinity the almost miraculous preservation of Juvenalis, who was menaced in his dignities and even in his life by the terrible rebellion headed by the monk John. The Emperor expressed himself in the following terms : "Juvenalem sanctissimum episcopum et Sancta Trinitas, et, ut res ipsa ostendit, fidei constantia servavit."†

26. At Sheikh Râched, on a piece of marble ; two lines. Copy made by the Survey Party (*Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 159 ; and *Memoirs*, III, p. 253). I did not visit the spot, and cannot get any satisfactory result from the two reproductions, which do not tally with one another. It appears to be a Christian epitaph on one Elias.

27. The Survey Party discovered at Deir el Belah, to the south of Gaza, on the coast, two fragments of inscriptions which were given first in the *Quarterly Statement* (1875, p. 159), with an attempt at transcription which is certainly defective ; and afterwards in the *Memoirs* (III, p. 248) in fac-simile. I did not visit the locality, and am only acquainted with these fragments from these very imperfect reproductions. They appear to be very interesting, and it is a matter for regret that they were not noticed with greater care. They seem to belong to one and the same inscription. I recognize in the second line the names *M(arcus) Aurelius* (Αὐρέλιος for Αὐρήλιος). *Hadrianus* (?) and *Apollodoros* in the dative preceded by ἄμα, "with." The end may perhaps have run thus :

. ἀπὸ ὠης τοῦ λιθ[οστρώτ]ου εὐχα[ριστοῦντες] ? ?

* Juvenalis went to the Council of Ephesus with several of these bishops that he had appointed, notably Nestoras of Gaza, who were his supporters in that memorable struggle.

† *Bollandists*, July 2nd, Vol. VII, p. 855 *et seq.*

It is to be hoped that some explorer passing that way will take a squeeze of these fragments, after having removed the mortar which covers part of one of them. The circle appearing in the drawing of the first, as given in the *Memoirs*, is a round hole made through the inscription at some subsequent period.

The Era of Gaza.—As we have seen, the majority of the Christian epitaphs in this series bear exact dates, containing as a rule the day of the month, the year of the indiction, and the year according to some era, which is only specified in one case. Before attempting to determine the origin of this era, and to harmonize these dates with the Christian era, I will draw up a table of our dated inscriptions, classifying methodically the chronological indications they contain. No. 7A is the only one that is not of a funerary character, but the date on it must belong to the same era. In several mutilated inscriptions only a part of the date has been preserved. In others, the hundred-figure has been *systematically suppressed* by the stone-cutter himself (see Notes to No. 15). I express the deficient figure letters by ciphers in parentheses in the first case (o), in brackets in the second case [o]. In the last column I have inserted the corresponding date according to the Christian era, based on calculations which will be explained further on.

I have divided this series of dated inscriptions into two groups: the first, A, comprising from No. 1 to No. 14B; the second, B, from No. 15 to No. 17. My reasons will be shortly apparent. The latter of the two groups is characterized by the intentional suppression of the hundred-figure in the number expressing the years. I shall examine how far it is expedient to connect or separate these two groups; but first of all I shall proceed to a separate discussion of the group A, which constitutes a thoroughly coherent whole.

GROUP A.—What is the era to which the years expressed in this series of dates is to be referred? Inscription No. 13 gives a categorical reply to this question—*the Era of Gaza*.

The starting point, or, as the phrase goes in chronology, the *epoch* of the Era of Gaza, is indicated on the one hand by a well known and much discussed passage in the *Chronicon Paschale*, and on the other by a series of coins struck at Gaza, in the name of the Roman Emperors, up to the time of Gordian. By putting these dates together we manage to fix the epoch of the era of Gaza somewhere about 60 B.C.; I say “somewhere about,” for the numerous *savants* who have successively taken up the question for two centuries past

are not altogether at one, the discrepancy between their systems being no less than four years.* According to the most commonly received notion, the

GROUP A.

No. of the Inscription.	Year, according to the Era of Gaza.	Year of the Indiction.	Month.	Day of the Month.	Date according to the Christian Era.
1	54(o) †			...	
2	565	XIII.	Hyperberetæos ...	22	16 October, 505.
3	571	IV.	Lôos ...	22	15 August, 511.
4	589	VII.	Xanthikos ...	(o)9?	(o)4 April, 529.
5	599	II.	Dæsios ...	8	2 June, 539.
6	5(oo)			...	 440 + x = ?
7A	600		Peritios ...	...	from 26 January to 24 February, 540.
8	601	IV.	Lôos ...	21	14 August, 541.
9	601	IV.	Epagomene ...	4	27 August, 541.
10	601	V.	Gorpiæos ...	4	1 September, 541.
11	601			...	 541.
12	608	(Omitted) ‡	Artemisios ...	17	12 May, 548.
13	623 of the Era of Gaza.	XI.	Dæsios ...	11	5 June, 563.
14A	662	V.	Dæsios ...	5	30 May, 602.
14B	669	XIII.	Hyperberetæos ...	22	19 October, 609.

GROUP B.

15	[o]33 †	XII.	Dæsios ...	14	For possible agreements with the Christian era, see the observations to be made later on.
16	[o]39	III.?	Dios ...	7	
17	[o]88	VII.	Dios ...	29	

year 1 of Gaza would coincide with portions of the years 62–61, or else 61–60 B.C. As we shall see, this latter conclusion is the right one.

* A good account of them will be found in Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, I, p. 474 and p. 438, and in Stark, *Gaza und die Philistæische Küste*, p. 513 and p. 518. Cf. Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, p. 116.

† The (o) indicates a possible unit, or ten-figure, which the worn state of the inscription prevents us from determining; the [o] (in the case of Nos. 15, 16, 17) a hundred-figure which has been purposely omitted by the stone-cutter.

‡ If the indiction had been expressed, it would have been XI.

It seems as if our inscriptions ought to aid the problem with new and possibly decisive data, their dates being not only calculated by the era of Gaza, but harmonized with the years of the *indiction*. As is well known, the indiction is a system of computation, Byzantine in its origin, based on a periodic cycle of 15 years, and commencing with the year 312, each year being reckoned from September 1 to September 1. Here then we have the means of checking our calculations, which before was wanting, and the best system will be the one that agrees with the year of the indiction.

Furthermore, our inscriptions afford us, in addition to the year in the era of Gaza and the year of the indiction, the month and the day of the month. To attain to absolute precision the day of the week would be required.

My first step is to note that these latter indications (*viz.*, of month and day), which are simply concerned with the common calendar, justify in a remarkable way the conclusions that had been reached about the special *calendar* used at Gaza, and more particularly the views of Ideler concerning the part played in this calendar by the intercalation of the five epagomenal days. Let us first attend to the calendar, before discussing the era.

It follows from the tables preserved in the famous and invaluable Florence *Hemerologion*, that the special calendar used at Gaza was arranged as follows:—

Order of the Months.	Names of the Months.	Beginning of the Months.	Length in Days.
I.*	Dios	28 October	30
II.	Apellæos	27 November	30
III.	Audynæos	27 December	30
IV.*	Peritios	26 January	30
V.	Dystros	25 February	30
VI.*	Xanthikos	27 March	30
VII.*	Artemisios	26 April	30
VIII.*	Dæsius	26 May	30
IX.	Panemos	25 June	30
X.*	Lôos	25 July	30
X.* ^Λ	(<i>Epagomenæ</i>)	(24 August)	(5)†
XI.*	Gorpiaeos	29 August	30
XII.*	Hyperberetæos	28 September	30

* The asterisk denotes the names of the months that occur in our inscriptions.

† And *six days* every four years.

This calendar is identical with that of the Alexandrians, and like it is based on the practice of a fixed solar year (corresponding to the ancient Egyptian solar year) of twelve months, of thirty days each, with the addition of five epagomenal days (to which a sixth was added every four years). The only difference was that at Alexandria the months retained their ancient Egyptian names in Greek, and the year began on the 29th of August (the 1st of Thoth = 1st of Gorpiaëos); whereas at Gaza they preserved the Syro-Macedonian names of the months, and the Syrian custom of beginning the year in the autumn, on October 28 (= the 1st of Dios). On this point we have the explicit testimony of the Deacon Mark of Gaza, in his *Life of St. Porphyry*, which was written in the first half of the 5th century. Mark expressly says that Dios and Apellæos were *the two first months in the year at Gaza*. To this chronological datum, which Ideler availed himself of, I will add others of equal importance that I have gathered from the same source, and that he also might have utilized. (A) At Gaza the months are five days in advance of those of the "Romans." (B) The month *Audynæos* corresponds to *Januarius*; the 11th day of this month is the feast of the Theophanies of our Lord, corresponding to January 6, Roman style. (C) The 23rd of Xanthikos corresponds to the 18th April among the Romans.* (D) And lastly, the Deacon Mark gives us the precise date of the death of St. Porphyry, using the expression I quoted just now.†

A comparison of the table of the Gaza Calendar with the table of the dated inscriptions that I found there, will show at once that nearly all the names of the months occur in the latter. (They are marked there with an asterisk.) The only ones that do not appear are *Apellæos*, *Audynæos*, and *Panemos*; but it is evident that this is a mere chance, and that some day or other these three gaps may be filled up by fresh discoveries. Thus the identity of the calendar is clearly proven.

* All the equivalences given by the Deacon Mark, who was in a position to know all about the matter, agree exactly, day for day, with the calendar given above, and attest its perfect accuracy.

† See, *supra*, the commentary on inscription No. 13. M. Omont, the learned Assistant-Keeper of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has directed my attention to a manuscript (11th century) in our collections, containing an abridgement of the work of Mark (probably by Metaphrastes). The passage relating to the death of St. Porphyry runs thus:—Ὁ δὲ ὁσῖος Πορφύριος ἱκανὰ ἔτη ἐπιβιώσας καλῶ ὕπνῳ ἐκοιμήθη, μηνὶ φευρουαρίῳ εἰκάδα ἕκτη, ἐπισκοπήσας ἔτη εἰκοσιτέσσαρα, μήνας ἑνδεκα, καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. The author of the abridgement has suppressed the date of the year, and has converted that of the month (2 Dystros) into the Roman style, "26 February," which is in entire agreement with the date obtained from the calendar drawn up by modern criticism and with that of the commemoration of St. Porphyry in the menologies.

We have moreover—and this is particularly interesting—a mention made of the fourth of the *epagomenal* days. Further still, our inscriptions furnish categorical proof that the five complementary *epagomenal* days—which the Copts and Arābs ingenuously call “the little month”—were intercalated, in the Gaza calendar, not at the end of the year as Noris supposed, but, as Ideler rightly imagined, between the 10th and the 11th month (Lôos and Gorpiæos), at the 24th of August; that is to say that these 5 days, intended to supply the deficiency in a year of 360 days (12 months of 30 days) had kept the place they originally occupied in the calendar of Alexandria, on which the calendar of Gaza is visibly modelled, despite the change made by the inhabitants of Gaza in the starting point of the year. This is plainly shown by Nos. 8, 9 and 10 of our inscriptions, which are all dated the same year 601. This year 601 is made to coincide with the year IV of the indiction in Nos. 8 and 9, but with *the year V* in No. 10. Why this discrepancy? We at once perceive the reason of it, thanks to the specification of the three different months belonging to this same year. No. 8 is dated the 21st of Lôos, corresponding to August 14; No. 10 is dated the 4th of Gorpiæos, corresponding to *September 1*. Now we know that the year of the Byzantine indiction began with the 1st of September; consequently the 14th of August was still in indiction IV, which ended on August 31 (= 3 Gorpiæos); but September 1, on the contrary (= 4 Gorpiæos), began the 5th year of the indiction, and that is why our No. 10, dated the 4th Gorpiæos, is dated year V of the indiction, and not IV. Thus as we traverse in our inscriptions the year 601 in the era of Gaza, we have before our eyes the actual transition from one year of the indiction to another on the 1st of September.

This however is not all. No. 9 is dated the 4th of the *epagomenæ* of this same year 601, and has IV and not V as the indiction date. Consequently we are obliged to place it before No. 10, which is dated 4 Gorpiæos (= September 1). The five *epagomenal* days then were intercalated *before* the month Gorpiæos, and *in the interval between August 23* (= 30 Lôos) *and August 29* (= 1 Gorpiæos), that is to say in the very place occupied by the *epagomenæ* in the calendar of Alexandria.

These three dates thus instructively juxtaposed, teach yet another lesson. This is, that in the year 601 of the era of Gaza the year was reckoned from the same starting point as in the origin, namely October 28, in contradistinction to certain towns in Syria which, in the Byzantine period, had changed the starting point of their local calendar so as to make the first day of the year in their own era coincide with the first day in the Byzantine year,

that is to say the 1st of September. This certainly is not without its value, for it will enable us presently to found our calculations on a basis that is not liable to be disturbed by this doubt.

I now enter upon the main question, the real starting point of the era of Gaza. No. 13 of our inscriptions yields a decisive indication on this point, since it is expressly dated *the year 623 of the era of Gaza, the 11th day of the month Dæsius (= 5 June), the 11th year of the indiction.*

It will be seen immediately that in order to get the date coinciding with the indiction, we must admit that the 5th of June in year 1 of the era of Gaza corresponded to the same day in the year 60 B.C.; because, if we subtract 60 from 623, we get 563; now the 5th of June, 563, in our era, was in the 11th year of the indiction, which began on September 1, 562, and ended on the night before September 1, 563.* Consequently *the year 1 in the era of Gaza must have begun at October 28, in the year 61 B.C., and ended on October 27, in the year 60 B.C.* From this proceeds the following rule: having given a date in the era of Gaza, if you want to find the corresponding year of the Christian era, deduct from it:—

I. 61, if the day of the month expressed in the date lies between 28 October and 31 December, both inclusive.

II. 60, if it lies between 1 January and 27 October, both inclusive.

Applying this rule to the dates of inscriptions Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14A, 14B, and making this the basis of conversion, the coincidence of the results with the indictions is absolutely correct, and this agreement in nine of our inscriptions is quite conclusive.

Only one—I am alluding all this while to the first group—constitutes an exception, namely No. 2. There is no doubt about the reading in the excellent squeeze in my possession, and the figure of the indiction is indisputably XIII. The inscription being dated the 19th of October of the year 565 of Gaza (= 505 A.D.), we ought to have the indiction XIV, which began on September 1, 505, and ended on September 1, 506. This solitary exception is not sufficient by itself to upset the results obtained by the perfect

* I think it may not be amiss to mention the rule I have followed in calculating the indictions from the years of the Christian era. The manuals in use do not always set it forth as clearly as could be wished. (1) For the months from September to December, add 4 to the year of the Christian era and divide by 15; the remainder gives the year of the indiction; if there is no remainder, the indiction is XV. (2) For the months from January to August, pursue the same process and make the same deductions, but add 3 instead of 4.

agreement displayed by all the other inscriptions in the first group, and to make us put back the starting point of the era of Gaza to 62 instead of 61 B.C. We must suppose it to have been due to an error on the part of the composer of the inscription, who forgot that on October 19, 505, the XIVth of the indiction had been in progress for 49 days past. Mistakes of this description have been noticed several times in inscriptions dated by indictions. Moreover we must dismiss the idea of separating this inscription from the group to which I have assigned it, and of supposing for instance that some other era than that of Gaza is meant. In fact the mere tenour of it shows that it is closely connected with No. 4, these two epitaphs being those of the brother and sister who died one 24 years after the other.*

GROUP B.—I now enter upon the second group, formed by inscriptions Nos. 15, 16, and 17, and characterized by systematic omission, in the date, of the hundreds-figures, the tens and units alone being expressed: thus, years 33, 39, and 88. This omission is the only possible explanation of the smallness of these figures; for it must not be forgotten that the Christian inscriptions that contain them are, from the point of view of palæography and epigraphy, manifestly of the same period as those of the first group, which are dated between the years 540–669 of the era of Gaza, and belong consequently to the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries of our era.

Our task, then, is to find a combination approaching this period as closely as possible, or, in other words, to determine the figure which is understood and must stand for the hundreds.

The first idea which naturally presents itself is that we have to deal in this case also with the era of Gaza, and that hundreds figure to be supplied might be either ($\phi' = 500$) or $\chi' (= 600)$.

A moment's calculation shows that the figure $\chi' = 600$ must be dismissed from consideration; it would involve dates in the Christian era for the three inscriptions altogether at variance with the years of the indictions as given. Moreover, it is not possible this time, as we did just now with No. 2, to suppose an error on the part of the cutter of the stone, the discrepancy in this case being six years, and being reproduced throughout.

* Besides, even if we admit, for instance, as I have attempted to do further on in the case of Group B, that the era employed is that of Ascalon, and not of Gaza, we shall not even then get at the right indiction. The 22nd of Hyperberetæos 565 would correspond, in the era of Ascalon (which is reckoned from the 28th October in 105 B.C.) to November 18, year 460. But this day was in the XIVth of the indiction, not the XIIIth.

For the three indiction-years on these three inscriptions are separated by intervals of six and forty-nine years respectively. Now, if we set aside the unknown hundreds-figures, and look at the three dates on their own merits, we shall notice that they follow one another in perfectly regular fashion, and form a series of such a kind that the three terms—

$$[x] 33 (8 \text{ June})^* \text{XII} + [x] 39 (3 \text{ Nov.}) \text{III} + [x] 88 (25 \text{ Nov.}) \text{VII}$$

coincide exactly with the periods of the indiction-cycle of fifteen years. Consequently the figures of the indictions must be held to be absolutely reliable,[†] and any combination will have to be dismissed from consideration that does not harmonize with the indictions given in the three epitaphs.

If instead of the figure 600 we work with the figure 500 (=ϕ'), we shall get the following dates according to the Christian era :—

No. 15=8th June, 473 A.D. (the indiction of which is XI).

No. 16=3rd November, 478 A.D. (the indiction of which is II).

No. 17=25th November, 527 A.D. (the indiction of which is VI).

Here again we do not get the indictions right, these being XII, III, and VII in our inscriptions, so that they would be a year behind throughout. The difference is indeed appreciably less than in the preceding hypothesis, but it is still so large that we are bound to account for it. The result is even more striking if we compare Nos. 17 in the second group and 4 in the first group; then if we take the hundreds-figure to be 5, these two inscriptions would belong to two consecutive years in the era of Gaza. If this were the case, we ought not to have the same indiction figure (VII) in both these inscriptions, inasmuch as they are divided by an interval of about seventeen months (25th November, 527–April, 529), and in this interval indiction VI had become indiction VII (1st September, 528). These two dates are then irreconcilable, and the series of indictions in the first group cannot possibly be reduced to the series of those in the second. I conclude from this that the era used in this second group cannot be the era of Gaza, at any rate, not as the latter is used in the first group.

It may be asked whether perchance the disagreement, which after all does not exceed a year, might not arise from an operation that I have already

* Presuming that we have to deal with the Gaza calendar.

† I may mention incidentally that this calculation proves that the correct reading of the indiction number in No. 16 really is γ'=III, although the letter has not been preserved in its entirety on the stone. Thus the slight doubt in which this point may have been involved is swept away.

spoken of, which has taken place in the case of some other towns of Syria. I mean the changing of the beginning of the local year to make it agree with the beginning of the Byzantine indiction year on the 1st of September. A change of this kind may at some time or other have made a year's difference either way in the computation of the era of Gaza. Only if it be admitted that our inscriptions of the first and second groups are very nearly contemporaneous, we should have to suppose that people used the old and the new style concurrently, and that the latter did not manage to supersede the former, since our series of inscriptions from No. 4 to No. 14B, dated after No. 17, invariably uses the older style.*

The reader now sees how complicated the problem is. These difficulties are such that I have been induced to ask myself whether the era employed in our second group is the era of Gaza at all. The idea occurred to me that it might be the era of the Seleucids;—but the calculation of the indictions is quite opposed to this; or, perhaps it might be a special era of Maiumas connected with its erection into an autonomous town by Constantine, who called it Constantia after his son Constantius;—but we do not know the exact date† of this autonomy, and moreover it had but a fleeting existence, as Julian converted Maiumas back again into a dependency of Gaza.

Can the era be by chance that of Ascalon? It would be quite possible that among these slabs of marble brought from the sea coast to Gaza by the Arab masons there should be some from the neighbouring town of Ascalon or its dependencies. In support of this conjecture I will mention an important fact, which only struck me on reading over these pages. I see from the note appended to No. 17,‡ that the marble slab bearing this inscription *did actually come from Ascalon*, or so I was assured by 'Abd Allah es Serrâj, in whose house I found it in 1870. This native had no sort of motive for giving me wrong information, and failing proof to the contrary we may admit this testimony of his. I attached no particular importance to this circumstance at the time, but it now assumes a character of exceptional interest. It would be very desirable to ascertain whether Nos. 16 and 15 came from the same source, but unfortunately in the case of No. 16 I omitted to note the name of the owner, and in the case of No. 15 I did not note the inscription myself.

* Could the explanation, in this supposition, be that there were two modes of computation used simultaneously, one at Gaza, the other at Maiumas, a seaport, erected into an autonomous town by Constantine?

† About 334.

‡ This note is an exact copy of what I wrote on my squeeze at the time of making it.

Let us then reason on the supposition that these three inscriptions came not from Gaza but from Ascalon, and see where this leads us.

Ascalon, like Gaza, had an era of its own, and the starting point of it, according to the testimony of ancient writers and the science of numismatics, has been fixed by archæologists at 104 A.D. Moreover, the Ascalonites also used a special calendar, which has been handed down to us, like that of Gaza, by the Florence *Hemerologion*. As far as relates to the names, duration, and succession of the months, and the intercalation of the epagōmenal days, this calendar is identical with that of Gaza. It only differs from it in one essential point—the year begins October 28, as before, but this beginning is on the 1st of Hyperberetæos, instead of the 1st Dios. The result of this was a difference of a month right throughout, and the epagomenæ were intercalated (at August 24 as before) between Panemos and Lôos, instead of between Lôos and Gorpiaeos.

Bearing in mind these data, and taking the 1st year of the era of Ascalon to begin on October 28 (1st of Hyperberetæos) in the year 105 B.C. and finish on October 27, 104, we obtain for our three refractory dates in the era of Gaza the following dates in the era of Ascalon, and, further, in the Christian era :—

No. 15 : 14 Dæsius [5]33, XII=8 July, 429, XII.*

No. 16 : 7 Dios [5]39, III=3 December, 434, III.

No. 17 : 29 Dios [5]88, VII=25 December, 483, VII.

Accordingly under this system the indictions would be in exact agreement. It still remains, I acknowledge, to consider whether these dates, which bring us to the fifth century, would not be at variance with palæographic and historical probability, and whether there are not historical or numismatical counter-indications leading to the conclusion that the era of Ascalon began with October 28, 105, and not 104, before our era.

Upon the whole, putting aside that part of the problem which relates to the dates in Group B, I think we may sum up by saying that our examination of Group A clearly proves that the proper starting point of the era of Gaza should be fixed at October 28 in the year 61 B.C., and I have no doubt that the double method already explained (that of deducting 61 or 60 *according to the month and the day of the month*) will enable us to solve all the chronological problems that may be raised by the discovery of fresh

* Here again it will be of course necessary in making calculations to use alternately the figures 105 and 104, according as the day of the month expressed in the inscription lies between 28th October and 31st December, or between 1st January and 27th October.

inscriptions or coins dated by the era of Gaza. If we apply it for instance to the date of the death of the celebrated Bishop of Gaza, St. Porphyry (2 Dystros, 480, according to his biographer the Deacon Mark), it is immediately seen that this date answers exactly to February 26, 420 of our era (and not 421, as several writers have it).

This also holds good for those most interesting coins struck at Gaza in the name of the Emperor Hadrian, and bearing a double date, one according to the era of the town, the other according to a special era, which depends on the institution of the great feast at Gaza by this Emperor, and called after him "the *Hadrianian*."* It will be seen, from the harmonies established between these double dates, that the institution of Hadrian, which made an "epoch" in the history of the ancient Philistine town,† must have taken place in the course of the year 190 of the local era, that is to say, according to my system, between October 28, 129 and October 28, 130 A.D., and not in the year 128 of our era as has been erroneously stated by M. de Saulcy,‡ and is even now occasionally stated on his authority. This result is in entire agreement with those afforded by history and epigraphy, for it is well known that Hadrian, before reaching Egypt, where he is officially recorded to have been present in September 130, had visited Palmyra, Jerusalem, Gaza and Petra in July–September of the same year, that is to say towards the end of the year 190 in the era of Gaza. It was probably on the occasion of this visit that the new feast and era§ were instituted, and these ought to be fixed, not at the beginning of the year 190 of the era of Gaza, but towards the end, probably in the month Gorpiæos or Hyperberetæos.||

* 'Αδριανή. Information from the *Chronicon Paschale*. It may also be, as I remarked above in a note, that Gaza received the title of *colony* on this occasion.

† The course of events must have been exactly the same at Gaza as at Athens, where we find on the monuments a special era dating from the entry of Hadrian into that town and his stay there (ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αδριανοῦ εἰς 'Αθήνας ἐπιδημίας), and comprising the years 1–27. These imperial visits formed an epoch in the history of towns—the case was the same with Palmyra (Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2585); Gaza, like Athens and Palmyra, thought fit to perpetuate the memory of the ἐπιδημία of its imperial guest.

‡ *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 215. On p. 212, he speaks of the year 129.

§ Cf. Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, I, p. 116. Dürre, *die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, pp. 62–63. Goyau, *Chronologie de l'Empire romain*, p. 199. This series of comparisons removes any lingering doubts there might be as to the real date of the journey of the Emperor Hadrian to Syria and Egypt.

|| This is confirmed by numismatics, for we see on several coins of Hadrian, struck at Gaza, one and the same year of the new era (dating from his entry) made to harmonise with two successive years of the local era of Gaza, and *vice versa*. For instance, the year V of the era of Hadrian corresponds to the year 194 and to the year 195 of Gaza; the year VI and the year VI

Miscellaneous Antiquities.—At the residence of M. Pickard, an employé in the Egyptian telegraphs at Gaza, I saw a Samaritan inscription incised on a long marble block brought from the sea shore, probably from the site of the ancient Maiumas of Gaza. The lines were rather short, and nineteen in number. Unfortunately I omitted to take a squeeze of this text, all I have of it is a photograph, which is too small and indistinct to admit of reading the inscription. As far as I recollect, it was interesting merely from a liturgical



point of view, and could not be of any great antiquity. This find is none the less interesting as it reveals to us the existence at Gaza of a Samaritan colony, which must have had some importance. The fact is moreover attested by the *Samaritan Chronicle*, which repeatedly mentions Samaritans as being settled at Gaza both before and after the Arab conquest. It further informs us that with a single exception they all belonged to the tribe of Benjamin.

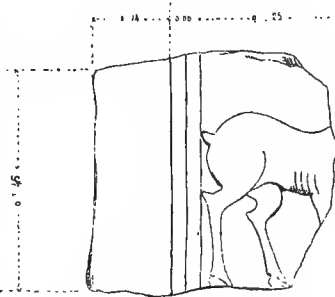
— In the house of S'limân Zarif I found a fine sculptured fragment of white marble with greenish veins, representing a fanciful animal, a chimera or a gryphon. The creature is placed on a dwarf column, its hind paws only touching, and measures 0^m.58 in height. This fragment came, or so I was

assured, from a ruin situated two or three hours to the east of el Muntâr.

— In another house I saw a piece of *bas-relief* of white marble (thickness 0^m.45) representing the hind quarters of a doe or stag, of graceful outline.

I find among the notes I took in 1870 a sketch of a marble *bas-relief*, about a yard long, representing two stags facing one another, separated by a Maltese cross, which they appear to worship. This was said to have come from Ascalon. I

cannot possibly say whether the fragment sketched above belongs to this same *bas-relief*, the latter having been broken in the interval, or to another *bas-relief* similar to it. I incline however to the first hypothesis. At all events there is no doubt that the subject was the same.



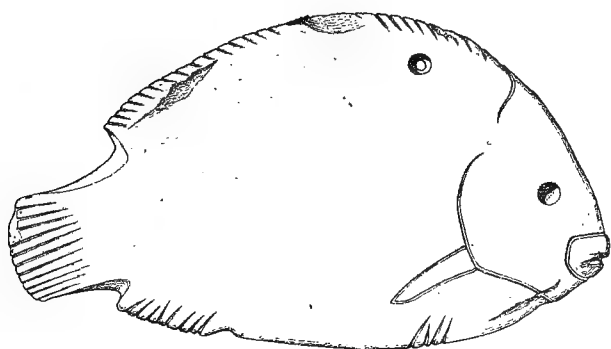
to the year 195 ; the year VIII to the years 196 and 197. This "overlying" of the dates has its significance, and clearly shows that the starting point of the year did not coincide in the two parallel eras.

This subject is already known to us from several instances in Christian symbolism.

— An inhabitant told me that there was a marble statue built into the wall of his house, but as he wanted ten pounds to get it out and show it me, I was unable to test the accuracy of his assertion.

— In 1870 I saw various interesting antiques in the possession of inhabitants of Gaza (a goldsmith and a shopkeeper in the bazaar); but my means unfortunately did not allow of my buying them.

Two of them were acquired shortly afterwards for the Louvre by the instrumentality of M. de Saulcy, whom I told about them. The third, and perhaps the most interesting, had now disappeared. The three were :



1. A flat stone, of dark green schist, cut in the shape of a fish, measuring 0^m. 12 X 0^m. 07. The gills, the dorsal fin and the tail are denoted by light incisions, the eyes by round deep holes, where perhaps a rare stone or a piece of glass was originally set. Further, the fish is pierced in the upper part with a small hole

going right through, which doubtless served to hang it up by, thus indicating that the object was of a votive nature. The Arabs pretended to recognize this fish as being of the kind they call *kajâj* (قباج) or *ferîdeh*. Here perhaps we have an example of the ichthyolatry that was practised on the Philistine coast. I have since noticed a fish of a similar description in the British Museum collections, but I do not know where it came from. I have also found it engraved on a Syrian gem of which I have an impression. Some have thought to recognize the genus *chromis** in the fish of Gaza.



2. A small figurine of massive gold, in the Egyptian style, representing a personage, very likely a king, or a deified king, seated on a throne, with a base to it, having the Egyptian helmet on his head, his neck adorned with a necklace of two rows, and his hands placed on his knees. A small ring for hanging it up by was fixed to the back of the figurine. Its height is 0^m. 025.

* Héron de Villefosse, *Notice des Monuments provenant de la Palestine*, No. 65.

3. A small lion of massive gold, in the Egyptian style, crouching, its front paws stretched out; length about 0^m·02. To the back a ring is attached for hanging up. On the base is carved a cartouche containing hieroglyphics, of which I took a copy and an impression.



The legend reads: (A)men-Râ, *pauiti tui*, "Ammon-Râ, the enneadian,* god of the two lands." My learned *confrère* M. Maspero has been kind enough to send me the following note on the subject of this monument:—

The legend  contains a fault: the engraver has omitted the initial  of the name  (Amen-Râ). It gives one of the most frequent titles of Amonrâ, the one which fixes his suzerainty over all the other gods of Egypt:  *Pauiti tui*, which signifies, *He who belongs to the Pauit*, or *He who is the Pauit*, of the two countries; and the *Pauit*  is the *Nine*, the *Ennead* of the great creative gods (*Râ*, *Shu-Tafnuit*, *Sibu-Nuit*, *Osiris-Isis*, *Set-Nephthys*, who organized the world into its present condition). To say that Amon is at their head, or that he contains them in himself, is as much as to proclaim the superiority of Amon over them all, and consequently over the gods who are less than they. The form  of the disc only becomes common after the Saïte period, about the 8th century, which may furnish an approximate date for the manufacture of the object.†

Sarcophagus.—On the seashore near the Quarantine building there has been recently discovered in the sand a large circular well built with squared stones. In front of it, to serve as a trough, there has been placed a small sarcophagus, cut out of a block of calcareous conglomerate mixed with shells, and measuring about 1^m·05 by 0^m·40.



Bronze Articles.—In going over the bazaar I saw in the possession of the goldsmiths various rather curious small bronze articles, found at Gaza itself or in the neighbourhood.



BRONZE FIGURE OF
APE (?).

The first was a small figurine 0^m·06 long, either an ape, or a fantastic quadruped with a human head; the feet and hands are broken. The style is rude, and the age of the object difficult to determine.

Next, two small *protomes* or *suspensible busts*, hollowed out behind, each 0^m·025 in height.

* That is to say, "the chief of the group of the nine gods."

† The formula even becomes very frequent in the Ptolemaic period.



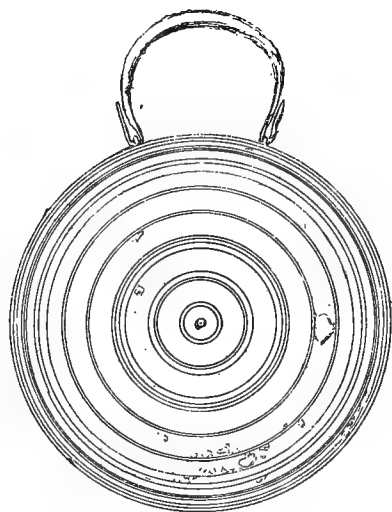
WINGED EROS (BRONZE).



GODDESS ARTEMIS OR ASTARTE (BRONZE).

Each of the busts has fixed on its head a ring to hang it up by. One represents a winged Eros, the other a goddess, Artemis or Astarte, wearing a diadem. They remind one of those busts of divinities which in Greek and Roman antiquity served as counterpoises in the balances that worked on the lever principle. The weight of these, however, appears too small to warrant the supposition that they were intended for this purpose.*

Lastly, a bronze mirror, in the shape of a flat round box, 0^m·15 in diameter, ornamented with concentric circles in relief and provided with a movable handle. It is a specimen of the ancient mirror with a lid, formed of two discs fitting one into the other, a type that has been continued down to the present day in the small mirrors sold by pedlars.



ANCIENT BRONZE MIRROR WITH LID.



HANDLE OF A BRONZE MIRROR.

By the side of it an engraving is given of a handle belonging to a similar mirror.

* Later (in 1881) I acquired two other similar objects from the same source (see my *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine entreprise en 1881*, p. 92, No. III, A and B).

The Hill of el Muntâr. Legends.—Just a little south-east of Gaza there stands a hill, which corresponds perhaps to the necropolis of ancient Gaza. To judge by the traditions attaching to it, it appears to have played an important part in the history and topography of that illustrious town. It bears to-day the name of *Jebel el Muntâr*, well adapted to its characteristic features, for it evidently means “the mountain of the look-out,” *muntâr*, منطار, from the root نظر = נטר (Aram.), meaning “post of observation, look-out.” But, as I shall shortly show, the name may possibly be anterior to the Arab conquest.

In any case two curious and divergent legends that I have picked up at Gaza agree in declaring that the real name of the hill is not *Jebel el Muntâr* but *Jebel el Mutrân* (مطران), “the mountain of the bishop.” This is at all events an indication that this name, with which popular imagination has been so busy, is likely to be one of a certain antiquity. Here are the two legends.

There was of old time at Gaza a certain bishop, detested by his flock. One day when he was lying ill in bed (at *Jebel el Muntâr*), a plot was made to put under his couch some women’s drawers (*sherwâl*), with the view of accusing him afterwards of having taken a woman into his house and broken the law of chastity. The indignant bishop cursed the inhabitants, saying that their numbers should never exceed forty. From that time the place was called *Muntâr* instead of *Mutrân*.

According to the other legend, the present wely dedicated to ‘Aly el Muntâr, on *Jebel el Muntâr*, contains the tomb of a former Bishop of Gaza, whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction extended over Gaza, Ascalon, Esdûd, and Beit Jibrin. The Mussulmans declare that the ghost of a *râheb* (monk) is still seen there after nightfall, going round the mountain with a censer in his hand and scattering incense. The name *Jebel el Muntâr* is accounted a corruption of *Jebel el Mutrân*, “the mountain of the bishop.” It may be that these legends point more or less directly to the personality of the celebrated Bishop of Gaza, St. Porphyry, who destroyed the numerous sanctuaries of Marnas, one of which, as I just now observed, may have been situated on *Jebel el Muntâr*.*

* It must not be lost sight of that the name *Mutrân* might have been attached to the hill before the appearance of the Arabs; the Arabic word *mutrân*, “bishop,” is borrowed letter for letter from the Syriac *Mîtran* or *Mûtrôn*, that is to say, from an Aramaic dialect closely resembling that which was still spoken at Gaza in the fifth century of our era, as is shown by several curious passages in the *Life of St. Porphyry*. *Muntâr* likewise, as I have said above, is a word of Aramaic formation,

I shall not stop to consider how far those theories are based on truth which make out the Jebel el Muntâr to be the mountain "over against Hebron," to the top of which Samson is said to have carried the gates of Gaza.

In the *Life of St. Porphyry* it is stated that the Zeus Marnas of Gaza was worshipped in the open air on a hill lying near the town and on the eastern side, called *Aldioma*.* I am rather inclined to think that this holy hill was our Jebel el Muntâr, with the fables attaching to it. The puzzling name *Αλδιώμα*, if not mutilated by the copyists, may bear some relation to *Ἀλδήμιος* and *Ἄλδος*, surnames of Marnas. Here perhaps should also be located the place spoken of in the Talmud by the name *Yerid* or *Atliz*, *Atlûz*, situated outside Gaza, where an idol was worshipped.

During the Græco-Roman period strange legends became attached to Gaza; various ancient writers mention them, and traces of them can be found on the coins of the town. They relate, on the one hand, to Io and her heifer, on the other to Minos of Crete. I cannot here undertake to discuss the origin of these legends, though I have accumulated a series of notes relating to them. I will content myself with remarking that possibly some more or less arbitrary etymological connection may have been set up between the name of the *Minotaur* and that of Jebel el *Muntâr*, alias *Mutrân*.

A last echo of these legends about the fabulous origin of Gaza appears to linger on in the Arab writers, when Yâkût relates, following Abu 'l Mundher, that *Ghazza* (Gaza) was "the wife of *Sûr*, who built Tyre (*Sûr*)."

According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, the Emperor Hadrian, after the defeat of Bar Cochba, brought the Jewish prisoners to Gaza to sell them there, and on this occasion instituted a great annual feast, a regular fair, *πανήγυρις*, which still existed in the writer's time, under the name of *Ἀδριανή*. It may be that the memory of this custom has been maintained in the great feast or fair, *maousem*, held yearly at Gaza, at *Bâb ed-Darûn* (or *Darûm*), and called by the Mussulmans *Îd en Nasâra*, "the Feast of the Christians." It causes a great influx of people from all the country round, and is the occasion of a market of considerable size. This year it fell on the 10th of Shabbât (February).

Thabatha and the Convent of St. Hilarion.—In the *Life of St. Hilarion* repeated mention is made of a township in the neighbourhood of Gaza, called

* Ἀπὸ λόφου τοῦ λεγομένου ἀλδιώματος ἐξ ἀνατολῶν τῆς πόλεως. (*Deacon Mark*, ch. X (P), ed. Haupt.)

Thabatha, the native place of the illustrious anchorite. No really satisfactory identification appears as yet to have been suggested for this. It may be gathered from the indications handed down to us by St. Jerome, Sozomenos, Theodosius, and Antoninus of Placentia, that *Thabatha* was five miles south of Gaza, near a river of the same name, and not far from its mouth; and that twenty stadia from *Thabatha*, *on the sea shore*, was the desert place where St. Hilarion passed his hermit life, and where the convent stood in which he was buried. St. Jerome places St. Hilarion's retreat at seven miles from Gaza on the coast, and Antoninus of Placentia locates his burial place at the same distance. All these data obviously harmonize.

Having stated thus much, I propose to identify *Thabatha* with Tell el 'Ajjûl, situated five miles exactly to the south of Gaza, on the right bank of the Nahr Ghazzeh, which exactly fulfils the required conditions of distance and geographical position. The only thing is that the name of the town and the river, which were identical, have disappeared and have been replaced by modern and purely Arab appellations. This however is no uncommon occurrence in Palestine.

As for the convent and the tomb of St. Hilarion, twenty stadia from *Thabatha* and situated on the sea coast, these would suggest the sanctuary now called *Sheikh Shûbâny*.

Accordingly, if excavations were carried out at this spot there would be a good chance of finding the remains of the ancient monastery, which took the place of the hut of the hermit of *Thabatha*, and was the progenitor of the early monastic establishments in Palestine.

In the Syriac version of the Life of Peter the Iberian, Monophysite bishop of Maiumas,* a narrative dating back to the fifth century, mention is made of a village called *Magdal Tûthâ* (ܡܓܕܠ ܬܘܬܗ), situated to the south of Gaza, near the church of St. Hilarion. The editor, Herr Raabe, thinks that in the Greek original the name probably was *πύργος συκαμίνου*, "the Tower of the Mulberry Tree." I am much more inclined to think that we have here the actual name *Thabatha*, with the *v* pronunciation of the Greek *beta*: *Θαβαθά*, *Thavatha*, and that the Syriac form should be vocalized *Thawathâ* instead of *Tûthâ*. It is quite possible, even, that the Greek MS. had the form *Θαβαθά*, for I see that Reland (p. 799) quotes from Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.*, III, 14) a variant *Thanatha*, implying a form *Θαβαθά*, which is very close to the reading *Θαβαθά*.

* R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*, pp. 96 and 101.

Se'artâ and St. Zeno.—Similarly I propose to identify the *Kēfar Se'artâ* (כפר סערטא) of the same document,* situated fifteen miles from Gaza, and forming the residence of St. Zeno, with the ruin called *Kh. Sha'arta* (Map, Sheet XX Fw). The name, the bearings, and the distance are in perfect agreement.

Hamâmeh and Πέλεια.—Last of all, I will take advantage of the opportunity that presents itself to elucidate another passage in the same Syriac work, which is of interest for the geography of the Ascalon region. On p. 75 (*cf.* p. 77) it is stated that Peter the Iberian took up his abode in a village situated ten stadia from Ascalon, and called פאלא or פללא. The editor transcribes the name, *Palæa*, and is inclined, though hesitatingly, to take it for a transliteration of the Greek παλαιά, "ancient," though he cannot even then identify the spot. I have no doubt that we ought to regard it merely as a transliteration of πέλεια, "dove," and that the Greek word is a close translation of *Hamâmeh*, "dove," the name of the above mentioned village quite near Ascalon. This indication is the more interesting as, for reasons which I shall elsewhere set forth, it would tend to the identification of El Mejdal as the site of the real Ascalon, 'Askalân being in that case merely the harbour, the *Maiumas*, of Ascalon.†

FROM GAZA TO JERUSALEM.

We left Gaza on Saturday, September 26, intending to reach Jerusalem by way of Beit Jibrîn.

Neby Hanûn.—At Beit Hanûn, where we halted for lunch, there is a *Neby Hanûn*, who gives his name to the village.

Simsim.—At Simsim is a *Neby Daniân*, bearing the same name as the one in the neighbourhood of Lydda that I have already spoken of. I have had occasion to explain that this name *Daniân*, or *Danian*, is not, as was hitherto believed, that of the prophet *Daniel*, but of the patriarch *Dan*. The same may be the case here too, and it may be supposed that the name of Dan

* R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*, p. 51 and 50. The editor renders it by, "the village of barley," and declares that he cannot identify it.

† For further particulars relating to *Thabatha*, *Se'artâ*, and specially that, very important, of *Hamâmeh*, see my *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, p. 1, and *sq.*

was localized at *Simsim* because that name, rightly or wrongly, had been made akin, by popular tradition, to that of *Samson*, the Danite hero.

B'reîr and B'rûr.—At *B'reîr* the local saint is Neby *B'rûr*. Evidently here again is an eponymous neby, despite the difference in vocalization between *B'reîr* and *B'rûr*. In fact this divergence itself is an interesting fact. It is probable that as usual the *neby* has preserved the most archaic form of the name. The existence of this form is one more argument in favour of the identification proposed by Robinson, of *B'reîr* with the *Beror*, for *Beror Hâil* (برور=برور), of the Talmud, which seemingly cannot have been very far away from Jabneh.

M'lâgis.—At *M'lâgis* we found a camp of Bedouin, who made us welcome. I carefully verified the form of the name of this place, and found it to be really ملاقس.* This is a decided blow to the very arbitrary identification attempted to be made between this name and *Lachish* (לכיש).

'Ajlân.—From here we proceeded to Khûrbet 'Ajlân, which perhaps has

* It has been wrongly supposed that the name was written *Umm Lâkis*, in two words (see the *Name Lists*, where the name is so spelt, and translated by "mother of itch"). The proper form must be *Mûlâkis*, and this appears to me to be confirmed by the mediæval transliteration in a charter of John of Ybelin: *Melaques* or *Melagues*, a place long since recognized as identical with the one we are dealing with by Prutz, Rey, and Röhricht. The Arabic name looks like a participle of the 3rd form from the root لقس. This participle is, moreover, really in existence, and has the meaning of "patient, enduring." This fact renders superfluous all the particulars that Dr. Bliss enters into (*A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 141) as to the value to be assigned to the element "Umm," "mother," since this alleged element does not exist in the name in question. This is an error, by the by, that explorers have very often fallen into when noting Arab place-names beginning with the syllable *mu*, which is characteristic of participles. The fact is, it is necessary to know that in conformity with a general custom in popular phonetics, this short *u*, followed by a closed syllable, is elided in pronunciation, and the elision is then compensated for by a prosthetic vowel (either a vague one, or often one akin to the elided vowel), which is affixed to the beginning of the word. In virtue of this rule, *mu* becomes 'm', next *ûm*, and then when it has reached this state, gives rise to the confusion with *um(m)*, "mother." A number of place-names of this form ought to be thus corrected in the transliterations generally given. Those names should be regarded with especial caution in which the element *um*, *umm*, is not followed by the article *el*.

I must add that I have come across the name of our *M'lâkis* in the itineraries in the *Description of the Empire of the Mamelukes* of Khalîl edh Dhâhery (Arabic MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *ancien fonds*, No. 695) under the form *Balâkis* (road to Karak, between Gaza and Hebron). The *b* and the *m* are often interchanged in Syrian phonetics, especially at the beginning of words, and it is possible that *Balâkis* is the true primitive form. Our name in this state is absolutely identical with that of *Birket Balâkis*, on the sea coast to the south of Cæsarea. *Balâkis* has every appearance of being a personal proper name, and it may perhaps even be a foreign name or word, Greek for instance.

more serious claims,* from the toponymic standpoint, to represent the Eglon of the Bible. In the time of Mujîr ed Dîn† it was still an inhabited village, on the road from Gaza to Beit Jibrîn.

Sukriyeh.—Sukriyeh, which we next encountered on our route, is a place of some importance in relation to Arab authorities. Mujîr ed Dîn‡ connects it with one of the landmarks of the boundary of the district of Hebron on the side of Gaza. I quote the text, because it has been badly rendered, and no one has thought of utilizing it for the geography of this region :

قرية سيمح (sic) المجاورة لقرية السكرية وبلاد بنى عبد وهى من اعمال الخليل.

M. Sauvaire translates : "the village of Sîmsakh, bordering on that of es Sakkariyeh, and the country of the Banu 'Yd.§ This latter is a dependency of Hebron." We ought evidently to read *es Sukriyeh* instead of *es Sakkariyeh*, and identify it with the place under consideration. The name of the village of *Sîmsakh*, which is mentioned as being near Sukriyeh, is certainly mutilated. The Bulak text has *Sîmah* ; but neither of these forms answer to anything on the spot. I have no doubt that we ought to correct these two wrong readings to *Seîsamakh*, the name of which is preserved entire in that of *Habûr Seîsamakh* at Khûrbet el Habûr, which is situated about two miles south-east of Sukriyeh. As the reader sees, these two corrections, and the two identifications resulting from them, are mutually supporting. What now remains is to discover the country of the *Benî 'Yd* or *Benî 'Abd*. The name comes perhaps from some Bedouin tribe that has disappeared.||

* And yet even this becomes questionable, if we must rely on information given by Yâkût (*Mo'jem* II, 19), which is curious enough and well deserves mention. 'Amr, son of El-'Âs, the celebrated general of the first conquest, had at (that is to say in the territory of) *Beit Jibrîn*, a domain called *'Ajlân*, from the name of one of his freedmen. If this tradition relates, as it has every appearance of doing, to Kh. 'Ajlân, and if it is well founded, Kh. 'Ajlân would have no more right to stand for Eglon than M'lâkis for Lachish.

† Arab text printed at Bulak, p. 54.

‡ *Id.*, p. 431.

§ عید, variant in M. Sauvaire's MS. : the Bulak text has *Banu 'Abd* (عبد).

|| Mujîr ed Dîn states in the precisest manner the boundaries of the district of Hebron, and it is for more than one reason interesting to know them. I have just shown what this boundary was on the west, on the Gaza side. On the Ramleh side (to put it differently, on the north-west) its landmark was the village (*karieh*) of *Zakariyâ*, a dependency of Hebron, and assigned as a *wakf* to the pious foundations of the town. This is evidently the village of the same name (XVII, 1u on the Map). The northern boundary passed by the village of *Se'ir*, between Jerusalem and Hebron (Map, XXI, Lv : *Sia'ir*). The eastern limit was the *village* of 'Ain Jady (which shows that the place was still inhabited at that period) and the Sea of Lot ; so that that side presents no

I recognize the same place Sukriyeh at a much earlier period in one repeatedly mentioned by the Arab geographer El Mukaddessy as being a town situated one stage from Ramleh and two stages from Tuleil (towards Ghamr = Gomorrha, to the south of the Dead Sea). Here again we must substitute Sukriyeh for the faulty readings of editors and translators : *Sakariyeh*, *Sukkariyeh*.

BEIT JIBRÎN AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

At Beit Jibrin we pitched our tent quite close to the sanctuary of the eponymous *Neby Jibrîn*, and there we slept two nights. A fierce epidemic was just then raging in those parts. The population was being decimated, and in a state of frantic terror. They were greatly struck by the appearance of a new spring, and thought to find in it a sign of the times. As many as twenty peasants were carried off every day. Animals were no more exempt than men, and the epidemic was attended by a murrain which came nothing short of it in deadliness. We had met on our way a whole colony of Moghrebin, previously settled at Tell es Sâfy, who were emigrating *en masse* to the south, and fleeing before the same scourge, from which they also had suffered cruelly. In the brushwood there lay a dying man left behind by the band. We found him supported in the arms of his wife, who with touching fidelity had refused to forsake him.

At Beit Jibrin the local dervishes were howling forth prayers and exorcisms in abundance, to the accompaniment of timbrels, to drive away the pestilence. I served out our whole stock of sulphate of quinine, and promised to get the Government to send some from Jerusalem.

We had the same difficulty in getting provisions as when I made my first journey in 1871. The bread was uneatable. It was stuck all over with stones, and we even found a mosaic cube in it, which came from some ancient pavement on which an Arab oven had been set up.

difficulty. On the south the boundary passed by the station (*menzeleh*) of *El Melh*, on the road to Hejâz, and by the *Domes of Shaweriyeh*, قباب الشاورية. (This is the reading of a MS. belonging to M. Sauvaire, and is evidently preferable to that in the Cairo edition.) These are without doubt the *Khûrbet el Milh* and *Gabâb esh Shâweri*, marked a little to the south in Palmer and Drake's map (*Quarterly Statement*, 1871 ; cf. p. 42). Thanks to the explanation given by Mujîr ed Dîn, we now know the origin of this latter name : it comes from that of the *Benî Shâwer*, emirs of the Jorm Arabs. Henceforth nothing is more easy than to draw up from these fixed data a map of the district of Hebron as it was at the end of the 15th century.

Imperial Statue.—I devoted myself to finding the torso of a statue that I had discovered in 1871 near the Roman road to Dhikrîn, in a north-north-east direction, somewhere about Ē'râk Hâlâ.* After some trouble I succeeded. M. Lecomte made two good drawings of it, one from front, the other from behind. It was, as the reader sees, a statue in full relief, life-size, and not, as I had been formerly led to suppose by a hasty and superficial inspection, a statue *d'applique*. The material is a hard limestone. I should say it must have been a statue of an emperor in military dress.



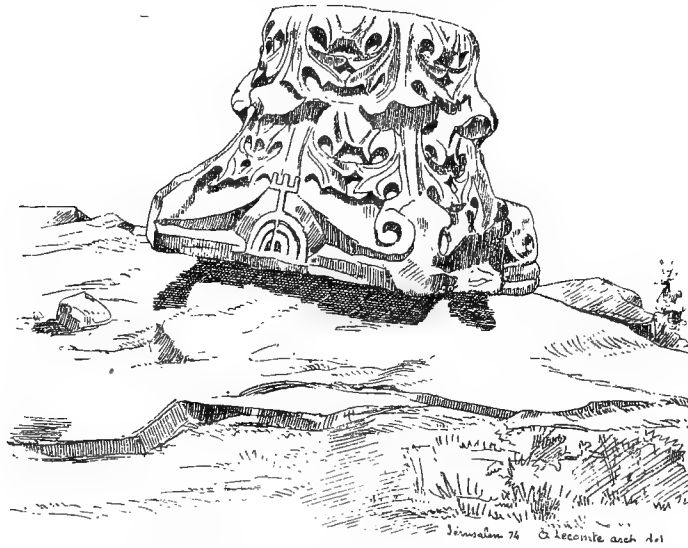
It is very likely a statue of the emperor Septimus Severus (193–211 A.D.), who seems to have played a very important part in the history of Beit Jibrîn. There has come down to us a Roman coinage struck for Eleutheropolis, beginning under Septimus Severus and continued under Caracalla and Elagabalus. These coins, which are until now of extreme rarity, are dated by a special era, that of Eleutheropolis, with the years III, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and XIX. It appears upon calculation that the starting point of this era must lie between the years 202 and 208, that is to say it falls well within the reign of Septimus Severus. Furthermore, on these coins the town invariably bears the significant name *Lucia Septima Severiana Eleutheropolis*. The institution of this era, and the adoption of this name, imply the existence of great autonomic and other privileges granted to Eleutheropolis by Septimus Severus, for reasons to us unknown. Perhaps they were a reward for the attitude of the town during the struggle in Syria between Septimus Severus and Pescennius Niger, or during the subsequent troubles

* See *infra*: Appendix.

that broke out in Judæa. It is probable, moreover, that Septimus Severus had the opportunity to pass through Eleutheropolis and grant it these privileges when he crossed Southern Palestine in 200 or 202 on his way to Egypt. In any case it is easy to explain that the grateful Eleutheropolites should have erected a statue to their imperial benefactor, the very one, perhaps, that I discovered at Ė'râk Hâlâ near Beit Jibrîn.

The various details of the uniform have been well preserved. The position of the shoulders seems to show that the left arm was raised and held a lance or a standard.

Jewish Capital.—In an old beiyâra in the village I noticed a fine marble capital, placed upside down. It had formerly been used as a pivot for the tree of a sâkia (water-wheel). It is 0^m·55 high, 0^m·43 wide, and is ornamented with finely carved acanthus leaves. In the upper part a representation of the seven-branched candlestick stands out in relief. This peculiarly Jewish symbol would seem to indicate that the capital came from an ancient synagogue, existing probably at Beit Jibrîn in the early centuries of our era.*



Milestones.—A few minutes further on, I noticed in the middle and to the right of the Roman way a group of eleven milestones lying on the ground, consisting of cylindrical shafts standing on quadrangular bases. Unfortunately I could not possibly find any fellahîn strong enough to extricate and turn over

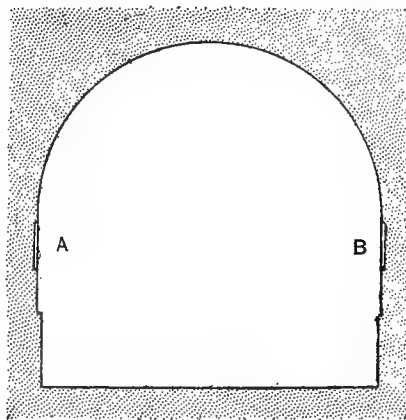
* This seems to me to follow from various passages in the Talmud where mention is made of several Jewish doctors coming from this town (*cf.* Reland, *Palæstina*, s.v. *Bethgubrîn*).

these columns, some of which perhaps had interesting inscriptions on them. The men with us, exhausted by fever, had not the strength to handle pick and crowbar, and after one or two fruitless endeavours, I had to give up the attempt, greatly to my regret. This group of milestones, thus gathered together at one point, reminds one of the group at Tayibeh* that I have already described.

I found another example of this in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, but in quite another direction, on the ancient Roman way to Dawaimeh in the south. Here the group is composed of twelve or fifteen milestones, seven or eight of which are still standing. The ancient Eleutheropolis formed a central point in the network of the Roman roads that traversed Palestine, whence several routes radiated in various directions. These are frequently used by the compilers of the *Onomasticon* as guiding marks in their geographical indications. I earnestly beg future explorers to make a careful study of this question of the Roman ways and the milestones of Beit Jibrin, which hitherto has been merely touched upon. There are certainly epigraphical discoveries to be made in this quarter.

Ērāk el Kheil.—We explored some of the vast caves, the work of human hands, which are found in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, and go by the generic name of *Ērāk* (عراق, pronounced with a prosthetic ě).

Ērāk el Kheil may have served at one time for a stable, as is indicated by its name (*Kheil*, "horses"). Above the entrance door of one of the long galleries, with their roofs vaulted in a semi-circle and carefully hewn, we noticed traces of ornamentation cut in the rock. Along either side of the vastest of these galleries, which measures more than 16 feet in height, there run two friezes, finely

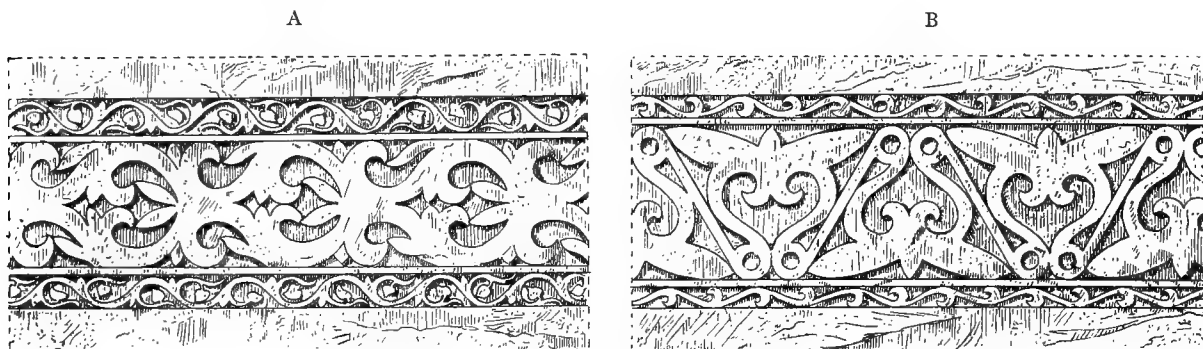


TRANSVERSE SECTION OF THE GALLERY.
Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

* See *supra*, p. 296. The same is the case at Kh. Fukeikis. Roman military milestones, arranged like those in more or less numerous groups at the same spot, also occur in the neighbourhood of Karak and Shaubak (see Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte*, II, pp. 157, 159), also in the districts beyond Jordan (*Memoirs, Eastern Palestine*, I, pp. 212, 213, at Serâbit el Mehattah and el Mushukkar, in groups of 12 and 24), and pretty nearly everywhere in Palestine. It is probable that they correspond to successive reigns of different emperors. I doubt very much whether they ever had the more or less sacred character that some have been inclined to attribute to them.

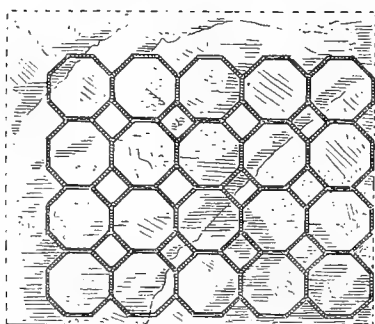
carved in low relief. They form two bands, one of which goes on for a length of about 20 yards, while the other is shorter.

The patterns of the two friezes are different. The following show those of the left wall (at A) and the right wall (at B).



Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

In addition to this, the intrados of the arch is ornamented with a simpler kind of decoration, a network of octagons, thus :



Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

On one of the walls I noticed what looked like openings of "ovens" that had been stopped up. At the back of a small chamber, in the right corner, there is a kind of rectangular trough made in the rock, with one of its shorter sides joining the wall by an inclined plane decorated with a moulded *baguette*.

Alleged Inscription.—I made a vain search at Ē'râk el Fenîsh for the ancient inscription which I had been told was there. I found but a few Cufic characters, similar to those that have been noticed in several of these caverns.

Ē'râk Abu'l-'Amed.—At Ē'râk Abu'l-'Amed, about three-quarters of an hour south-east of Sandahanna, there are some *graffiti* and curious symbols on one of the inner walls, which would be worth copying. We had no time to do this. This cavern is extremely large, and shows in several places small triangular niches like those in the caverns of Deir Dhubbân, reminding one of the *columbaria*. It was full of wild pigeons who had taken up their abode there and made the place a columbarium in all senses of the word.

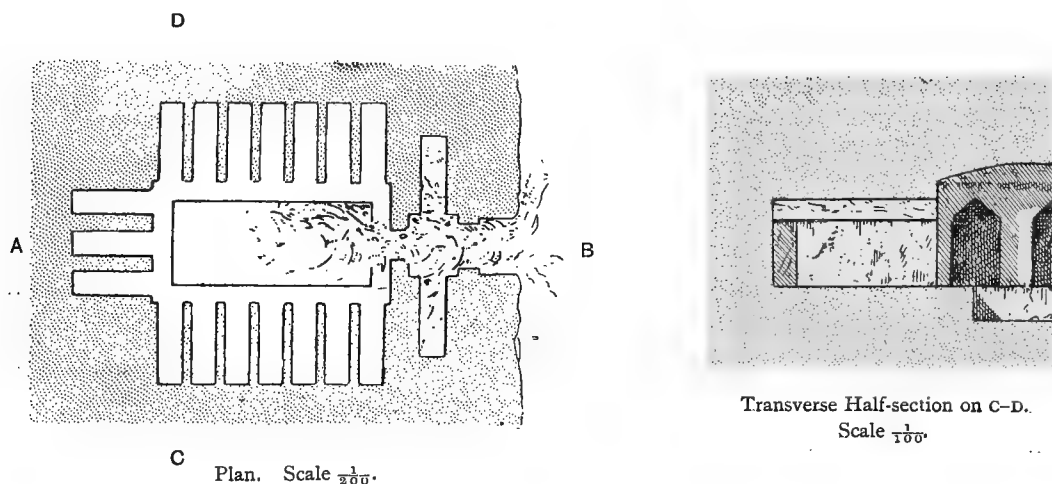
All these *Ē'râk* in the country round Beit Jibrin are extremely curious, and their origin is veiled in obscurity. They ought to be subjected to a minute

and methodical exploration. Here are two pieces of information concerning them which I picked up at Jerusalem in 1869 and 1870.*

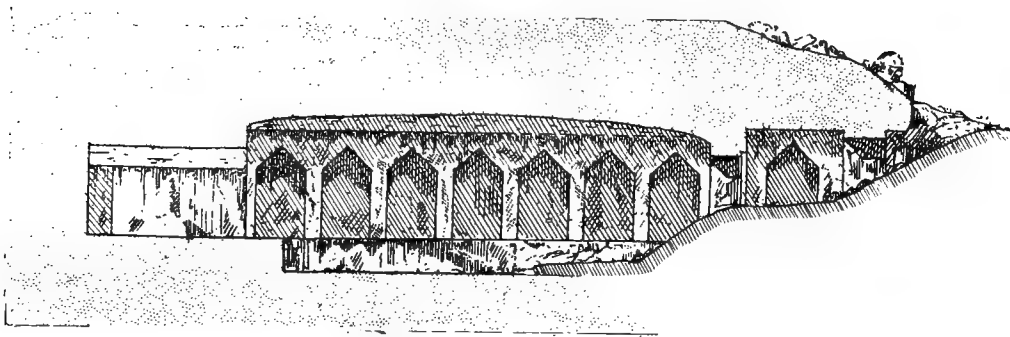
— “Îsa Kubursy, of Nazareth, told me at Jerusalem that he had seen in a cavern at Beit Jibrîn a human figure carved in the rock on one of the inner walls, and on the opposite wall an inscription of two lines.”

— “Ya’kûb Banayôt, of Jerusalem, told me he had seen in a cavern situated half an hour or so from Beit Jibrîn, called *Meghâret esh Shems* (‘the cavern of the sun’), a *bas-relief* cut in the rock, very high up. It represents a woman standing, her bosom bared, and her arms hanging by her side; close to her, a child lying down in a bed or a cradle; further on, another child, erect. It is accompanied by an inscription in *disconnected* characters, which Ya’kûb says are *gurdji* (Georgian). (By this he means characters that are neither Greek nor Latin.)”

Remarkable Tomb.—To the left of the road from Beit Jibrîn to Sandahanna, in the *Wâd Abu Leben*, we found a magnificent rock-hewn tomb, of a quite peculiar type. The entrance is of a simple kind, and almost entirely stopped up, so that the outside view gives no idea of the importance of the interior arrangement. This perhaps is why it has escaped the notice of explorers. Crawling in through the narrow opening, one finds oneself in a small ante-chamber with two loculi or *kokîm* opening into the right and left walls respectively. From here one proceeds to a large chamber 23 feet long by $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, having a ceiling very slightly vaulted, and all round it a projecting bench made by cutting away the rock.

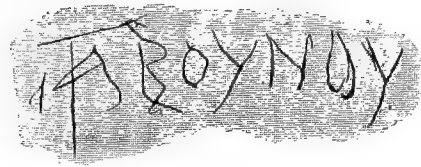


* 1869, *Carnet* III, p. 13; and 1870, *Carnet*, IV, p. 3.

Longitudinal Section on A-B. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

Above the bench, in each of the longer walls on the right and left, are seven loculi, and in the back wall three, making in all nineteen. The remarkable thing is that the tops of all these loculi are triangular in section, instead of being flat or rounded, as is usual. This is the first time that I have noticed this curious variety of loculi in Palestine.

On examining the walls, I discovered above the first loculus on the right as you go into the large chamber, a short Greek inscription lightly but clearly scratched in.



Ἀγάθαρχος. We have several instances in Greek onomastics of the male proper name *Agatharchos*.

Above the fourth "oven," on the same side, is another *graffito*:

Ἀβουνου, "of Abounos." This curious name is also found in the same form in two inscriptions from Græna, in Trachonitis;* it is probably a translation of a Semitic name.

It should be noticed that the first name is in the nominative and the second in the genitive, and that neither of them is accompanied by any signs of their Christian origin. It is possible that there are other epigraphs of the same kind still to be discovered in this tomb, if the examination can be conducted with more care than I, for want of time, was able to bestow. These inscriptions remind us of those in the Tomb of the Prophets on the Mount of Olives, which are given in Volume I.

* Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2455, and No. 2456.

Another similar Tomb.—A little farther on we discovered a second tomb of the same description, but of still more imposing appearance, and comprising several chambers. I regret that lack of time prevented us from making a survey of this one also, and I leave it to explorers who may pass that way to supply the want.

Church of Sandahanna.—We made a thorough study of the ruins of this church, which assuredly is one of the most remarkable in Palestine. The appearance they present is here depicted.

The primitive building was a Byzantine basilica, resembling the most striking specimens of the kind that still exist in central Syria, and are reproduced in the fine work of M. de Vogüé.*

The basilica has been in part re-arranged by the Crusaders, who have utilized the nave to build there a church of more modest dimensions, which was entirely comprised within the breadth of this part, and did not occupy anything near the whole length of it. In the accompanying plan the parts coloured black and the shaded parts belong to the Byzantine basilica: the former represent the structures that rise above the ground as it now is, the latter those that are on a level with the ground, or below it. The dotted parts indicate the work of the Crusaders, which is recognizable from the tool-marks on certain stones and the characteristic shapes of the architectural details.

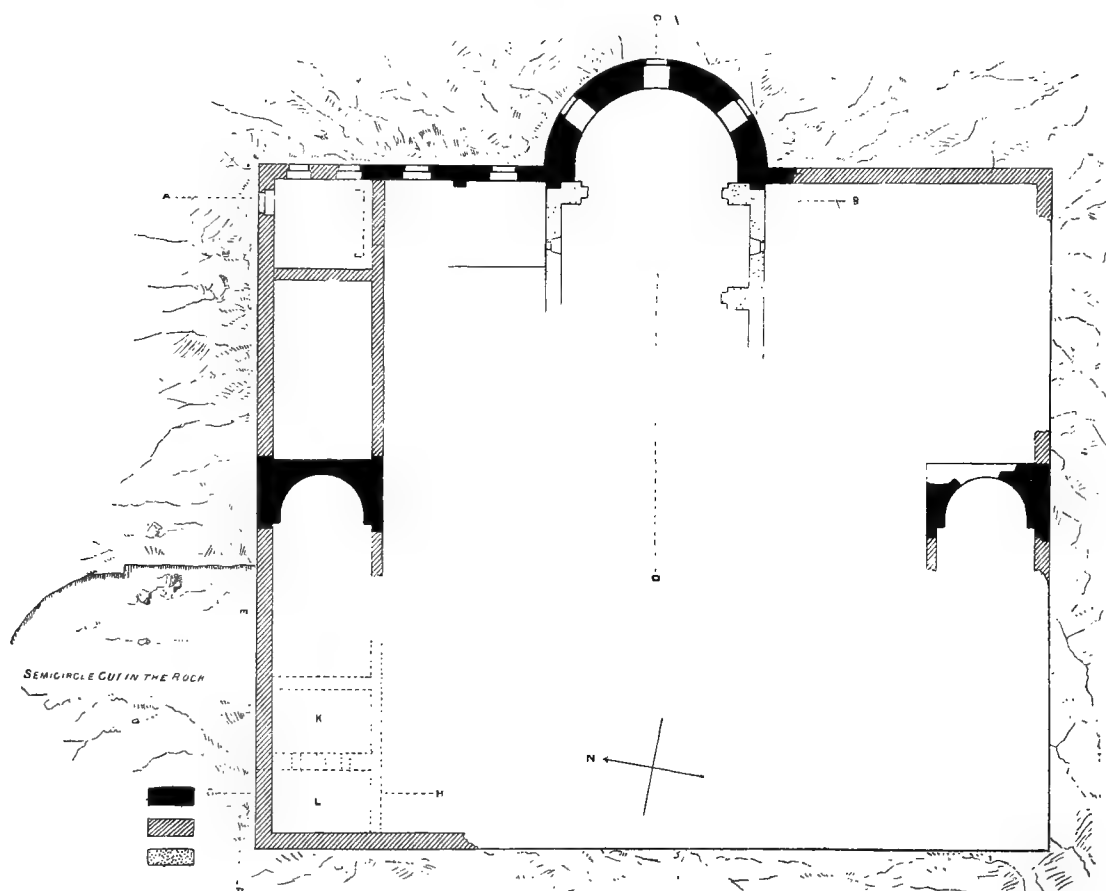


CHURCH OF SANDAHANNA, BEIT JIBRÎN.

* *Syrie centrale. Architecture civile et religieuse du I^{er} au VII^e siècle.*

The greater portion of the ground occupied by the basilica is covered with made earth, and with stones and miscellaneous rubbish.

I wish to draw especial attention to the fact that near the left (north-west) corner, outside the basilica, there is a huge semi-circle with its last course cut in the rock, joined on to the wall of the basilica. It marks the position of the foundations of another important edifice with an apse, having its axis at right angles to that of the Byzantine basilica. The courses of squared stones have completely disappeared; all that is now left is traces of foundations cut in the rock. Are we to regard this edifice, which has been completely levelled



CHURCH OF SANDAHANNA, BEIT JIBRÎN. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

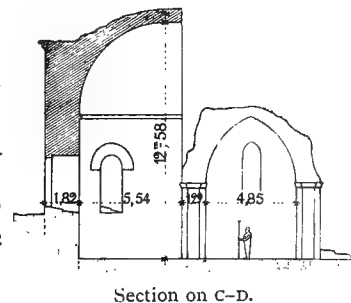
with the ground, as an annexe forming an integral part of the ancient basilica? Or was it on the contrary an earlier building, the materials of which were utilized anew by the Byzantine architects? In the latter case, this earlier building cannot have been of Christian origin, in view of its orientation being

unmistakably north and south. I am inclined, I admit, to favour this latter hypothesis, for it is inexplicable that if this building really was an annexe of the basilica, there should not be a single stone left of it. It was, perhaps, an ancient pagan temple, the site and materials of which were used in building the regularly-orientated Byzantine basilica. However this may be, there is one very striking fact about it, certainly not due to chance—the semi-circle hewn in the living rock and consequently marking the exterior outline of the semi-circular building that has disappeared, is of equal dimensions with the *outer* measurement of the Byzantine apse. It will, perhaps, be said that this identity implies simultaneous construction and contemporaneous existence in the two buildings; but this may be met by saying that if the Byzantine architects wished to use the blocks of an ancient pagan edifice over again, they must of necessity have adopted for their basilica, at any rate the circular part of it, the actual plan of this pagan edifice. Eleutheropolis and its neighbourhood was flourishing under the Roman emperors, and the existence there of a great pagan temple presents no improbability from the historical point of view.

In consequence of the unfortunate loss of a plate entrusted to the engraver,* I cannot give the elevations, details, and various sections which would have enabled the reader to form an exact idea of what is left of the edifice. The few notes that follow will but imperfectly supply its place.

The transverse section on A-B showed the elevation of the inner side of the back of the basilica, with its semi-circular apse pierced with three semi-circular windows, and its wall pierced with two rows of windows, one above the other, and likewise semi-circular. The opening arch of the demi-cupola of the apse comprises from its spring to the keystone (inclusive) nineteen arch-stones.

The longitudinal section on C-D showed a bay of the mediæval church. Here is a simple sketch, drawn up from notes that I discovered some time afterwards. I cannot guarantee the absolute exactness of these latter.†



* It was numbered *Series III*, pl. 24.

† Through a mistake on the part of the engraver the lower part of the wall of the apse has been marked as dotted (for rock) instead of being shaded; the reader is requested to restore mentally this shading along the vertical dotted line.

The three openings made in the wall dividing the two low vaulted chambers κ λ in the north-west corner appeared in the section G-H as narrow square windows, surmounted with a lintel.

Two other partial sections, on I-J and E-F, showed the elevation of certain interesting parts of the outer and inner walls of the basilica. The whole was accompanied by various profiles of cornices, mouldings, etc., an



Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

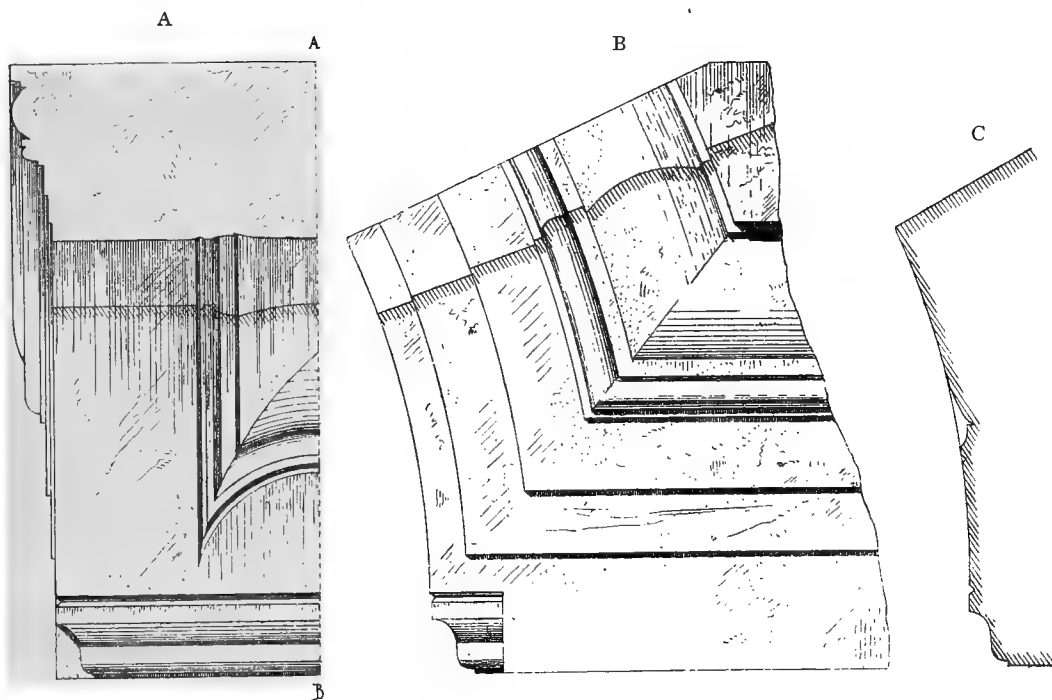
elevation of the outer face of the great central apse, and other details that I do not now remember.

The following are the details of the two fragments in the precincts of the church that we noted :—

A fragment of the base of a column, or of a pedestal made of hard

stone, which I caused to be cleared by digging. It is ornamented on two of its sides with a crown carved in relief, having a Greek cross within it.

To Umm Burj.—I should have liked to prolong our stay at Beit Jibrîn, where there is plenty to occupy an archæologist, but I had to abandon the idea, as I could not find any men disposed to help me, and moreover I thought it prudent not to spend a third night in this deadly encampment. On Monday, at the first hour, I sent our tents on in front to Umm Burj, so as to make the stage easier. We spent part of the day in completing our observa-



SPRING STONE OF ARCH AT SANDAHANNA.

A. Elevation and Profile of the Archivolt.

B. Intrados and Profile of Panel Moulding.

C. Section along the axis from A-B. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

tions at Sandahanna. We reached our tents with some trouble, after two hours' journey in pitch darkness, through thickets and along an execrable road where our horses stumbled at every step on patches of slippery rocks. We had a small alarm too, coming unexpectedly on a band of suspicious-looking fellows, who rose hastily as we approached. They were, however, simply peaceable charcoal-burners, who were camping out on the scene of their labours, and for their part were not altogether easy at hearing horsemen straying through the darkness in their direction. They very obligingly put us on the right road.

Umm Burj is nothing but an insignificant ruin, inhabited by a few charcoal-burners who put up there occasionally when they are working in the small woods in the neighbourhood.

'Eïd el Miyeh.—On the Tuesday morning we left Umm Burj to return to Jerusalem, passing by 'Eïd el Miyeh, or 'Îd el Miyeh ('Aid el Ma), which I had some years before proposed to identify with the famous Adullam,* and which I was desirous of revisiting. The plateau is covered with ruins, indicating the site of an ancient city. There are several rock-hewn tombs, one with a carved cross. On the hill-side are numerous large caves, among others one that is situated close by the door of the wely of Sheikh Madkûr. In the wely we found a package of candles, providentially placed there by some devout fellâh. We happened to have just come to the end of our stock, so I took one to light us during our inspection of the cave, putting down in exchange a small piece of money as an offering to the saint. This substitution will, perhaps, form the basis of some future legend.

I picked up here a new tradition about the origin of the name of the place. Formerly there was a feud between two *hammûleh* (clans) of the inhabitants, which was started on the day of the "great feast" (عيد) of the Mussulmans, and "a hundred" (*miyeh*) men were slain. It was in consequence of this occurrence that the place was called *'Îd el Miyeh* ("the feast of the hundred"). Though the historical value of this popular etymology is inconsiderable, it has at least the advantage for us of fixing the exact form assumed by the ancient name in modern toponymy.

Ancient Press.—The journey back to Jerusalem was speedily carried out. Here are a few small matters that I noticed in the course of this last stage.

Between Beit Nettîf and 'Ellâr, a little before reaching 'Ellâr, at the bottom of the valley, we discovered a very fine specimen of an ancient press, with its two uprights formed of two enormous blocks nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with recesses and grooves for working levers. Between the two uprights is the circular mouth of a deep cavity, hewn in the rock, and now almost totally filled up, which doubtless served to receive the juice expressed from the olives or grapes.†

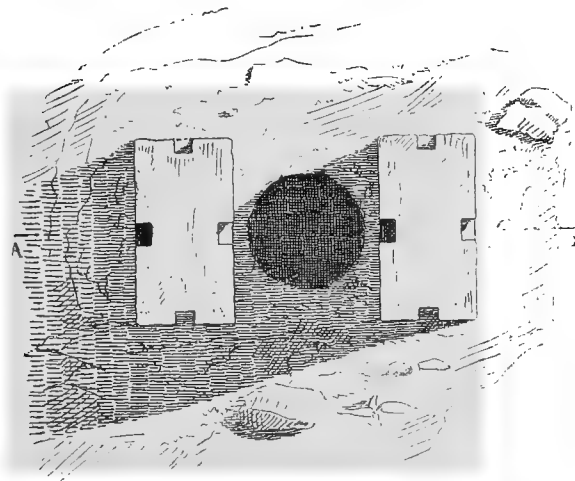
* See my detailed memoir: *L'emplacement de la ville d'Adoullam*; *Revue Archéologique*, 1875, p. 231 et seqq. Cf. *infra*, *Appendix*, p. 459 sq.

† This press presents the greatest resemblance to the one found by Herr Schick at Khûrbet el Jubeiah (*Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 201).

PERSPECTIVE.

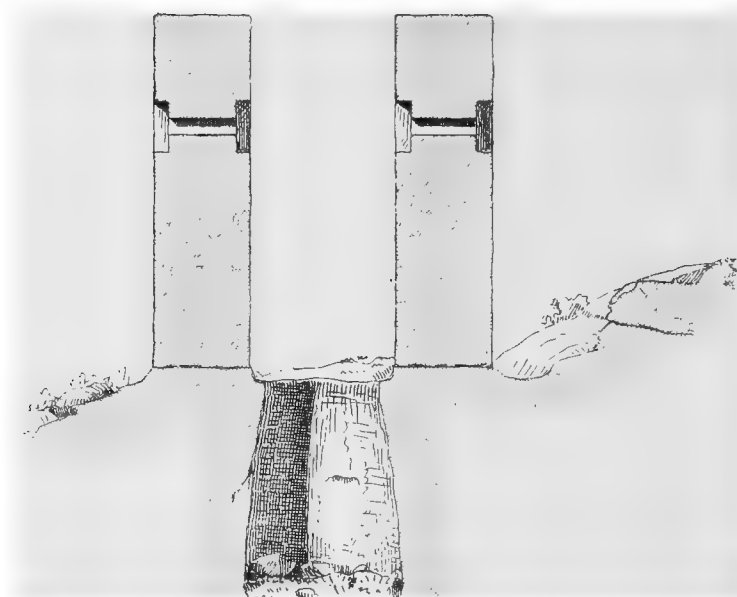


VIEW OF ANCIENT PRESS.



BIRDSEYE VIEW OF ANCIENT PRESS. Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

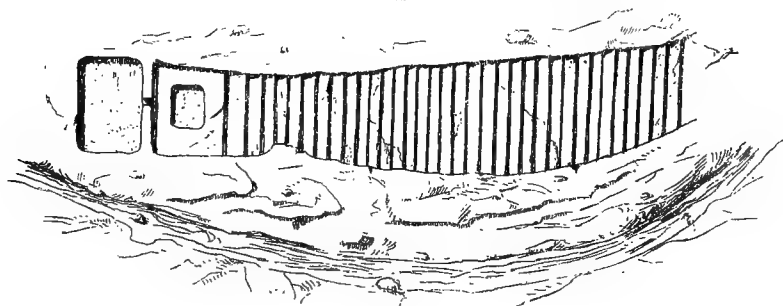
C. Section on A-B.



Around and below are remains of important structures.

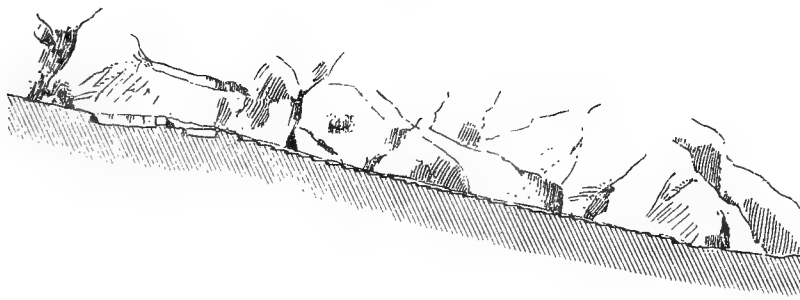
A little further on, still at the bottom of the valley, we noticed a large staircase cut in the rock, leading to a horizontal landing in which are hollowed

A



Scale $\frac{1}{250}$.

B



A Plan.

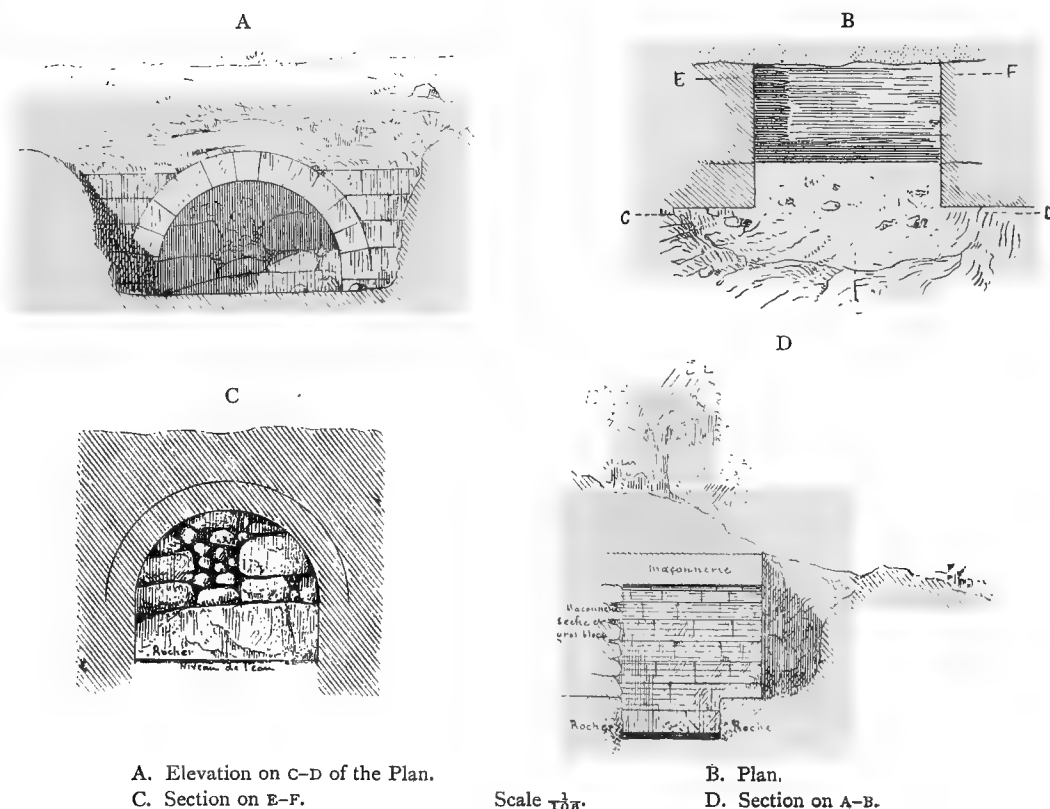
B. Section

out two rectangular vats of no great depth, on different levels, and communicating with one another.

The staircase ascends by easy gradations along a sheer-cut rocky wall, and from its wide low steps was doubtless meant to enable men heavily laden, and even beasts of burden, to mount it easily, so as to convey to the vats the crop of fruit, or olives, intended to be pressed.

Not far away we further noted the remains of a kind of road cut in the rock, with steps here and there, forming the completing portion of this remarkable collection of agricultural works.

'*Ellâr es Siflâ*.—At 'Ellâr es Siflâ ('*Allâr es Sifleh*), where we halted for lunch, I made a fresh examination of the various features I had already noted in the course of a previous visit.* The ruined church of el Bauberiyeh



THE SO-CALLED KABĒR BINT NŪH.

seems to be of mediæval construction ; but the tool-marks on the stones are indistinct, and difficult to determine.

* See *infra*, Appendix, p. 458.

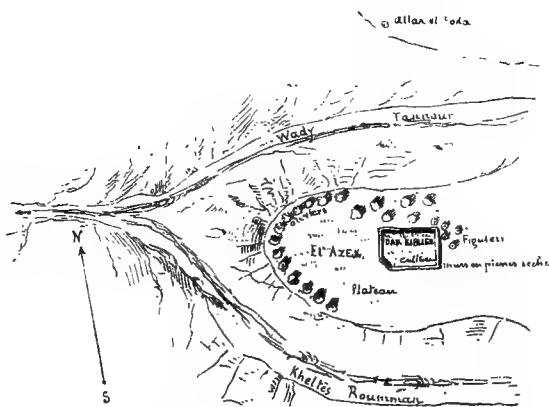
The "tomb of the daughter of Noah," *Kabër bint Nûh*, is different from the spring of *Tannûr bint Nûh*, "the *Tannûr* (oven) of the daughter of Noah," which lies a little lower down. This so-called "tomb" is itself a spring, covered with a semi-circular arch, formed of carefully squared blocks with non-mediæval tool-marks, and having the entrance stopped up by fallen stones.

The back of this arch, which forms a quite short tunnel, is blocked up by dry stone masonry and large blocks resting on the rock, which is cut perpendicularly. The rock is also cut away perpendicularly at the entrance, and it is between the two walls of rock thus formed that the spring rises. Perhaps there used to be there some small sanctuary dedicated to the nymph of the spring, and the "daughter of Noah" has entered into her inheritance of the legend. I did not however observe any apse or niche.

El 'Azhek.—I likewise revisited the place called *el 'Azhek*, the name of which had struck me when I first heard it on account of its resemblance to that of the town of Azekah. The site however seems to be too far east to be identified with that of Azekah, which must have been not far from Shuweikeh (Socho), and on the south bank of the Wâd es Sunt. However this may be,

'Azhek is an extensive but low rocky plateau, surrounded by hills of much greater height. There are no other traces of ruins besides those of a large enclosure built of unsquared stones, called *Dâr el Kibliyeh*, "the southern house." The plateau is bordered on the west side by a belt of olives planted with great regularity. It is situated at the intersection of the Wâd et Tannûr and a little valley called *Khall't er Rummân*. On taking the magnetic bearings of the wely of Sheikh Mohammed 'Audeh, near 'Ellâr el Fôkâ, the angle was found to be 31° .

Return home.—From 'Ellâr we went without a halt to Jerusalem. We did not make any further observations during the rest of our journey, in fact a great part of it was done by night. We reached the house on Tuesday, September 29, at nine o'clock in the evening, after thirty-five days' absence.



APPENDIX I.

IN SEARCH OF ADULLAM, GEZER, MODIN, ETC.

JOURNEY MADE IN 1871.

IN the course of the month of March, 1871, I undertook a short tour in Palestine, with a view to verifying on the spot certain archæological and topographical conclusions which I had reached some time before by merely theoretical considerations. I communicated those to my good friend Brother Liévin, and he was kind enough to become my travelling companion for a part of the journey. The extremely modest sum that I had at my disposal, the result of much painful saving, bound me to the strictest economy on this excursion. We each of us had one horse, a pair of *khurjes*, a macintosh, and a revolver. That was all—no baggage, or escort, or dragoman, or provisions, except a few loaves courteously supplied by the Convent of the Saviour. Circumstances at this time were not particularly favourable. Palestine was devastated by famine, many peasants had died of hunger, and the roads were hardly safe. However, I had no choice, and we set out determined to risk it, and trusting to our lucky star for shelter and food. *Allah Kerîm!*

The following notes are extracted from my travelling note-book. They form a natural complement to those contained in this volume.

We left Jerusalem on the morning of Wednesday, March 23rd, in a thick fog and a pelting rain. About noon the weather cleared. We passed by 'Ain el Haniyeh and Bettîr, where we remarked, without halting, that vast bed of rock, which seems cut vertically, like a rampart, and the copious spring where they told me there was an inscription above the reservoir.*

From here we proceeded towards 'Ellâr el Fôkâ.† We halted before arriving there, at Sheikh Hûbîn, where we lunched. On our way we met many Arabs

* Cf. Vol. I.

† The '*Allar el Büsl* of the Map. Cf. *Name Lists*, p. 383. I have particularly noted in my note-book that it was pronounced '*Ellâr*', and not '*Allâr*'.

who had left their villages with their wives and children, and had come to settle for the season in these parts, in order to find pasture for their cattle. They were, as they called themselves, *mu'azzebtin*. To the south of 'Ellâr el Fôkâ a place was pointed out to us called 'Azhek, or *El 'Azhek*,* without any ruins we were told. By the side of this are the remains of a large building with *kufriyeh* stones, that is to say, stones of the times of the infidels, before Islam was. This ruined edifice is called *Dâr el kibliyah* (دار القبلىة, "the house of the south"). El 'Azhek is half way up a hill to the left of Wâd 'Ellâr (we are on the right bank, and proceeding in a south-easterly direction).

My notes, the accuracy of which I do not vouch for, run thus: "from 'Ellâr el Fokâ to El 'Azhek, 20° S.S.E. at a distance of about 10'." I cannot fix the exact spelling of this name 'Azhek, but I am struck by the resemblance it bears to that of the Biblical town *Azekah*. I can only guarantee that there is an 'ain at the beginning; El 'Azhek is the name of the hill; Dâr el Kibliyeh that of the ruin. . . .

A few minutes beyond El 'Azhek we found on the right, near the edge of our road, *Khûrbet bint Nûh*, "the ruin of the daughter of Noah," and *Kabr bint Nûh*, "the tomb of the daughter of Noah." This name is bestowed on a semicircular vault built of blocks well cut on the inner side, unhewn or worn away on the outside. One would take this to be the beginning of a long tunnel, stopped up with unsquared stones. The soil there is strewn with fragments of modern lamps and pottery, which are the remains of *ex-votos*, betokening the great veneration in which the place is held. You go down under the vault by a step, cut in the rock, and find there a pool of water, apparently formed by some spring.†

Above this, on the slope of the hill which lies to the north-west, we noticed some considerable ruins, made up of large unsquared stones. These ruins are continued along the valley, and go by the name of *Harîk't el Chahhâleh* (حريقه الكتالة), as the fellahin pronounce it. This curious name, which signifies literally "the conflagration of the woman who uses eye-salve," originated perhaps in some legend, I could not ascertain what.

Two minutes further on is the spring of 'Ain et Tannûr, in the midst of a thick grove of orange trees and olives. A local tradition connects the origin of this spring‡ with the account of the Flood, and associates with it the name of the daughter of Noah, who came before us just now.

Continuing our course towards the west, we arrived after a few minutes at some ruins called *El Bawâij* (البوايج). The place is also called 'Ellâr es Sifla, "nether 'Ellar," in contradistinction to the neighbouring village 'Ellâr el Fôkâ, "upper 'Ellâr." The ruins are of some importance, and comprise vaults, cellars hewn in the rock, and a corner formed of stones with rude *bossages*. Below, in the valley, is a building three parts ruined, which, as its actual name indicates (*El K'nîseh*), is an ancient church, and is obviously orientated. Adjacent to it may be distinguished a cloister and a small convent, belonging to the period of the Crusades, with ogives.

The church was terminated on the east side by a straight wall, and appears not to

* See *supra*, p. 456.

† Cf. *supra*, p. 456.

‡ Cf. *supra*, pp. 237, 238.

have had any apse ; at any rate, it is difficult to trace its position. The north wall is still partly standing, and has high windows with nearly semicircular tops. Along its whole length there runs a cornice with projecting corbels.

The fine plantations of 'Ain et Tannûr stretch away to the bottom of the valley to El Bawâij.

At El Bawâij we turned sharp to the south-east so as to reach '*Êd el Miyeh** before nightfall. This place was one of the principal objects of my tour, as I had been for some time past inclined to identify it with the town of Adullam. The sun was just upon setting when we got to the wide valley on one of the sides of which the ruins lay that I desired to inspect. On the top of the hill that rose in front of us I noticed a small wely dedicated to *Sheikh Madkûr*.

The hill itself is covered with ruins, and full of caves, where the nomad shepherds gather with their flocks for the night. At the foot of it, on the north side, at the bottom of a small wâdy, a hurried glance sufficed to show me extensive ruins--scattered blocks of middling size, overgrown with tall plants--a kind of vaulted structure, crumbled into ruins (dating possibly from the Crusades), and so forth. Like the majority of ruins of ancient cities in Palestine, these have no very well-defined characteristics, but they appear to be spread over a considerable amount of ground, as far as the high vegetation covering them enabled me to judge. In the middle is a large well, several yards in diameter, surrounded with a number of rude stone troughs, where the shepherds were engaged in watering their flocks. These ruins are called '*Êdelmiyeh* or '*fdelmiya*.

The place is absolutely uninhabited, except during the rainy season, when the herdsmen take shelter there for the night. These *mu'azzebîn* fellahîn, who come from all quarters, were just at this time present in great numbers.

We climbed the hill at the foot of which these ruins lie. It is crowned by yet other ruins, and the whole is surmounted by the small *kubbeh* of Sheikh Madkûr. The hill is full of natural caves, where the shepherds had already installed themselves for the night, which was now rapidly closing in. As we climbed up to the wely, my identification of the place with Adullam kept running in my head, and I thought to myself that it would be easy to accommodate David and his wild companions in these enormous caves. The place is an ideal brigands' den. It overlooks and commands the plains and valleys far around, and as soon as the ghazzias were over, this fortress would afford a certain and convenient retreat.

Although all this collection of expatriated peasants did not wear an engaging look, we entered into conversation with the cave-dwellers. As we were travelling without a tent, and with nothing but our two horses and the scanty luggage that would go into the *khurjes* hanging at the saddle-bow, we resolved on ensconcing ourselves in the wely, and putting up our animals under shelter of the neighbouring cavern. No difficulties were made as far as we were concerned, but it was not the same with the animals. The fellahîn highly disapproved of the sacrilegious introduction of our beasts into a grotto sacred to the Sheikh Madkûr, who, they said, would inevitably destroy them for this profanation. However, after some negotiations, we came to an arrangement. A fellâh, who came from a small village near Hebron, and was camping

* Kh. 'Aid el Ma, on the P.E.F. Map.

in the grotto nearest the sanctuary, agreed to let us go in there for supper. A great fire of brushwood was lit for us beneath a kind of natural liwân, forming the vestibule of the grotto. We brought forth our scanty stores from our knapsacks, and fell to with a zest, squatting before the crackling blaze. We shared the bread which we had had the forethought to bring with us from Jerusalem with our host and the little circle of more or less friendly sight-seers that gathered round us. This bounty of ours, which we had some reason to regret on the morrow, made us fast friends with these poor famished wretches. It was a famous treat for them, since for several weeks past they had been driven to subsist on leaves of *khubbetzeh* (a kind of mallow; the popular name for it, "small bread," is sufficient indication of its edible nature).

Utter destitution prevailed through the whole region we were now traversing: there was not a grain of wheat, not a handful of barley for our wretched horses. We made them browse the grass. Not much of a repast this, considering the long journey they had before them on the next day.

However, the few bread-crumbs we had thrown to these ill-favoured birds had tamed them by degrees, and our largess, seasoned with some kind words, finally loosed their tongues. I availed myself of this to gather from their lips some interesting information about the place. Local tradition declares that in remote times the town, for such it was, of 'Eideliyeh was the scene of a general massacre. Among others, "eighty pairs of brothers" (*tamanîn jôz ikhweh*) were slaughtered. This detail exactly recalls the "eighty pairs* of brothers," all priests, at Gophnith, mentioned in the Gemara Berakoth.†

Sheikh Madkûr was the son of Sultan Bedër, and it is his descendants, who are settled in the neighbouring village of Beit Nettîf, that have built and still keep up his little sanctuary. This latter is a chamber surmounted with a cupola, which stands out picturesquely on the summit of the hill. Inside it is the principal tomb, that of the Sheikh, which is much feared and respected in the country round. The *kubbeh* has in front of it a small courtyard with other tombs. I noticed there a column, apparently an ancient one.

This name *Madkûr* is also pronounced *Mankûr*, and even *Mandkûr*. One's first idea is to recognize in it the Arabic word مذكور *madhkûr*, which means "mentioned, celebrated." I am not sure though that the name is not مذكور, with the emphatic *K*, which would make it altogether another word. As the fellahîn that I had occasion to question were a gathering of types from all quarters of Judæa, and spoke different patois, I was not able to make out from their pronunciation the real nature of this radical letter. Many of the fellahîn pronounce, as is well known, the ordinary *k* like *ch*, and the emphatic *k* like an ordinary *k*. At all events, I never once heard the pronunciation *Madchûr*. In case the real form is مذكور, which still remains to be proved, that would bring us to the Hebrew and Aramaic root דקר, "to hollow out" (cf. דקר *makkor*, "he who hollows out"),‡ which unconsciously carries back our thoughts to the numerous and characteristic caverns of the locality.

* The actual word is identical. *Jôz*, couple, pair, is the vulgar pronunciation of the Arabic *zôj*, which is, letter for letter, the Hebrew, זוג *zôg*.

† Fol. 44, *recto*. Cf. Reland, *Palæstina*, s.v. Gophnith.

‡ It is curious to note that on the one hand the roots in Hebrew *nakar* and *dakar* interchange without affecting the sense, and on the other hand the name under discussion is either *madkûr* or *mankûr*.

Supper despatched, we broke up the meeting, and went into the little chamber of the wely, where we lay on the ground wrapped in our waterproofs, with our heads on the *khurjes*, and our revolvers close at hand. We passed the night on the alert, for we were but half sure of the intentions of the vagabonds of all sorts who surrounded us. Hunger is a bad counsellor, and Sheikh Madkûr himself, or the old divinity that he represents, would perhaps be powerless to protect his *gerim*, alias the guests of his sanctuary. We noticed that the door, which we had carefully shut and barricaded, had an enormous hole in it, through which it would have been the easiest thing in the world to pick us off as we slept. We stopped it up as well as might be with our saddles, arranging the stirrups so as to sound an alarm at the least touch.

However, the night passed uneventfully. At daybreak we got up and into our saddles, thanking Sheikh Madkûr for the favour of his protection. We took leave of the company, distributing among them some small change, and sharing with them our last morsels of bread, which delighted them even more than the money.

The fellâh who had accompanied us from Jerusalem left us here to go back home; so we started without a guide, trusting ourselves to Providence, for Beit Jibrîn. I desired to make some researches at this place, and moreover we wanted to get there as soon as might be, as it was the only place where there was a chance of our finding a little barley for our horses, who were reduced to a small pittance, and some provisions for ourselves.

We therefore quickened our pace. I noticed, as we rapidly descended the western slope of the hill, that this side also was strewn with large blocks more or less well cut and preserved, betokening the presence of structures that have now disappeared.

However we had no time to linger. We endeavoured to follow as far as possible the old Roman way, which should take us to Beit Jibrîn. As we went along, I inquired the way of the fellahîn that we found ploughing in the fields with the little oxen which are used for this purpose. "*Dughri*," "straight on," they invariably answered. *Dughri* was easy to say, but was not always enough to guide one among the paths that intersect in all directions, especially as the horizon was obscured by the still noticeable undulations of the Shephelah or lower stratum of the Judæan range. Accordingly we spent some time wandering about at hap-hazard. The plains were covered with strikingly beautiful pastures, in which, as a result of previous rains, the grass had grown up luxuriantly, dotted with lovely flowers. From time to time we crossed small woods full of game, which got up under our noses, and would have just done to revictual us, but unfortunately we had no gun. Here as everywhere else during the remainder of our tour, I had repeated occasion to notice that the fellahîn—I except professional camel-drivers—have no idea of the exact distances between places, either by the actual space or the time required to cover it. The word *seâ*, "hour," has the vaguest of meanings on their lips; it is not so much a fixed portion of time as a stage, of very variable length, between two villages. I once heard a fellâh, who was more sharp, use an expression very humorous in its artless precision: *sheurb esh shigâra*, "the time it takes to smoke a cigarette." These vague notions of time and distance are in striking contrast with the remarkable ease with which these same fellahîn use the cardinal points. A fellâh, in whatever position he finds himself, always grasps the position of the four quarters of the compass with regard to himself. I have frequently heard in a general conversation between

fellahin one saying in the most natural way, "you who are to the east," or, "he who is to the north" in order to address himself or allude to one of the bystanders.

Having no guide with us, it was only occasionally and by chance that we could get any information about the places we passed. I took brief notes of two of them.

Umm Burj, with a well, situated not far away, called *Bîr Hârûn*, surmounted with a rude structure, near which are troughs hollowed out in large stone blocks; *Khûrbet Shâwer*,* a little before reaching Deir Nakhkhâs, half way up a hill that we found on our left, and which is crowned by a wely dedicated to 'Abd Allah. I noticed there vertical cuttings in the rock, and some entrances of burial-caves. Some peasants told us of an inscription, and we had a vain hunt for it, toilfully climbing the hill under a blazing sun.

We finally made our entry into Beit Jibrîn about 10 o'clock in the morning. I got some one to point out to me the house of Sheikh Musleh, and we made for it at once. The Sheikh was away from home. I asked a big fellow who was squatting majestically before the door if it was possible to buy anything to eat for ourselves and some barley for our animals. "Where are thy tents?" he asked, with the haughty air of a man accustomed to the usual display of European *khawâjât* who are pleased to frequent the highways and byeways of Palestine. I was obliged to confess that we were travelling in a more modest way, and that we carried all our worldly goods with us. This information secured us a most disdainful glance and a distinctly insolent refusal to have anything to do with us. Luckily a worthy Mussulman from Hebron, who happened to be at Beit Jibrîn on business, was good enough to come to our aid. He undertook for a consideration to procure us some eggs, and to have made for us some *r'ghîfs*, or Arab bread, which is a sort of cross between a pancake and a *galette*. At the expiration of two hours, we having spent the interim in cooling our heels, he brought us some hard-boiled eggs dyed yellow, and some perfectly uneatable *r'ghîfs*, a nameless compound of barley, durra, and grains unknown, soaked in rancid oil. Our very horses would have none of them, and took to grass instead. They were perfectly justified in so doing, but we unfortunately had perforce to put up with the cakes, not having the same resource. We bitterly regretted the good Jerusalem bread that we had so thoughtlessly lavished on the hungry wretches at Sheikh Madkûr.

I had all the trouble in the world to find anyone to talk to in Beit Jibrîn. We had moreover lost precious time in waiting for this miserable meal, so we had to think of starting, in order to get to the stage of *B'retj*, where I intended spending the night, after passing through Deir Dubbân, which I desired to examine. I will confine myself to noting a few items of information picked up by the way:

I was told of an enormous cavern a quarter of an hour from Beit Jibrîn, called Ē'râk el Kheil, with an "inscription several yards long."†

The name of the spring which is generally transliterated *Lehi*, and which some have wished to identify with the spring '*En hak-kore Ramat Lehi*' in the history of Samson, is

* This name is not to be found on the Map, but is perhaps the place there marked as *Umm 'Osheish*. The name *Shâwer* must have the same origin here as that of the *Kubbâ esh Shâweriyeh* that I have mentioned above (p. 439, note 5).

† See *supra*, p. 443.

really 'Ain Leiyet es Safer (عين لاية السفر); beside it is a ruin called *Khūrbet Leiyet es Safer*. The connection attempted to be set up between this and the Hebrew לחי, "jawbone," is precluded by this radically different Arabic form. At 'Ain Safer is an ancient aqueduct which used to convey water as far as *Kasër el Benât* ("the castle of the girls") at Beit Jibrîn.

The legend of the fabulous king *Melek el Fenîsh*, in whose name I have for some time been inclined to recognize a popular corruption of that of the *Philistines*, is connected by local traditions with several spots round about Beit Jibrîn.

Learning wisdom from our wanderings in the morning, I decided to take a guide with us from Beit Jibrîn for B'reij. We started to follow the great Roman way which leads in a north-westerly direction to Dhikrîn.

At a quarter of an hour from Beit Jibrîn, to our right, and near the roadside, I noticed the wely of *Temîm ed Dâry*.* In these parts large tracts of land are *wakëf* of Temîm ed Dâry and the family of his descendants. This personage, my guide told me, was dragged down under the ground by the devil. The story recalls to some extent the account of the Levite Korah, who was swallowed up in the earth along with his accomplices Dathan and Abiram. Written Mussulman tradition, which is much occupied with Temîm ed Dâry, omits this detail of the legend, which is a purely local one, but yet it connects his more or less historical personality with certain much-distorted Biblical traditions. The Arab chronicler of Jerusalem, Mujîr ed Dîn, has handed down to us a good summary of the latter.† Temîm ed Dâry, son of Ūs, was a companion of Mahomet, and one of the first emirs of Jerusalem. The prophet assigned to him, as *wakëf*, Hebron and the surrounding territory. The act of donation was written on a piece of leather from one of the boots of 'Aly, by 'Aly himself. Mujîr ed Dîn declares that he saw the original still existing (in the 16th century). It was, he says, well nigh illegible, but was accompanied by an ancient transcript, which he reproduces. The donation was made to Temîm and his brothers, and comprised:

Habrîn (حبرون),

El Martâm (المروطوم),

Beit 'Ainûn (بيت عينون),

Beit Ibrâhîm (بيت ابراهيم).

four places near Hebron, or else four quarters of the town itself, which strikingly recall and explain possibly better than any other hypothesis the ancient name of *Kiriath Arba*, "the town of the four," which is given in the Bible to Hebron.‡ Mudjîr ed Dîn adds that the descendants of Temîm ed Dâry, who are still numerous at Hebron, and designated by the collective name of Dâriyeh, continue to enjoy the revenue of the fief assigned to their ancestor.

This donation, which has by no means been shown to rank as an historical document, presents curious points of resemblance to the one made of the same

* Entered on the Map as *Sheikh et Teim*, in which the name of the personage so famous in Mussulman tradition is not recognizable.

† Bulak Arabic Text, p. 428, cf. p. 232.

‡ A small Arabic manuscript that came into my possession at Jerusalem, entitled *Kitâb Muntakhab fy fadhâil Beit el Makdis*, relates the facts somewhat differently and in greater detail. It gives *Beit 'Ayûn* in place of *Beit 'Ainûn*.

territory to Caleb and his descendants by Joshua. I am inclined to believe that Mussulman legend has invested the name of Temîm ed Dâry with features borrowed from the Bible history of Caleb. At the time of the division of the land and the apportioning of the lot of the tribe of Judah, the aged Caleb comes to claim his share, in pursuance of the promise made to him by Moses in the name of Jehovah before the conquest. This share is Hebron. Temîm ed Dâry comes to claim from Abu Bekr and Omar the surrender of the fief of Hebron which Mahomet had assigned him before the conquest.

There is yet another coincidence. Among the more or less fictitious descendants attributed to Caleb, whose names bear evident token of their geographical character, there appear *Hebron*, and his son *Korah* (1 Chron. ii, 43). This Korah, a namesake of him who perished so miserably, brings us by another path to this Temîm ed Dâry, whose disappearance beneath the earth is recorded in the legend that I noted near his sanctuary, and which formed the starting point of this digression.*

We proceeded on our way towards Dhikrîn, always keeping to the Roman road. When we had got as far as Ė'râk Hâlâ, which we saw on our right, I noticed all at once to our left in a field by the roadside a large carved block. On going up to it I found it to be the trunk of a life-sized statue, of good Græco-Roman workmanship. The torso is encircled with a cross-belt, while a short pleated skirt, fitting tightly to the figure, covers the belly. The three of us set to work, and after some trouble managed to turn the block over. I noticed that the back was unworked.† It must have been a statue of some Roman emperor or officer. A thorough search in the vicinity would perhaps result in the discovery of the head or an inscribed pedestal which would afford a means of determining the identity of the personage.

I took as well as I could manage a rough sketch of this interesting fragment, which may have been originally connected with the Roman road that we were following, and we set out again with briskness, trying to make up for the time lost in this halt, which was not provided for in the programme.

We left the Roman road opposite *Khûrbet el Khulf*, passing between it and a tell on which we perceived, at some distance, the wely of *Abu Rebi'* and the village of Kudnâ. We then struck due north, aiming for Deir Dubbân, without touching Ra'nâ.

Shortly before reaching Deir Dubbân, perhaps half an hour before, we crossed a rocky hill covered with *meshâhed*, those little heaps of stones which pious Mussulmans set up when they come within sight of a holy place. Do these meshâhed connect themselves with Deir Dubbân? The place is far distant, and is not even visible from there, according to an entry in my note-book, which however cannot be read with certainty. I attach some importance to this detail, for the object of my visit to Deir Dubbân was to ascertain whether there was there in former days any sanctuary of Baal-Zebûb. I had for some time been much impressed with the close connection existing between the words *Dubbân*, more accurately *Dhibbân* ذباب, "flies," the plural of ذباب *dhubâb*, and the Hebrew זבוב, with the same meaning,

* Moreover the Mussulman legends seem to have very soon fixed upon the name of Temîm ed Dâry as a nucleus for all manner of fables. There is extant in a MS. a history of Temîm ed Dâry recounting, *inter alia*, that he was miraculously transported to an island, where he is still living. Temîm ed Dâry had only one daughter, named Rakia, whence he was surnamed *Abu Rakia*. (Cf. Caleb and his daughter Achsah.)

† This is an error, but I rectified it later. See *supra*, p. 441.

which respectively enter into the composition of the names *Deir Dubbân*, "convent of flies," and *Baal Zebâb*, the "Baal of flies," or, perhaps, the Baal of a place called *Zebâb*. I hoped that I might perhaps discover some clue to this question in the enormous and remarkable subterranean chambers of *Deir Dubbân* and the neighbourhood. We paid a hurried visit to several of these subterranean places, without finding anything except those long votive inscriptions in Kufic that have already been noted there by several travellers. Thus I am left with my theory on my hands, without anything to support it, which however does not necessarily imply that it ought to be given up. The question will be worth taking up again some other time.

It was now growing late, so we cut short our visit and set out for el B'reij (Bureij), where we hoped to find better accommodation than the night before. Our guide from Beit Jibrîn kept on telling us that there was a *Konsol*, that is to say a European, living at B'reij. On the way we learned from the fellahîn we met that the person meant was the *iconomos* of the Greek convent, who owns extensive property in the neighbourhood.

For about an hour before reaching B'reij we followed the left bank of a wâdy which wound in and out along the middle of a delightful plain, bounded on the left by gently undulating country and covered with a gorgeous mass of flowers. I was particularly struck by seeing whole groups of wild flowers growing together after their kinds, and forming patches of gold, azure, and emerald with marvellous effect. The juxtaposition of the two latter hues, which are so difficult to harmonize, produced a most agreeable chromatic combination, forming in fact just the same gamut of colour as the exterior ornamentation of the mosque of the Sakhra, where green and blue are placed together with equal daring and with like success.

We reached B'reij a little before sundown. A complete deception awaited us—the *iconomos* is not at home, we are told. I saw, however, from the embarrassed air and contradictory replies of the servants that such was not the case. My suspicions were confirmed by the fellahîn, who told me that the worthy priest had hidden himself so as to escape the burdens of hospitality (*khabbâ 'an adh dh'îâf*). We valiantly put the best face on the matter, and made ourselves as comfortable as might be in the village mosque, which was formed by a single high chamber capped by a cupola in a dilapidated state, and begrimed with smoke, there being no other opening to it than the door. We shared it with a nest of swallows, who appeared to be very comfortably established there. On this occasion, thanks to the intervention of the *mukhtâr*, we managed to get some barley for our unfortunate horses, a little boiled rice for ourselves, and some *r'ghîfs* made with tolerable meal, but containing in lieu of almonds and currants, pebbles the size of your thumb. Our Spartan repast being over, we stretched ourselves on the ground, our wonted couch, to the doubtful elasticity of which we were beginning to be inured. We enjoyed a few hours of sleep, for which we had a tough tussle with legions of fleas, mosquitoes, and other rabid insects. We cut short this lamentable night by getting up well before daybreak, and the light of our candle awoke the nest of swallows, who treated us to a morning serenade of delightful twittering.

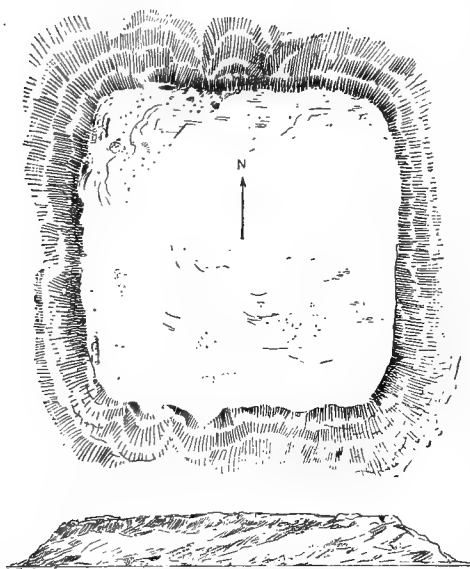
The sun had hardly risen when we unregretfully quitted B'reij. We directed our course north-north-west, the day's goal being Khuldâ (Khuldeh), which was to be the base of the investigation I had undertaken concerning the hoped recovery of the site of the ancient Gezer.

At twenty minutes from B'reij we came upon a ruin called *Khûrbet el Bîreh*, where I did not notice anything remarkable.

Shortly afterwards we saw a large *serrîs* tree (a species of myrtle), reckoned to be a sacred tree. It is highly venerated by the peasants, as appears from the bits of stuff fastened on to it as votive offerings. This "green tree" (Deut. xii, 2) is dedicated to Sheikh J'neid,* another of those worthy people who have replaced one of the old rustic Canaanitish deities which cost the Jews so much trouble to root out from the soil of Canaan, and now, when the worshippers of Jehovah have disappeared, grew up again as before.

We kept along the left bank of Wâd es Serâr, descending in a north-westerly direction towards Khuldâ, which lies on the other side of the wâdy. On reaching a bend in the wâdy, we noticed in the concavity of the bend, just on the edge of the wâdy, a square-shaped tell called *Tell el Batâsheh*, with some ruins about a quarter of an hour to the south, which bear the same name, *Khûrbet el Batâsheh*.

This tell, with its regular shape, has every appearance of being the site of a fortified camp, intended to command the passage of the wâdy. Although it is situated at a



distance from the ancient Roman way, which reaches the wâdy, and doubtless crossed it a little lower down, I cannot dismiss the idea that we have here the remains of some fortification of the Roman or Byzantine period. The average height of the tell above the plain is something like 12 yards. Its four sides form regularly inclined slopes. I was only able to measure it by the length of my horse's step, but I estimate the length of its sides at about 165 yards. After climbing the slope, you find yourself on a quadrangular artificial plateau, now encroached upon by vegetation, in the midst of which we discerned some potsherds, and earth of that greyish tint which is unmistakable proof of the former presence of human habitation. The existence of large squared blocks scattered here and there leaves no room for doubt on this point.

Furthermore, at the north-east and still more at the south-east corner are remains of three or four courses still *in situ* forming a terrace, and originally belonging, it would seem, to some covering of the slope.

The wâdy passes by the eastern base of the tell, and renders all this side secure

* The name *J'neid* strongly reminds one of the spot called *Ajnâdein*, where the Arabs gained a celebrated victory over the Greeks in the year 13 of the Hegira. All efforts have hitherto failed to identify this locality. According to the frequently contradictory accounts of Arab authors about this place, it was between Ramleh and Beit Jibrîn, between Ramleh and Hebron, between Ramleh and Jerash (probably *Jerâsh*, a little to the south of Deir Ebân), between Beit Jibrîn and El Yarmûk (probably *Kh. el Yarmûk*, to the north-west of Beit Nettîf). For the history of the question see the learned memoir of M. de Goeje (*Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales*, No. 3, p. 33, *seq.*). See my remarks further on as to the existence of an ancient fortified camp not far from there.

against attack. It is possible that, by means of diverting the water into a canal from the wâdy itself, the west side could be similarly covered, so the tell was thus transformed into a *castellum* surrounded by a moat full of water. Here are two slight sketches taken on the spot, which, in spite of their deficiencies, will give a better idea of the configuration of the ground and the strategic capabilities of the tell. Perhaps the actual name given by the Arabs to the tell in question is calculated to strengthen this hypothesis indirectly. *Batâsheh*, بطاشة, appears to be connected with the word بطاش, *battâsh*, "strong, powerful."

A rather curious coincidence helps to support this attempt at connection. As shown in Vol. I, the Scopos, where the Romans established one of their camps at the time when Jerusalem was invested, is none other than the eminence called El Meshâref, situated just seven stadia from Jerusalem. Now I have noticed that one of the characteristic projections on El Meshâref bears the name of *Bât'n el Battâsh*, "the belly," or as we should say, the "brow," of *El Battâsh*. It is a striking fact that this name *El Battâsh*, which is closely akin to *Batâsheh*, is also connected with an undoubted site of a Roman camp.

We crossed the Wâd es Serâr (Sûrâr), and arrived at Khuldâ, where I dismissed the guide we had brought from Beit Jibrîn, who could be of no further use to us in this quarter. The inhabitants related to me how that Khuldâ was formerly surrounded by a fortified wall, two gates of which were said to be still *in situ*. This tradition agrees pretty closely with what Mujîr ed Dîn tells us concerning the existence of a *burj* at the village of Khuldâ in 900 A.H. I have come across an allusion to Khuldâ in an ancient *Taktikon* of the divisions of Palestine, for religious purposes preserved in MS. in the library of the Greek patriarchate at Jerusalem.* It is there stated that the boundary of the diocese of Lydda extends to the south as far as the "valley of the ξυλοκεράτων" (that is to say, "of the carob trees"),† and as far as the valley going down to the Καστέλλιον, called Χούλδα, which valley separates the territory of Lydda from that of Emmaus. Here again the word Καστέλλιον must point to the existence of an ancient fortress at Khuldâ.

However, I am not going to delay over these trifling details, I have much more important business on hand. My object now was to ascertain whether or no I had succeeded, as I thought I had, in determining, *à priori*, the site of the town of Gezer, hitherto vainly sought by all commentators and topographers, and whether I should have the luck to obtain on the spot material support for my purely theoretical notions, which had greatly exercised my mind for several months previously. It was only in this connection that Khuldâ interested me, because I considered it as the necessary pivot of the investigation I proposed to make, and the landmark which ought to guide me to the discovery of the truth, if my inductions were not erroneous.

This is not the place to set forth in detail how I was led to put this problem on a new basis,‡ when its solution seemed to be despaired of, by inserting into it an accurate datum, which hitherto it had occurred to no one to utilize. It will suffice to say that, thanks to a precious piece of information hidden away in the Arab chronicle

* 'Ιεροσολυμίας, p. τοη'.

† Probably at *K'harrâbeh*, just near 'Annâbeh.

‡ See *supra*, Ch. V, p. 224 sqq.

of Mujîr ed Dîn, a tiresome composition which I had the patience to search through, I arrived at the following conclusions: *Gezer must be a place which was called Tell el Jezer as late as the XVth century, and was situated within a very short distance of Khuldâ.*

None of the maps then published contained the name, so my object was to discover it on the spot, and then to see whether the site answered all requirements.

It was from Khuldâ then that I began my search. I vainly questioned the village fellahîn; no one had ever heard of a Tell el Jezer, and I began to despair. However, as the Arabic text on which I relied contained a distinct assertion, and the veracity of my chronicler admitted of no question, I did not lose courage, and persisted in my questioning. Finally, an old peasant woman told me she believed that this Tell that I was so anxious about must be in the direction of *Abû Shûsheh*, a small village lying to the north of Khuldâ before you get to the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Immediately I set out to follow up this trail, and we made straight for Abû Shûsheh. As we went along, I questioned in turn all the fellahîn we met, and bit by bit I became assured—with what joy and emotion I need hardly say—that at Abû Shûsheh there existed a *Tell el Jezery*. *Jezery* was not quite the same thing as the *Jezer* of Mujîr ed Dîn, but the difference was insignificant. Of some I asked, “where is Tell el Jezery?” and they replied, “fî Abû Shûsheh,” at Abû Shûsheh. Of others I asked (to serve as a check), “what is the name of the Tell above Abû Shûsheh?” and the answer came, “Tell el Jezery.” A little before we were burning, as the children say, now we were proceeding in the certainty that the Tell el Jezer of the old Arab chronicler was within our grasp. It now remained to see whether we should find there, as I expected, the ruins of the old Canaanite city of Gezer. My heart beat furiously as we approached the goal. Arrived at last!

We reached the foot of a high hill, on the south-west slope of which the modern village of Abû Shûsheh is built, with its deceptive name that so long had hidden the place from the most sagacious explorers. At the base of the hill are numerous deep wells, where the women come to fill their jars and water-skins.

The hill itself is capped by an elongated plateau, the longer diameter of which appeared to me to be roughly speaking east and west. The hill was pointed out to me by the drawers of water that we had met down below, under the name of *Tell el Jezery*, and the plateau above under the name of *Khûrbet el Jezery*, “the ruin of El Jezery.” This name of “ruin” is perfectly well deserved; for this vast plateau, which we crossed rapidly on horseback, is strewn with potsherds, with greyish dust originating with buildings, and blocks of stone of various sizes, some squared, others weather-worn and shapeless. It was at this time covered with grass, and in part subject to cultivation. We noticed rectilinear upheavals of the ground, pointing to buried bases of structure, and in the centre a sort of rising ground forming the *arête* or backbone of the plateau. In places the sides of the tell appeared to us to have been fashioned into regular slopes by the hand of man, and everything we saw bore witness to prolonged human occupation.

About the centre of the plateau rises the little kubbeh of a wely, which has preserved the real name of the place. This, as I have often had occasion to point out, is of frequent occurrence in Palestine. It is called *Sheikh El Jezery*, “The Sheikh of Jezer.” It is, as the reader perceives, an eponymous wely in the fullest meaning of the

phrase. Local tradition makes him a *Shehîd* (a hero or martyr of the faith) of the times of the *Kuffâr* or infidels. We know what that signifies—the saint has been the faithful preserver of the name of the ancient city.

In the village itself is the wely proper, that of Abû Shûsheh. At one of the extremities of the plateau, above the village, is a large rectangular *birkeh*, cut out in the rock, now disused and overgrown with grass, and having a tall fig tree growing in the middle of it. This reservoir is manifestly ancient, and measures 40 feet 2 inches by 40 feet 2 inches. Its sides are still covered, in places, with a lining of cement composed of small stones, and covered with a thin layer of polished stucco. The thickness of this lining is not less than 2½ feet.

We descended from the tell in order to climb a high hill from which it is separated on the south side by a valley, so as get a better idea of its configuration and general aspect. We noticed on the slope in crossing over some rock-hewn tombs, traces of an aqueduct, and other cuttings of every description, betokening works of considerable importance.

The other hill we ascended also contained a number of subterraneous recesses and caverns of irregular shape. One of these, of enormous size, called *Maghâret el Jetha*, seemed to have formed part of some ancient quarries. From here a fine view is obtained of the outline of Tell el Jezery, which stands out against the plain. In the distance the town of Ramleh is visible, with its high tower. I made a sketch of the view, and then, our hurried reconnaissance at an end, we returned to our tell, where we sat down in the shadow of the wely of El Jezery to eat some hard-boiled eggs and the remainder of the *r'ghîfs* from B'reij. We did ample justice to them, being highly delighted at having brought these investigations to so successful a conclusion. The worthy Brother Liévin, who had long been a partner in my hopes, was immensely pleased at having thus been present at their realization. For now there was no longer room for doubt—I had found everything at once: the site of an extensive town, of great strategical importance, with all the characteristic indications of extreme antiquity; the cemetery where its former inhabitants reposed; the quarries whence the stone had been taken for building it; and, beyond and above all, the name *Jezer*, identical with that of the old Canaanite city. In my enthusiasm I was already convinced that from its position it would indubitably be found to harmonise with all the data contained in texts sacred and profane where Gezer is mentioned, numbers of which kept flocking into my memory. How many topographical questions closely connected with the problem of Gezer were now to find their solution! But this was a task for a cool head, and I had seen enough to be sure that I was not mistaken. I could not possibly foresee then that fortune, who had served me so well on this occasion, had in store for me a few years later the most striking and unhopd for confirmation of my views.*

Our lunch despatched, we got into our saddles again, and made for Ramleh, where we were to separate, much to our regret. Brother Liévin had to go to Jaffa, whither he was summoned by the needs of his congregation. For my part, I purposed continuing my little journey by myself, as I had still a few *beshliks* to spend and some points to clear up.

After looking in at the shops of two or three goldsmiths in Ramleh, with a view to

* See *supra*, Ch V.

picking up small antiques such as coins, intaglios and the like, I went on to Lydda, where I received the warmest welcome at the hands of the Latin vicar. I had scarcely arrived when a frightful storm broke out, which lasted all the night. The rain continued to fall next day, Sunday, so I was forced to postpone the excursion I had an idea of making to el Midieh, in order to study on the spot the question of Modin and the tomb of the Maccabees, which had been brought to the front by recent investigations. I availed myself of my forced stay at Lydda to examine afresh the mosque and the church. I took a copy of the great Greek inscription* carved on one of the columns in the mosque, which I had discovered the year before, but had only had a glimpse of. I finished copying the principal masons' marks out on the blocks used in building the church of the Crusaders. I came to the conclusion that this mediæval church was really the one dedicated to St. George (*Mar Jiries*), whilst the ancient church adjoining, of Byzantine construction, and now transformed into a mosque, was originally, according to local tradition, placed under the protection of St. John (*Mar Yohanna*). The Mussulmans have consecrated it to *Neby 'Drîs*. 'Drîs is a vulgar pronunciation of *Edrîs*, the name by which the patriarch Enoch goes among the Arabs.

As I walked through the streets of Lydda I noticed a very nicely sculptured fragment of marble with carving in relief, built into the front of the house of one Jiries el Hakûra (?), and made a sketch of it.† I was assured that it came from the bridge at Lydda, but this I doubt.

I went to see this bridge, which is a little way from the town, and is called *Jisr Ludd*.‡ To judge by the Arabic inscriptions which appear there between two bas-reliefs representing two lions facing one another, and in which the name of Sultan Beibars can be read, one would suppose it to be of purely Arab origin. However, on closer inspection, I could see that it had been to a great extent built with the help of materials dating from the Crusading period. The majority of the stones display the mediæval diagonal tool-marks and masons' marks, which leave room for no doubt on this point. These signs are exactly the same as those I noted in the church of St. George at Lydda. In the main part of the structure, built in an engaged semi-column with tambour-bands, five of these, which have been set up again anyhow by the Arab masons of Beibars, are still visible, and three of them bear the letter W upside down. Similarly on the other side; but here the tambours have been . . .§ in the upper part, and masons' marks cannot be seen. Some few among the stones have *bossages*. My impression is that these materials must have been borrowed from the mediæval church at Lydda, and this impression is confirmed by local tradition, which says that the bridge actually was built out of the remains of the church.

— On returning to the town I wandered up and down it in every direction for some time in the interval between two showers, entering into conversation with the inhabitants, who, whether Mussulmans or Christians, are as a rule most affable. Here are the observations I made and the pieces of information I picked up here and there. I give them for what they are worth, just as they were entered in my note-book :

* See *supra*, p. 107.

† See *supra*, p. 101.

‡ See *supra*, p. 110, for circumstantial details as to the origin of this bridge and the survey we made of it with M. Lecomte.

§ Here there is a word in my note-book which I cannot make out.

— I saw in the possession of a goldsmith in the bazaar a fine silver shekel that he acquired from a fellâh. It came from a great find made a little time before at Beït 'Ûr (Beth horon). Unfortunately it was too dear for my purse.

— To the south-east of the church there is an extensive open space called *Bâb esh Sharky*, "the eastern gate," in front of a *beiyâra* (garden), likewise called *esh Sharkiyeh*, "the Eastern." This is the former site of *Bâb ed Dajjâl*, "the gate of the Dajjâl (Antichrist)." Just a few steps from here is the Jewish tomb* mentioned by Sir Charles Wilson and Guérin. Beside this garden is the wely of *S'limân el Fâr'sy*, with its tomb.† Close by is another wely, that of the *Arba'în M'ghâzy* (as who should say "the 40 martyrs)." A little further on, but still in the gardens, is the makâm of the prophet *En Neby Mukdâd* (مقداد); others say *Sîdna Mukdam* (مقدام), "our lord Mukdâm."

— To the south-west of the mosque is the sanctuary of the prophet *Neby Dannûn*, others say *Sîdna Zannûn el Masry*, "our lord Zannûn the Egyptian."

— Near the house of the Latin vicar, where I lodged, I was shown the sanctuary of the prophet *Neby Shem'an*, "Simeon."

— A few minutes to the north of Lydda there is a pool, which, when filled, as it now is by the winter rains, is of considerable size. It is called *Birket 'As* (عاص, or عص).

— I was told that a stone with writing on it had been found near Kubâb, a little below the village, in the valley, and that for further particulars I must apply to Abu Jorjy, who had taken up his abode there.‡ At the same village, a gunshot from the Burj guardhouse on the route from Jaffa to Jerusalem, an ancient rock-hewn tomb had been brought to light.§

— I really did make a find during my wanderings up and down Lydda, in the shape of the acquaintance of an old camel-driver of the Greek persuasion, Daûd (pronounced *Dahûd*) el Husary, surnamed Abu Hanna. He had an excellent knowledge of the country, having traversed it in every direction in pursuit of his calling, and I took down from his lips a quantity of interesting information. Besides, he looked like a thoroughly honest fellow, which is anything but a drawback, and the event did not prove me mistaken. I made an arrangement with him to go to el Midieh, where I purposed making some small excavations to the extent permitted by the funds at my disposal, which were, alas, but scanty. I reckoned on his influence to secure the goodwill of the peasants there, whose permission and assistance I required, as he had frequently had to do with them. A rendezvous was made for the next morning.

Meanwhile I did not lose sight of him, but went with him to the bosom of his family, who received me with open arms. In the evening I went back there. We drank coffee and smoked, and I set him talking, much to my own profit. Here are a few items of information that I took down as they fell from his lips—at his dictation almost:

There was formerly at el Midieh a *K'niseh*, "church," which was demolished about the time of Ibrahim Pasha. Some of the stones were taken away to Lydda to the house of a certain *B'rô*, others to Ramleh, to the house of *Abou Kar*, which now belonged to *Mikhâîl Sh'bettâ*. I went with him, later on, to the house of *B'rô*,

* See *supra*, p. 341 and *infra*, p. 478.

† See *infra*, p. 474.

‡ I found the stone in question in 1881. It is a fragment of a Greek inscription of the period of the Emperors, so far as I remember.

§ See *supra*, p. 85 and *infra*, p. 482.

and saw there some of these stones. They had nothing remarkable about them: the front sides were dressed, the back merely rough-hewn. I saw nothing of the characteristic tool-marks. Perhaps we might find among these remains at Lydda, or at Ramleh, some fragment of an inscription which would afford information as to the nature and origin of this *K'nîseh* of el Midieh. There was scope here for an investigation, but I was not able to carry it out thoroughly.

I questioned my cicerone about the country to the east of Lydda:

— The real name of *Neby Dâniâl* (so spelt in the maps of the time) is *Neby Dâniân*: "it is always pronounced *Dâniân*, and not *Dâniâl*," he said. A few days later the statement was actually confirmed by the very Sheikh of Neby Dâniân, who told me in so many words that this prophet was *Dânun* (دانن), *son of Jacob*. I immediately came to the conclusion that this curious native tradition was in nowise concerned, as had been hitherto supposed, with the prophet *Daniel*, but evidently with the patriarch *Dan*, whose *makâm* is built just by on the territory assigned to the tribe descended from that patriarch. The ancient name of the place, they both assured me, was *Kufür Tâb*, كفر طاب. Neby Dâniân, then, is the spot where it would be most suitable to locate the *Kephar Tabi*, כפר טבי, which the Talmud places a little east of Lydda. The Talmud is likewise acquainted with a *Kephar Dan*. My informants added that a large tomb had been found at Neby Dâniân.

— Abu Hanna next informed me that *Kefër Rât* was also called *Kefër Lât*,* the village of Lot." I had questioned him as to this locality, because I identified it, rightly as I think, with the *Cafaruth* of the Crusaders.

— Then he told me of a place near the preceding, called *Sheltâ* (Shilta), in which I immediately recognized the *Kefrescilta* (= *Kefr Sheltâ*) of the Crusaders, mentioned in the same group as *Cafaruth*, together with *Porphiria* (the *Berfilia* of the Arabs). *Sheltâ*, he told me, lay to the west of el Hûriyeh (see a little further on), and to the north of El Burj.

— He told me of *Hallâbeh*; of *Bîr el Ma'in*, where there was a *Neby Ma'in*, and, a little further on, the sanctuary of *Mennâ'a*.

— Between El Berriyeh (Barriyeh) and Neby Dâniân, to the west of 'Annâbeh, is *Shîhâ*, which is a *khûrbeh*, with numerous rock-hewn tombs and an immense cavern called *M'ghâret Shîha*. *Shîha* is two-thirds of an hour distant.

— Abu Hanna also mentioned to me a few more ancient localities:

el Hûriyeh, with important ruins, to the west of Seffa; about two-thirds of an hour from Jimzû.

el Habîs, with cuttings in the rocks and burial caves; to the east of Jimzû.

Beit Kûfâ (بيت قوفا), to the north-east of El Hadîtheh, one-third of an hour distant thence. This Hadîtheh is reckoned to have been the native home of *Fer'aun* (Pharaoh), or of *Haman* (هامان).

Hannûneh, one-third of an hour west of Shukbâ (Shukbah).

* The *Name Lists* (p. 297) have only recorded the first of these forms, *Kefer Rât*, and interpret it "the village of the river." This explanation seems altogether arbitrary. I cannot even see how it was arrived at, and wonder whether the compiler was perhaps led astray by the analogy of the Persian *râd*, "river," which certainly has nothing to do with the case.

Dās'ra, (داسرا), with well-preserved ruins; about one and a quarter hour west of Shukbâ.

B'enneh (بعنة),* one hour east of *Beit Neballa*.†

Khûrbet el Lûz, about half an hour west of el Midieh.

el K'netseh, on a hill between *Kubâb* and *Kharrûbeh*, with rock-hewn tombs and *birkeh*.

I was struck with the preciseness of the several items of information furnished by Abu Hanna, which contrasted strongly with the defective notions of time and space prevailing, as I have said, among the fellahîn. I could have constructed, simply from the data, hitherto unknown, with which he furnished me, quite a little map of the neighbourhood. I afterwards had occasion to discover how exact they were, as also the various observations that accompanied them. I shall always recommend travellers taking guides to give the preference to camel-drivers.

The camel-driver is accustomed, from the nature of his calling, to make exact estimates of distances and directions. His camel, with its even step, is really a kind of instrument for measuring time and space. His master is, in this way, provided with a natural scale by which he measures the distances between the places he passes through. Moreover, the camel-drivers are generally very intelligent, gentle, civil, even educated to a certain extent (many of them can read), inquiring about all they see, retentive of what they hear, given to reflection during their long journeys, of an open and observing mind, and endowed with great energy and honesty, though, of course, there are scamps among them. In them the Arab character shows itself in a very favourable light. Mahomet was a camel-driver. The occupation tends to contemplation, while at the same time it forms a man's character by incessant contact and friction with a multitude of things and persons that he observes or listens to. Folk-lore might reap its most abundant harvest in Palestine among the camel-drivers.

Here I make an end of this digression. I thought it desirable to enter upon it as much in the interest of future explorers, as to pay the debt of gratitude to my old friend Abu Hanna, who by this time must, I fear, be sleeping beneath that earth over which he so long time went to and fro. And now I will resume the task of setting forth the notes I made on my journey.

After this long and instructive sitting, I finally took leave of my host, and got back to my lodging rather late in the evening. Next morning, at the appointed hour, the faithful and punctual Abu Hanna arrived, riding on a young donkey that I had hired for him, as his poor old legs, worn out on the highways of Palestine, did not enable him to effect the journey on foot—and so we started for el Midieh. As we went along we chatted like a couple of old friends, and I was not sparing of again

* This place-name *B'enneh* exemplifies a phenomenon of frequent occurrence in Arab toponymy, and that I have often had to direct attention to. It is identical with the man's name *Ba'ana* or *Bd'ana* (בענא), which belonged to several Biblical personages.

† I will just stop to mention the way in which Abu Hanna pronounced this name, which is ordinarily written *Beit Nabâla*. The form *Beit Neballa*, which I took down from his dictation, approaches still more nearer the Hebraic form *Neballat*, the name of the ancient town with which the spot is identified. It is well known, moreover, that in Semitic phonetics generally speaking the lengthening of the vowel or the doubling of the consonants in the same syllable are equivalent.

laying under contribution my companion's astounding knowledge of objects, people, and places in that region for a considerable distance round. I will set forth in due order the further information I derived from him.

We passed by the large open space already mentioned, near which is the Jewish sepulchre that I meant to explore when I had done with el Midieh. Abu Hanna called this space *es-Sâha esh Sharkiyeh*, "the eastern place." Here, he told me, was in the old days an ancient cemetery, so the tradition of the inhabitants asserted. It is said that there used to be visible there formerly the tomb of a martyr called

Yâ'kûb el-M'katta' el-Fâr'sy يعقوب المقطع الفارسي.

This person is evidently the same, under a slightly different name, as the one mentioned to me the day before under somewhat different appellation of S'limân el Fâr'sy.* It is rather difficult to find an historic basis for this local tradition. It evidently relates to the Persian saint and martyr "James the Intercised," *el Mukatta'*, "cut in pieces," "intercised"), who is highly venerated in the Eastern Church, and was cut up into twenty-eight pieces in the reign of Vararanes (Bahram) in the year 421.†

The ancient cemetery of Diospolis must evidently have been just here, in part at least. I noticed several ancient tombs, carefully built, that had been destroyed by excavations undertaken with a view to getting out building materials. These operations were even then in progress.

About half an hour east of Lydda our road skirted a ruined place called *ed D'hériyeh*, which we perceived some distance to our left on a little hill. I noticed there some apparently ancient cisterns and some remains of structures of no particular antiquity.

Twenty minutes further on, still in an easterly direction, we passed some rock-hewn tombs to our left. A little beyond I found one just in the middle of the road. It consisted of a rectangular opening, measuring 1^m.83 by 1^m.10, cut in a horizontal surface of rock, with a groove round it to receive a large flat stone for stopping it up. The present depth of the cavity is about a mètre. Two arcosolia with small benches open into the longer sides, and into the shorter sides two arched openings, one of which is stopped up, and the other admits to a small chamber containing two arcosolia with troughs, hollowed out to right and left respectively.

* Probably Selmân el Fâresy, a freed man of Mahomet, and of Persian origin, as his name shows who plays a great part in Mussulman tradition. It is this surname of Fâresy, "Persian," that must have given rise to the confusion between the Christian martyr and his Mussulman fellow countryman.

† James the Intercised is commemorated on November 27. His relics appear to have been conveyed to Jerusalem and then to Tabenna in Egypt; also, partly at any rate, to Italy. Many ancient churches in Persia and Syria have been dedicated to him, among others one near Hasrûn in Lebanon. He came from Beth Lâpêt. There is a long notice of him in the Syrian Martyrology. See Assemani, *Acta Sanct. Mart. Orient.*, p. 237, *et seq.* On the question of date, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser*, etc. (*Tabari*), p. 420 *et seq.* Mujîr ed Dîn (p. 398 in the Bulak text) mentions as existing near the citadel of Jerusalem an ancient *zâwiyeh* of Sheikh Yâ'kûb el 'Ajemy, afterwards called *zâwiyeh* of Sheikh Shems ed Dîn el Baghdâdi. It was formerly, he says, a church built by the Greeks (*Rûm*). I should not be surprised if this *Yâ'kûb el 'Ajemy*, i.e., James the Persian, stood for the celebrated Persian martyr, and if the sanctuary in question had been erected in memory of the temporary translation to Jerusalem of the relics of St. James the Intercised.

A hundred paces or so to the north of the tomb, which absolutely barred our way, I noticed another tomb, hewn in the rock, but of a different type. In this case the rocky surface is sloping, and has been cut into so as to admit of a vertical door; this arrangement is the one usually found in Jewish tombs round about Jerusalem. Evidently there was a small burying-ground hereabouts, for I noticed several more openings of tombs, more or less evident. Very likely excavations might be made here with good results. This burying-ground must have belonged to a ruined town situated a few minutes away to the south, not far from Jimzû, which is separated from it by a small wâdy. This place may have actually been a dependency of Jimzû (the Gimzo of the Bible), and is called *Khûrbet el K'betbeh*, "the ruin of the little cupola."

About five minutes further on is another small ruin, that of *Deir Abu Selâmeh*, comprising some fine squared blocks rock-hewn caves, a square-mouthed cistern, etc.

We came across some fellahîn on our way, and I noted on this occasion the rather curious expression: '*A* (for '*ala*) *bâb Allah*, "at the gate of God," used when you meet anyone to ask him where he is going.

We followed an ancient Roman way, which here was easily recognizable with its pavement and its edging of large blocks still in a good state of preservation. We left it to turn northwards and direct our course towards el Midieh.

My goal was now *Sheikh el Gherbâwy*, where are the remains of the structure which it has been proposed to identify with the mausoleum of the Maccabees. A few minutes south of it we came upon the ruins of *Khûrbet el Hammâm*, "the ruin of the bath," comprising a rectangular *birkeh* lined with cement, and numerous fragments of columns lying on a spot specially called *el K'nîseh*, "the church." This is the place, so Abu Hanna told me, whence the materials were taken that were conveyed to Lydda and Ramleh in the days of Ibrahim Pasha, and which have been already noticed.

From here I went to inspect the *K'bûr el Yahûd*, which are quite near *Khûrbet el Hammâm*. This is where M. Sandreczki had proposed to locate the tombs of the Maccabees.

The *K'bûr el Yahûd* form an extensive burying-ground, consisting of some score of tombs with rectangular horizontal apertures, open to the sky, and containing as a rule two *loculi* in the shape of arcosolia on the right and left of the cavity. They belong to the type that I noted on my way from Lydda to el Midieh. The opening is surrounded with a groove intended to receive an enormous block which was placed over the cavity to close it. Several of these blocks were still in their places. The burying-ground has been worked as a quarry, and some of the tombs have been turned into vats for presses. The fellahîn appear to attach superstitious notions to this group of graves; they told me that there was a *resed* there, that is to say that the place was bewitched. One of these tombs is particularly noticeable.* It is reached by three or four steps, which take you to a small subterranean chamber with three arcosolia. The interior is covered with stucco. In another of these tombs I made a small and rather unpleasant find, by no means archæological in character, to wit, a fresh human corpse. When I say fresh, that is merely my way of putting it. The fellahîn told me, without turning a hair, that

* Cf. *supra*, p. 375.

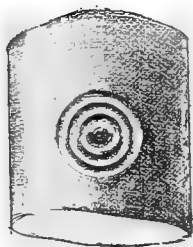
it was the body of a man who had been assassinated and thrown in there. Let me be thankful for small mercies! The Midieh villagers do not stick at trifles, when once they begin.

The K'bûr el Yahûd are almost in a straight line with one another, and the direction of this line appears to have been determined by that of the stratum of the rock in which they are cut.

About five minutes north-west* of this group of tombs, and a little above them, on the top of the plateau, is *Khûrbet el Lûz* (or *Lûz*), with fragments of columns and levellings of courses. It may be said that this ruin is connected with that of el Hammâm above the K'bûr el Yahûd.

After this I made my way to el Midieh itself, where I conferred with the fellahîn with a view to getting the necessary permission and assistance to carry out the excavations that I wished to make among the remains which M. Guérin had treated of. I was bent on verifying on the spot the observations made by him, and the archaeological and historical conclusions which he thence derived. Thanks to the valuable co-operation of Abu Hanna, the matter was arranged without any great difficulty, and on terms unexpectedly moderate, which in view of the smallness of my funds was a consideration of the first importance. In return for a few *beshliks*, a dozen or so of the fellahîn placed themselves at my disposal, with picks, shovels, and baskets. Before starting for Khûrbet el Gherbâwy with my little band of workers, I availed myself of the opportunity to make a hasty exploration of the village.

I perceived there some rock-hewn cisterns and caves, and some large weather-worn squared blocks, used as material for the houses of the peasants. In the door of the mosque I noticed a fragment of a mutilated column, on the shaft of which was a sort of crown or patern carved in relief.

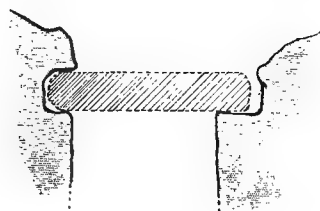


The inhabitants told me that their village was called *el Midieh*, which they pronounce very nearly *Mudieh*, and also *Munié* (مُنِيَّة). The name applies not only to the village properly so called and to the ruin of *Khûrbet el Midieh*, but to the whole group of ruins of el Hammâm and el Lûz. It would then appear from this that the site of the ancient town now represented by el Midieh extended over a vast area of ground comprising three different spots, which formed the more or less contiguous quarters of it. This union of a number of centres of population under a single name would amply account for the Hebrew plural form which appears to lurk beneath the Greek transliterations of the name Modin:—*Μωδεων*, *Μωδειμ*, *Μωδειμ*, and which becomes clearly apparent in the Talmudic form מוֹדֵיִם. This latter is doubtful as regards the *ain*, but categorical as regards the plural termination *im* or *in* (Aramaic). *Modieim*, for instance, to take the most likely of these transliterations—that given by Josephus—signifies in reality *the Modie's*. This, I think, is one more argument to the good in favour of the identity of *el Midieh* and *Modin*.

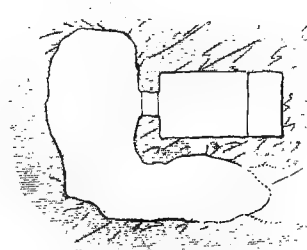
The village of el Midieh itself is commanded on the south side by a small tell or hill, tolerably regular in shape, called *er Râs*, "the head." The base of this reaches

* I am not quite sure that I have not made a mistake in my note-book about the points of the compass.

almost to the village, and there is a glorious view from the top of it, which consists of a small plateau planted with olives and other trees. Though I could find no trace of a building, local tradition places there a makâm, that of the *Arba'in M'ghâzy*, "the Forty Martyrs," who are met with nearly everywhere in Palestine. There are several rock-hewn tombs there which are the object of great veneration, among others one called *E'jâm* (اعجام). This word denotes non-Arab peoples, particularly the Persians. The tomb belongs to the same type as the *K'bâr el Yahûd*, comprising a rectangular pit with a recess to receive the slab or block that closed it. Here however the recessing, instead of being, as is generally the case, a simple rabbet, forms on one side at least a regular groove.



Section.



Plan.

As soon as you get into the pit, you find before you a small square door, hewn in the rock, which gives admission to a somewhat roughly hewn chamber communicating with another almost at right angles with it, stopped up at the back with cement. I saw there numerous Mussulman votive offerings, and lamps of terra-cotta, among them one of somewhat ancient appearance, which I unceremoniously pocketed. If el Midieh is really Modin, as seems probable, here is yet another spot that might perhaps put in a claim to the honour of representing the site of the tomb of the Maccabees.

This small reconnaissance being over, we proceeded to Khûrbet el Gherbâwy, and I at once set my men to work. The excavations lasted two days. In the meanwhile I went back to Lydda to sleep. I had two chambers cleared.* . . . Between the badly joined or rather disjointed blocks of M. Guérin's chamber No. 1, I noticed traces of mortar. Between the blocks of chamber No. 2 I found a potsherd. On one of the displaced stones, a block merely rough-hewn, is drawn a letter or mark resembling a large *theta* (height 0^m·28, length 0^m·20), I made a copy and a squeeze of this mark. The stone being too bulky for me to carry away, I had it placed in the chamber of the wely. In chamber No. 2 I found among the *débris* that encumbered it a small capital rudely carved. In the *débris* of some ruins close by, that contain ogive arches, I found a segment of a column 1^m·50 in circumference.

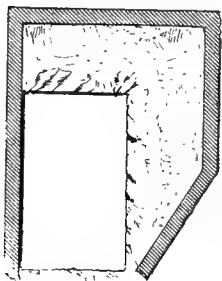
... These two days of excavations having exhausted the funds that I had at my disposal for that purpose, I left el Midieh to go back once for all to Lydda, where I still had a few small researches to make.

* I suppress the greater part of the details relating to this partial excavation, and refer the reader to pp. 358-374 of the present volume, where he will find, along with the necessary delineations, a description of the much more complete excavations that I made at this spot in 1874, which give an exact and conclusive notion of the monument in question.

On my way back I examined more closely the ruins of *Khūrbet Zakariyeh*, which I had noticed as I passed to and fro between Lydda and el Midieh. They are to be found just before you reach the latter place, almost on the edge of the road, to the south, and extend over a small plateau on the top of a hill, and are continued right down to the road. I discovered there a large baptismal font* hollowed in a block of hard limestone with a pinkish tinge (*miszeh*), having carved on it a Greek dedication, whereof I made copy and a squeeze. Not far distant were several rock-hewn tombs of a type already described, with rectangular fosses. In one of them I found a Greek Christian inscription carved on the side of one of the oven-shaped *arcosolia*. This I likewise copied.†

A little below *Khūrbet Zakariyeh*, as you descend towards the valley, I noticed some rocks hewn vertically, with tombs and enormous chambers cut out in the mountain-side. In one of these cavities, in the front part, is a large square pillar cut out of the rock. Over the doors and on the walls are incised crosses. One of these tombs‡ is quite remarkable; it has a frontage with architectural ornament carved out of the rock, a triangular tympanum, supported by two pilasters, in the middle of which is sculptured an eagle on a medallion. I had the entrance, which was blocked up, cleared, and so made my way into some inner chambers, which were ornamented with pilasters, friezes and cornices carved out of the rock. Of these I made a sketch and a plan.

A little lower down still, in the bottom of the valley, is a rectangular *birkeh*, partly rock-hewn. It lies within an enclosure now only consisting of two or three courses of fine squared blocks, and forming a rectangle, of which the fourth corner is replaced by a slant side.



On my return to Lydda I set myself to find the ancient tomb discovered a few years before, and mentioned by Sir Ch. Wilson and M. Guérin. I wanted to see the inscribed sarcophagus that they state to be in existence there. After making inquiries right and left, I finally learned that the sepulchre in question was situated in a small *beiyāra* belonging to one *Daūd Hajîr*. Thither I went, and having secured the consent of the owner for a few piastres, had the top of the vault cleared, the normal entrance

being so deeply buried in soil as to be inaccessible. I got into the interior through a hole existing in the vaulted roof, and jumped down into the first chamber, which was half full of earth that had sifted in. This chamber communicated with a second, likewise choked up with earth. In this were the loculi, oven-shaped, square-mouthed, visible only in the upper part, arranged three to the right, and three to the left, and two on the back wall; a larger locus with arched opening being between the latter two. The whole tomb is built of hewn stones carefully set. It is continued under ground beneath the cactus-hedge surrounding the garden, and projects under the public road. I made a section and plan of it.§

* Cf. *supra*, p. 357.

† Cf. *supra*, p. 356.

‡ Cf. *supra*, p. 353.

§ Cf. *supra*, p. 341, for further details concerning this remarkable tomb, which I cleared and noted more thoroughly in 1874. In the same place will be found the description and representation of the ossuary, with the explanation of the inscription carved on it.

The "sarcophagus," which is merely an ossuary of more than usual size, lay bottom uppermost in the middle of the chamber. I was told that it was originally placed in the arched *loculus* at the back. I took a squeeze of the inscription, and satisfied myself that the copy of it given to and reproduced by Sir Ch. Wilson* was not only faulty, but incomplete. I might have had this interesting object for thirty piastres or so; a mere nothing this, but yet too much for my scanty purse; so I left it where it was, not unregretfully.†

However, I had to think of leaving Lydda to get back to Jerusalem. I had still a few places to examine on the way. My old friend Abu Hanna conducted me for a bit of the way, as far as Neby Dâniân. Before I left I visited several houses at Lydda in his company in which stones taken from the ruins in the neighbourhood had been used as building material. All the ruins round about are still "worked" for this purpose. The same is the case with Ramleh.

We went out of Lydda at the south-east side. According to the inhabitants, the ancient town formerly extended over the gardens that there are on this side, from which numbers of squared stones are got. The sandy road that we followed, hemmed in by two thick cactus-hedges, kept traversing plainly marked levelling courses of stones. Sarcophagi have been found about here. I was shown the remains of one in a field to the right of the road, about ten minutes from the garden we were now skirting.

On reaching Neby Dâniân I noticed just a little to the west of the wely the sarcophagus lid which I had been told was there, lying upside down. Its measurements were 2^m·20 × 0^m·85.‡ I was assured that there was a cross on the under side, and attempted, though vainly, to turn the lid over. The sarcophagus, it appeared, was buried a little farther on, in the same place where it was found.

I took leave of Abu Hanna, and chose a guide from among his *confrères*, a Mussulman camel-driver of Neby Dâniân, Mustapha Ahmed, whom he presented to me.

Mustafa in his turn told me of Shihâ and the immense cavern there called *M'ghâret el Hawâ*, "the cavern of the wind," on account of the booming of the wind when it gets in. He declared seriously he had walked the whole distance from Neby Dâniân to Ramleh! I resolved on going thither. . . .

Shihâ is situated on a flat hill with gentle undulations, from the top of which there is a view of Ramleh, Lydda, Jimzû, 'Annâbeh, and el Berriyeh. I took the bearings of the ruins as well as I could by aid of my little pocket-compass. They are not very prominent, being very grown with tall vegetation, and comprise cisterns and rock-hewn cavities.

To the south-south-west, about a quarter of an hour away, on the other side of the considerable Wâdy Shihâ, are some rock-hewn tombs and some caverns, among the latter the one I was bent on exploring. At the moment of entering I dislodged a magnificent wild cat, and wasted a charge of powder in taking a shot at him with my revolver. I then went right into the cavern. Unfortunately I had no candle, and could only walk about gropingly for a few minutes by the light of matches that I lit from

* *Ordnance Survey* (ed. 1865), p. 19.

† Since acquired (about 1879) by M. Chevarrier, French Vice-Consul at Jaffa, and now at the Louvre.

‡ Cf. *supra*, p. 349.

time to time. Soon however I got to the end of the box, and having fallen into a hole that had escaped my observation, I deemed it wise to beat a retreat. Nevertheless my curiosity was much excited by what I had heard there was in the cavern, "stone urns with serpents carved on them," "seven urns with their lids, arranged in a circle, and the stone serpent all round." Mustafa swore by all his gods that he had seen them with his own eyes, and shown them to the Moghrebin treasure-hunters. Though allowance must be made for exaggeration, I think there was some truth in this statement, but I must of necessity postpone the verification till some other occasion.

We returned to Neby Dâniân. I noted that the fellahîn here pronounced the name *Dâniân*, with the first syllable long and accented, the other two short, which brings us to the spelling دَانِيَّان.

The inhabitants that I questioned about my Tell el Jezery, which was uppermost in my mind all through my wanderings, told me that about a quarter of an hour north* of the tell there was a round hole called the *Tannûr*, where the water of the Flood issued forth, and flowed back.

Two months before, a sheikh attached to the wely of Dânian had died, leaving directions that he should be buried actually in the kubbeh itself. While the grave was being dug, the workmen broke into a burial-vault, but no one dared go down into it, and it was stopped up again. It would be interesting to make an excavation there. Inside the enclosure there are two or three wells. At the foot of the eminence on which the kubbeh stands is the *beiyârat Dânian*, "garden of Danian," which has a well built of masonry, with a depth twenty-four times the length of a man's body (*kâma*).

I received local confirmation of the statement already made to me, that the ancient name of the place was *Kufûr Tâb*. It was added that that of Jimzû was *K'beisheh el Adhiyeh*.†

By means of a small backsheesh I persuaded the fellahîn to turn over the great sarcophagus-cover, and I noticed that the under surface showed appearances of a cruciform arrangement, thus justifying the statement made by the fellahîn. I began to have the top of the receptacle of the sarcophagus cleared, but was unable to pursue operations any further, for time was pressing, and I had to go. After a few minutes my men, who had gone on with the clearance on their own account, called me back saying that they had just seen some inscriptions. I hurriedly returned, but found to my disappointment that it was an illusion. I noticed on the way numerous ancient rock-hewn cisterns utilized as silos.

As we wended our way towards 'Annâbeh, I made my guide Mustafa talk to me. He, like his colleague Abu Hanna, was, by virtue of his calling as a camel-driver, a most intelligent fellow. He gave me the following interesting items of information:

A few miles east of 'Amwâs is a cavern, with a door hewn in the rock, and

* *Sic*. In reality, I have later ascertained, the source of the Tannûr is to the east of Gezer. Cf. *supra*, p. 235.

† I did not note the pronunciation with sufficient exactness to be able to put forward any explanation of this odd name.

above the door a non-Arabic inscription. The spot is called *Mabrakh nâket Sâleh* (مبْرَحْ نَاقَة صَالِح), "the place where the she-camel of the prophet Saleh knelt down." *

On the hill that lies between Yâlô and 'Amwâs is the sanctuary of *Sittnâ el Meiyâseh* (الْمَيْيَاسَة).

At Beit Sîrâ the saying is that *Sîrâ* is "the son of Jacob." This legend made me prick up my ears, and I eagerly noted it down, as it seemed to me to strengthen the case for identification of the Ephraimite town *Uzzen Sheerah* (אֶזְנֵן שְׁעָרָה, "the ear of Sheerah"), founded by the eponymous Sheerah, a female descendant of Ephraim. *Ma'in* was the brother of Sîrâ, and his makâm, they say, is at Bîr el Ma'in, a village near Beit Sîrâ. The makâm of Neby Ma'in is reckoned to be a very ancient structure, and there is said to be a non-Arabic inscription over the door of it.

At Kafar (*sic*) Rût is the prophetess *Sittnâ Huriyè*. Between el Burj and Bîr el Ma'in is another prophetess, *Sittnâ Mennâ'a* (مَنْعَاة). At *Yahûdiyeh* is *Neby Yûddâ* (Judah.)

— The Mosque of Jimzû, called *el 'Amery*, presents no features of interest, but it appears that there is another chamber below, that is more ancient, perhaps the synagogue which the Jewish itineraries mention as being there in the Middle Ages.

— In the course of this chat we arrived at 'Annâbeh. A little before we got there, I had pointed out to me a spot much venerated by all the fellahîn, with a heap of stones over it. This was the so-called print in the rock of the "shoe of the Prophet's mare," *Haduet faras en Neby* (حَذْوَةُ فَرَسِ النَّبِيِّ). The name extends over the surrounding region. A little further on, to the right, are some rocks called *Wa'ër el Khorrâm* (وَعْرُ الْخَرَامِ); † others, yet a little further to the east, bear the name of *Kibbeh Kweiz* or *Kibb Êkweiz* (كَيْبُ كُوَيْزِ). ‡

— To the north of 'Annâbeh, on a hill which is separated from it by a valley, I was shown the extensive ruins of a "convent," but had not the time to go and look at them.

Towards the southern end of the village I noticed the site of an ancient building, now consisting merely of a few stones, which is supposed to have been an ancient "church." In a small Mussulman sanctuary situated close by, consecrated to *Sheikh 'Îsâ*, I noticed some shafts of columns (monoliths) and a marble capital with foliage, which may very well have come from the church in question. There is in the village another sanctuary dedicated to *Sheikh 'Annâb*, belonging to the class of eponymous welys which is so large and important in Palestine. Here there were ancient rock-hewn caves and cisterns.

* مَبْرَحْ is for مَبْرُكْ. The camel-drivers of Syria say to their camels, "*obrokh*," to make them kneel. This is one of the most striking instances of the pronunciation of the *kaph* aspirated, as if it were a *khet*. This phonetic phenomenon indicates the survival among the camel-drivers of an ancient Aramaising pronunciation; it is of the highest importance for establishing the etymology of place names where a primitive *kaph* appears transformed into a *khet* (כ = ח).

† Or, perhaps, *El Khorram*, الْحَرَمُ.

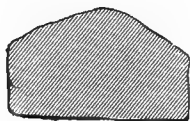
‡ "The pouring out of the small jar?"

— From here I continued my way towards K'bâb, passing by *el K'neîseh*, (الكنيسة), "the little church," of which I took the bearings with the compass. Here were numerous ruins scattered over a plateau strewn with ancient potsherds, also caverns and tombs cut out in the rock.

— Here I dismissed my guide, as it would take me hardly half an hour to rejoin the high road to Jaffa at K'bâb. Before leaving me, Mustafa Ahmed confided to me that a fellâh of his acquaintance some years before had made a find of a quantity of gold pieces, thick ones, with images on them, which he had not dared to sell for fear of the Government. He promised to make me acquainted with him when we met again.

— I passed by *Kefertâ* or *Kefer Tâ*, a ruined spot on a hill that is surmounted by the sanctuary of Sheikh S'limân. M. de Saulcy* thinks he has grounds for identifying it with the *Kephar Tab* of the Talmud, but mistakenly in my opinion, if the local tradition above related be received, that the ancient name of Neby Dâniân was *Kufûr Tâb*.

— On reaching the guardhouse of K'bâb, I sought for the recently discovered tomb that the fellahîn had spoken of, and perceived it two minutes to the north of the corner (?) of the blockhouse. It consists of a rectangular structure of very fine carefully-dressed blocks, with only the foundations remaining. Within this is a rock-hewn sepulchre, open to the sky, with an arcosolium† covering over a trough. . . . Among the scattered blocks I noticed a piece of a sarcophagus-cover of the



donkey-back shape, various moulded fragments, bases, columns, quantities of bits of grooved pottery, broken terra-cotta lamps, glass phials, etc. A little to the right is the round opening of a cistern. This place must certainly at one time have been the site of a most remarkable funerary monument rising above the soil. It is possibly

owing to the presence of this building, which must have had a very marked architectural character, that the neighbouring village (certainly an ancient one) received the name of *K'bâb*, which simply means "the cupolas." This common-place modern name may have replaced some ancient name belonging to a Bible town, one of a not inconsiderable number situated in this quarter, which have not yet been identified. This tomb was discovered in the course of workings undertaken by one Ahmed Martada of Jerusalem. It is unfortunately to be feared that it will not be long before the ancient material taken from it will have disappeared—this find of a quarry all ready to hand is only too convenient for the native builders of the neighbourhood.

— From K'bâb I could perfectly well descry Tell el Jezery. The outline of the Tell, with the small kubbeh on the top, stands out clearly against the western horizon. To ease my conscience, I inquire of the zaptieh on guard at the guardhouse the name of this Tell, and he replies unhesitatingly, "Tell el Jezery!" I expected to hear the name Abu Shûsheh, which has so often led topographers astray. Thus there was no need at all to have gone so far to look for the site of Gezer; the first traveller who happened to turn up had merely to ask carefully the name of this tell, which strikes the eye so forcibly as you go from Jaffa to Jerusalem by the high road, or he might have

* *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, I, p. 80.

† For drawings of this tomb, see *supra*, p. 144.

had the good fortune to come across some native who knew its real name. I could not forbear to smile as I thought of all the trouble I had given myself by starting from the extreme south to discover Gezer. I had taken the position in the rear—but anyhow I had taken it, and that was the main point.

— From K'bâb I followed the highway, so as to take the shortest route to Jerusalem, merely stopping a few moments at 'Amwâs, where I noted down various observations during my conversation with the fellahin :

The hill between 'Amwâs and Yâlo is called *Râs el 'Abêd*. Close by 'Amwâs is a spring called *'Ain Nîmî*. May this strange name enshrine some mutilated reminiscences of *Nicopolis*? All round 'Amwâs are numbers of rock-hewn tombs. One of them was pointed out to me as being the one I was looking for, which Mustafa Ahmed said had a non-Arabic inscription over the door ; but I do not think it was the right one. To the south-east of 'Amwâs is the sanctuary of *Sheikh Mu'alla* or *M'alleh*.*

— After this short halt at 'Amwâs, I proceeded without stopping to Jerusalem, where I was anxious to be back to resume my duties at the Consulate, and also, I confess, to a certain extent, to take a rest after this short but rather fatiguing excursion, which, though it had lasted no longer than a week, had not been altogether fruitless.

* For the origin of this name, which has been disfigured by the legend, see Vol. I.

APPENDIX II.

ROUGH LIST, MADE IN 1874, OF ANTIQUITIES COLLECTED IN PALESTINE IN 1873-4
DURING M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU'S MISSION.

Of these objects only part were brought to England in 1874, and added to the collections of the Palestine Exploration Fund;* the rest, being too heavy or too cumbersome, were left at Jerusalem, and presumably remain there still.

The numbers correspond to the numbers on the tickets placed on the objects in 1874.

NOS.

1. Head of statue (Athena?); half life-size. White marble.—*Hamâmeh*, near Ascalon (originally from Khalasa (?), the ancient Elusa).
 2. Large amphora handles, stamped with a Greek inscription. Terra-cotta.—*Jaffa*.
 3. Glass ware and fragments.—*El Midieh* (excavations).
 4. Ram (or bull?) recumbent. Bronze.—*El Midieh* (excavations).
 5. Fragment of a vase, with Greek inscription in graffito. Terra-cotta.—*Yebnâ Harbour*.
 6. Miscellaneous terra-cotta fragments.—*Yebnâ Harbour*.
 7. Small ring; bronze. (Found in the tomb with the Hebrew inscription.)—*'Ain Sinia*.
 8. Inscription on a fragment of soft limestone.—*Wâdy Yâsûl* (?), near Jerusalem.
 9. Lamp, decorated with a vase and bunches of grapes in relief. Terra-cotta.—*'Amwâs*.
 10. Mortar; three fragments. Stone (?).—*Jerusalem* (excavations at the Sakhra).
 11. Large vase, ornamented with figures and other subjects in relief. Terra-cotta.—*Jerusalem* (excavations in the Via Dolorosa).
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* A certain number of the objects were afterwards brought to England by Professor Hull's mission in 1883, but there are still a quantity remaining at Jerusalem. A few, from circumstances much to be regretted, but for which I am not responsible, have passed into strange hands.

12. Fragment of another vase similar to the preceding.—*Ibid.*
13. Two letters from the bilingual inscription of Gezer. Cut out of the rock.—*Tell el Jezer.*
14. Edge of a large vase, stamped with a Greek inscription four times repeated. Terra-cotta.—*Amwds.*
15. Small figure representing Aphrodite (?). Lead.—*Jerusalem* (found in the sub-structures of the Mehkemeh (?)).
16. Rude male head. Limestone.—*Ibid.*
17. Fragment of a mediæval bas-relief (Virgin (?)). Marble.—*Ibid.*
18. Very small vase, ornamented with coloured concentric circles ; a libation table (?). Soft limestone. *Selwân*, near Jerusalem.
19. A funerary vial, glass ; a funerary lamp, terra-cotta ; Spatula, bronze.—The so-called *Mons Viri Galilei* (to the north of Mount Olivet). Found in a tomb.
- 19A. Small pot, terra-cotta ; two nails, iron ; human jaw and teeth ; fragments of vases, lamps and pots, terra-cotta. Fragments of glass and ossuaries, soft limestone.—*Ibid.*
20. Tile, stamped with a Greek inscription. Terra-cotta.—*Mount Olivet.*
21. Fragment of vases. Terra-cotta. Pieces of human bone.—*Mount Scandal.* (Found in a tomb.)
22. Vase. Terra-cotta.—*Ibid.*
23. Eight lamps and twelve vials. Terra-cotta. Vial glass (a fragment).—*Wâdy Yâsâl* (in a sepulchre).
- 23A. Two pots. Terra-cotta.—*Ibid.*
24. Fragment of the bottom of a vase, with marks. Glazed terra-cotta.—*Ibid.*
25. Lamp with Greek inscription. Terra-cotta.—*Kerëm Kamar* (in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem).
26. Similar object, ornamented with archwork and palms.—*Ibid.*
27. Fragments of tiles with inscribed stamps. Pieces of a layer of mosaic.—From a fellâh at *Selwân.*
28. Small vase, with incised mark. Terra-cotta.—*Wâdy Yâsâl.*
29. Lamp. Glazed terra-cotta (of Arab make).—Source not ascertained.
30. Six small grind-stones. Basalt and hard stone.—From the so-called "*Mount Zion*," in the great natural cavern there that I searched.
31. Six balls. Hard stone.—*Ibid.*
32. Five fragments. Terra-cotta (pierced with holes like a colander).—*Ibid.*
33. Two fragments, same description, with cruciform marks.—*Ibid.*
34. Two thick disks (weights?). Hard stone.—*Ibid.*
35. Four cone-shaped objects. Soft stone.—*Ibid.*
36. Several fragments of very large vases, turned, moulded, and grooved. Soft stone.—*Ibid.*
- 36A. Bottom of a vase, with incised cruciform mark. Soft stone.—*Ibid.*
37. Several fragments of carved vases. Soft stone.—*Ibid.*
38. Two fragments of millstones (?). Basalt.—*Ibid.*
39. Several fragments of vases. Terra-cotta.—*Ibid.*
40. Fragment of small double-mouthed vial. Terra-cotta.—*Ibid.*
41. Two fragments ; nature undetermined. Marble.—*Ibid.*

42. Handle of vase, with concentric circles and other marks. Terra-cotta.—*Ibid.*
- 42A. Similar object, with incised cruciform mark.—*Ibid.*
43. Fragment ornamented with a quarter-rosette. Stone.—*Ibid.*
44. Three stalactites (taken as specimens from the top of the cavern).—*Ibid.*
45. Two fragments of large cups. Hard stone and marble.—*Ibid.*
46. Fragment, cut into the shape of a small elongated basin. Hard red stone.—*Ibid.*
47. An ossuary, with a Hebrew inscription deeply cut within a cartouche in high relief; triangular lid. Hard limestone.—*Wady Yâsûl* (in a tomb).
48. An epigraphic ossuary, with a border of moulding in relief; triangular lid. Hard limestone.—*Ibid.*
49. Similar object, without lid.—*Ibid.*
50. Similar object, with sliding lid, without moulding. Soft limestone.—*Ibid.*
51. Similar object, ornamented with rosettes.—*Ibid.*
52. Similar object, ornamented with rosettes, with rim and groove for the lid.—*Ibid.*
- 52A. Similar object, ornamented with two rosettes with a leaved stalk between; having feet, two grooves for the lid, and marks in graffito at the two ends.—*Ibid.*
53. Lamp, ornamented with three pineapples (?). Terra-cotta.—*Amwâs.*
54. Seal (?), prism-shaped. Material (?).—*Amwâs.*
55. Small and very thick vase, with a cupule in the middle, and concentric circles. Marble.—*Zawâta* (neighbourhood of Nâblus).
56. Fragment of a vase similar to the preceding. Hard stone.—*Sebaste.*
57. Four fragments of ossuaries, ornamented with rosettes; triangular lid. Soft limestone.—*Na'îlîn* (neighbourhood of el Midieh).
58. Tessera, with Egyptian hieroglyphs cut on the two faces. Stone or terra-cotta (?).—*Zawâta.*
59. Tessera, with bird and quadruped in relief. Terra-cotta.—*Ramleh.*
60. Mirror in the shape of a circular box; flat, with holder. Another similar holder, without the mirror. Bronze.—*Gaza.*
61. Two human busts and figures, one winged; serving as pendants. Bronze.—*Ibid.*
62. Figurine of a monkey (?). Bronze.—*Ibid.*
63. Lamp with long spout. Terra-cotta.—*Ibid.*
64. Brick (arch-stone), with the stamp of the Legio X, Fretensis. Terra-cotta.—*Jerusalem.*
65. Fragment of arch-stone with mediæval tool-marks and masons' mark (specimen of Crusaders' tool-marking). Limestone.—*Jerusalem* (from a vault in the bazaar of Sancta Anna).
66. Funerary titulus with Judæo-Greek inscription (containing the name *Ezechias*). Marble.—*Jaffa.*
67. Similar object (with the name *Jacob*). Marble.—*Ibid.*
68. Similar object, fragment (with the seven-branched candlestick and ΝΕΑΠ). Marble.—*Ibid.*
69. Similar object (with the name *Anna*). Marble.—*Ibid.*
70. Lid of an ossuary, with inscription (*Mariados*). Soft limestone.—*Mount of Scandal* (near Jerusalem).
71. Similar object, fragment (with the name *Eleazar*). Soft limestone.—*Ibid.*
72. Fragment of an ossuary (with Hebrew characters). Soft limestone.—*Ibid.*

73. The same, with Hebrew characters.—*Ibid.*
74. The same, with Hebrew characters.—*Ibid.*
75. Similar object, with Greek characters (Λαζαρου). Soft limestone.—*Mount of Olives.*
76. Similar object, Hebrew characters. Soft limestone.—*Mons Viri Galilei.*
77. Similar object, with Hebrew characters (*Jehohanan*). Soft limestone.—*Ibid.*
78. Similar object, Hebrew characters. Soft limestone.—*Ibid.*
79. Similar object, Hebrew inscription. Soft limestone.—*Ibid.*
80. Lamp of ancient shape, with Arabic inscription. Terra cotta.—*Jerusalem* (from the exploration of the underground chambers of the Via Dolorosa).
81. Bottom of a vase, with incised mark. Yellow terra cotta.—*Ibid.*
82. Small pot with handle. Terra cotta.—*Ibid.*
83. Fragment of a tripod. Terra-cotta, glazed on top.—*Ibid.*
84. Small grindstone, with a mark (?). Hard stone.—*Ibid.*
85. A quantity of terra-cotta fragments of various periods; pots, lamps, bottoms of vases, enamelled earthenware (Arab.), a neck of a glass bottle, with ornament in blue enamel, etc.—*Ibid.*
86. Fragments of a cornice ornamented with palm leaves. Moulded mortar.—*Jerusalem.* (from excavations on the Armenian ground).
87. Similar object, with an angle of the cornice. Same material.—*Ibid.*
88. Fragment of tile, with cruciform graffito. Terra cotta.—*Ibid.*
89. Small grooved bottle. Terra cotta.—*Ibid.*
90. Neck of a flask, composed of four twisted bottle-necks. Glass.—*Ibid.*
91. Fragment of a figurine; trunk of the body of a quadruped—an ox? Terra cotta.—*Ibid.*
92. Fragment of a figurine, torso of a woman. Same material.—*Ibid.*
93. Vase-handle, with incised marks. Same material.—*Ibid.*
94. Fragment, with incised mark. Same material.—*Ibid.*
95. Fragment of a grape-stalk (?). Same material.—*Ibid.*
96. Fragment of a vase, with ornaments in slight relief. Same material.—*Ibid.*
97. Fragment of a lamp, with three pinches, standing on a foot. Same material.—*Ibid.*
98. Two small fragments, with moulded ornaments. Same material.—*Ibid.*
99. Small fragment of a white glass tube, stopped with blue enamel.—*Ibid.*
100. Eight lamps, terra-cotta.—*Jerusalem.*
101. Fragments of lamps and potsherds.—*Ibid.*
102. Cufic inscription (from the Haram); marble. Another Arabic inscription; fragments of ornamented ossuaries, of soft limestone; fragment of polished basalt.—*Ibid.*
103. Ossuary without ornament, with triangular lid and feet. Soft limestone.—*Sho'fat* (from search in a tomb).
104. Similar object, small, with feet and sliding top, ornamented with rosettes; with palm and marks, and an Arabic date cut by the fellahin. Same material.—*Ibid.*
105. Similar object, large, with one corner broken; having feet, but no lid. Same material.—*Ibid.*
106. Similar object, smooth surface; intact, grooved, no feet. Same material.—*Ibid.*
107. Similar object, broken into five pieces; with feet. Same material.—*Ibid.*

108. Similar object, small; entire; flat top; broken in two; geometrical rosettes.—*Jerusalem* (near—perhaps from *Wādy Yāsūl* ?)
- 108A. Object exactly like the preceding, broken into five pieces; picked out with red. Same material.—*Ibid.*
109. Similar object, large, with rosettes; traces of yellow pigment; feet; straight flat top; Hebrew inscription in the name of *Elasah*. Same material.—*Ibid.*
110. Similar object, small; ornamented on three sides; feet; flat edges; Greek inscription in the name of *Eutrapelos*. Same material.—*Ibid.*
111. Similar object, plain surface; entire; lid with recess; Greek inscription with the name of *Atigona* (*sic*). Same material.—*Ibid.*
112. Similar object, large; ornamented with rosettes and borders; feet; semicylindrical lid, resting flatwise (broken into several pieces). Same material.—*Ibid.*
113. Similar object, small, ornamented with rosettes; flat lid; feet; slight traces of red pigment.—*Wādy Beit Sāhūr* (near Jerusalem).
114. Similar object, with incised ornamentation in outline; double inscription in the names of Joseph and Salome. Same material.—*Ibid.*
115. Tessera, with rude human figure, front view. Terra-cotta.—*Jerusalem*.
116. Ossuary, with outline ornament; convex lid, with no groove, but with notches for lifting by, and feet; traces of colour; Hebrew inscription (*Yeho...*). Soft limestone.—*Ibid* (tomb in the neighbourhood).
117. Similar object, ornamented with three rosettes in outline; inscription in the name of *Manahem*. Same material.—*Ibid.*
118. Similar object, ornamented with rosettes; with feet, traces of colouring; flat lid; Hebrew inscription in the name of *Jesus*; broken into eight pieces. Same material.—*Ibid.*
119. Similar object, large size; ornamented with rosettes in outline; rims, with bevelling on the inside; broken into seven pieces; red colouring; feet. Same material.—*Ibid.*
120. Odd fragments of glass, marble, etc.—*Yebnā Harbour*.
121. Ossuary (called B in my ninth report). Soft limestone.—*Wādy Yāsūl* (from exploration of a tomb).
122. Ossuary (called A in same place). Same material.—*Ibid.*
123. " " D " " " "
124. " " F " " " "
125. " " E " " " "
126. Cufic funerary inscription. Marble.—*Amwās*.
127. Inscription in double characters, spurious (?). Ka'kūly stone.—*Wādy Kaddūm* (neighbourhood of Jerusalem).
128. Fragment of an ossuary, with outline in rosettes and marks. Soft limestone.—*Neighbourhood of Jerusalem*.
129.
130. Six fragments of ornamented ossuaries and of lids. Soft limestone.—*Neighbourhood of Jerusalem*.
131. Quantity of miscellaneous small fragments.—*Amwās* (from excavations in the Basilica).
132. Small ossuary without ornamentation, broken into three pieces; two grooves for the lid. Soft limestone.—*Wādy Yāsūl*,

133. Similar object, sliding top ; plain ; broken into four pieces ; large marks cut on one end. Same material.—*Ibid.*
134. Side of an ossuary, with two small rosettes, *au trait*, and two others on the two ends. Soft limestone.—*Neighbourhood of Jerusalem.*
135. Lamp with a ✠ on the bottom. Terra-cotta.—*Jerusalem.*
136. Life size statue of a woman, mutilated. Marble.—*Jaffa* (originally from Cæsarea).
137. Fragment with a letter on it (? ? ?).
138. Phial. Glass.—*Gaza.*
139. Pot in the shape of a pomegranate, thick sides. Black-brown terra-cotta.—*Jerusalem.*
140. Figurine of a woman holding a crown. Carved ivory.—*Hamâmeh* (near Ascalon ; originally from Khalasa (?)).
141. Leaden ornaments, with rim in open work ; age doubtful.—*Wâdy Yâsûl* (?).
142. Design cut in graffito, representing a winged quadruped, with bearded human head, in Assyrian style (Kerub ?). Cut out of the rock.—*Jerusalem* (on a wall of the "Royal Caverns").

ADDENDA.

- PAGE 5. *The Building at Yâzûr*.—In 1335 Giacompo di Verona (*Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1895, p. 181) mentions a *castrum dirutum* as existing at Yâzûr (which he calls *Jessur*) three miles from Japha. The old building noticed by me may form part of this.
- PAGE 29. *The XIIth Legion (Fulminata)*.—In support of my conjecture that the *thunderbolts* carved in the ears of the cartouche show that the dedication may have been made by a detachment of the XIIth Legion (*Fulminata*), and may be the distinctive emblems of this Legion, I will remind the reader of a dedication to Hadrian by the Xth Legion (*Fretensis*) found at Cæsarea, and published in my *Recueil d'Arch. Orientale*, I, p. 168. This dedication has by the side of it a *Neptune*, which appears to me to be the distinctive emblem of the legion called by the surname *Fretensis*. Although the XIIth Legion was quartered in Cappadocia, it might have had a detachment, a *vexillatio*, in garrison at Jericho in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.
- PAGE 64. *Jebel 'Abd er Rahmân*.—According to the Memoirs (Vol. III, p. 2), the highest mountain in these parts is Ras esh Sherifeh, a little to the west of Ūrtâs ; but this point is too distant to correspond with Ahmed's description.
- Colonel Marmier (*Revue des Études Juives*, Oct., Dec., 1894, p. 164) is of opinion that the mountain I have mentioned is a height near Batn es Sa'îdeh (but his

comparison of the altitude* with that of Neby Shamwil† rests on a mistaken reading). Relying on a passage in St. Epiphanius, he proposes to locate in that place *Mount Gibeon* ("the highest of the mountains round about Jerusalem, eight miles from the Mount of Olives"); according to this, Beeroth would be at Kariat el 'Enab. These conclusions are open to various objections, and I shall discuss them elsewhere.

PAGE 113. *Beibars' lions*.—See, *inter alia*, Pacho (*Voyage dans la Marmarique, etc.*, p. 12 and Pl. III): At Kasr Lamaïd, on the coast, on the west frontier of Egypt, is an inscription of Beibars narrating the building of the castle, a structure architecturally remarkable, erected under the superintendence of Ahmed, or Mohammed et Tâher el Yaghmûry. On the façade are carved two lions in full relief, placed on a cornice ornamented with arabesques.

PAGE 134.—'Ισα, in the nominative 'Ισᾶς, might be regarded as one of that numerous series of proper names in ᾶς formed by a popular contraction, often a very marked one: e.g. Κλεοπᾶς, 'Επαφρᾶς, 'Απολλᾶς, 'Αλεξᾶς. On this hypothesis 'Ισᾶς might be a contracted form of 'Ισίδωτος or 'Ισίδωρος. In inscriptions at Athens the name Εἰσᾶς is met with several times.

PAGE 183.—*Yebnâ*.—A very ancient Syrian document, the *Life of Peter the Iberian*‡, furnishes us with some interesting and entirely novel information as to the condition of Yebnâ in the fifth century. The town was then inhabited exclusively by Samaritans§ and Jews, and was the property of the Empress Eudocia, who, by the advice of her physicians, had had a small establishment built there in which she used to come to stay for change of air and the benefit of her health. She erected there a large church, dedicated to St. Stephen and St. Thomas and many martyr-saints, and endowed it with considerable revenues. On the site of this church it may be that the sanctuary of Abu Horeïra was afterwards built.

PAGE 237 and p. 456 (Appendix, p. 458).—*The Daughter of Noah and the Tannûr of the Flood*.—According to ancient Arab authors, there used to be shown at the village of Karak Nûh, near Baalbek, the tomb of Noah and that of his daughter Hablah, and a gushing spring called the Tannûr of the Flood (et-tûfân). See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 480. These curious details must refer, I think, to the country adjacent to Lake Homs, namely: (1) *Wâdy Tannûr*, a western tributary of the Orontes, flowing into it about Tell Neby Mîndeh (*Kadesh* ?); and (2) a place quite near there, called *Sefînet Neby Nûh*, "the vessel of Noah."

PAGE 251, note*. *Gezer in Christian times*.—The dispute about *Gadara* in Palæstina Prima and *Gadara* in Palæstina Secunda has since been carried on by Herren Schlatter and Gelzer (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palæstina-Vereins*, 1895, p. 73, 100).

PAGE 253. *The Arabic name of Gezer*.—Mujîr ed Dîn (p. 537 of the Bulak Arabic text) mentions a Chafeite jurist attached to the medreseh of Es Salâhiyeh (St. Anne of Jerusalem) who died about the year 880, and was called Bedr ed Dîn Hasan *El Jezery*. This person, as his surname shows, must have come from Tell el Jezer.

* 2,978, feet, the figures being 2,878 feet. † 2,935, feet. ‡ Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*, pp. 59, 114.

§ Ya'kûby, four centuries later on, notes a Samaritan population as still existing there.

PAGE 297. *Ophrah*.—The locality 'Ifrâ mentioned by Yâkût, is doubtless identical with one elsewhere called by him 'Afrâ (أفرا), and there stated to be a fortress of the province of Palestine situated in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. *Tayibeh*.—Among the many homonymous *Tayibeh*'s in Syria, there are several cases where the modern name must have been cut short; and the adjective probably had at one time another element in combination with it, which has disappeared by now. Thus, for instance, the *Tayibeh* lying to the south of Kâkûn (north-east of Jaffa) was no doubt formerly called *Tayibet el Ism*. I have found proof of this in an old Arabic document of the thirteenth century, a list of the fiefs assigned by Sultan Beibars to his emirs in the district of Cæsarea. This queer name *Tayibet el Ism* has been preserved in its entirety in that of another place of the same name in the Haurân, 5 kilometres south-east of Nawâ. In the common dialect of Tunisia and Tripoli *tayibet el ism* is the name of a plant of which the identity has not yet been established, literally signifying "with a good name." I believe this plant corresponds to the *spindle-tree*, called by Pliny *Evonymus* = εὐώνυμος, an adjective with exactly the meaning "of good name." (On this matter, see my remarks in the *Revue Critique*, 1895, Vol. II, p. 410). This may be likewise the meaning of the Syrian toponymic.

PAGE 328. *Joshua's Tomb in legend*.—According to Jewish, Samaritan, and Mussulman* legend, Joshua's tomb is said to be or to be shown at all sorts of places: Kefer Hâres (see p. 308), 'Awertâ, Kefer Nemareh, Tiberias,† Ma'arrat en Nom'an, es Salt, Sarafa (in the land of Moab‡) Busr (in the Lejâ §), and lastly, according to 'Abd el Ghâny ben en Nâbulusy, at el Minieh, near Tripoli. This latter tradition, I may remark, arbitrary though it is, must be of some antiquity, and must at one time have enjoyed a considerable popularity, for I find that it was noted as locally current, in 1335, by the pilgrim Giacompo of Verona: "De Tripolis, ad quinque milliaria, est mons Leopardorum, rötundus in aspectu et satis altus, distans a Libano per tria milliaria. In pede ejus montis, in parte aquilonari, est spelunca, in quâ est monumentum habens xxvi pedes longitudinis, quod Saraceni visitant, dicentes illud, esse sepulcrum Josue, etc."|| This is evidently the cave with a tomb ten cubits long, assigned to Yûsha', which the Arab writer speaks of. Besides, as early as 1175, Burchard speaks of this so-called Tomb of Joshua.

* See *inter alia*, Goldziher, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1879, p. 13, and Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (*passim*).

† Mentioned by Nâsere Khosrau, p. 57 (edited by Schefer).

‡ Probably the *Sarfat el Mâl*, already alluded to (p. 100).

§ Probably *Busr el Harîry*. The epithet in the present name has its origin in the tomb of the Sheikh *el Hurâtry*, who was held in veneration at Busr, so Yâkût informs us.

|| Edited by Röhrich, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1895, p. 297.

GENERAL INDEX.

A

- Aalevi, epitaph at Saffas, 141.
 Abbomari, epitaph of, 141.
 Abbot Daniel, 14, 25, 46.
 — Firminus, 283.
 Abd el Melik, 36.
 'Abîd, 23.
 Abounos, *graffito* in tomb near Beit Jibrîn, 446.
 Abraamios, epitaph of, at Gaza, 401, 408.
 Abu Horeira, 168.
 — Ghosh, 8, 56, 57, 60-63 ; church at, 60.
 — Lahem, 23.
 — Meîzar, legend of, 209.
 — Nabbût, 3, 5.
 — Obeideh, Emir, 41.
 — Shûsheh (Gezer), 66, 234, 237, 240, 241, 249, 254, 275, 468, 469.
 — Taleb, 24.
 — Ziâd, 24, 281.
 Adâlia (Yâzûr), 5.
 Adiabene, the Queen of, 260, 261.
 Adâlia, old name of Yâzûr, 5.
 Adasa, the Hasmonean, 76.
 Adonis, 165.
 Adosa, 76.
 Adwân Bedouîn, 20.
 Adullam, 459.
 Adummim, 35.
 Agatharchos, *graffito* at tomb near Beit Jibrîn, 446.
 Agricultural College, the Jewish, at Jaffa, 4.
 Ahadith, or canonical traditions of the Moslems, 305.
 'Ain bint Nûh, 239, *sq.*
 'Ain ed Dekâkîn, 161.
 — ed Dûk, 20-22, 295.
 — el Botmeh, 234, 249.
 — el Kubbeh, 91.
 — es Sultân, 9, 24, 32, 37.
 — et Tannûr, 235, 237, 249, 269, 459.
 — eziyet Hirsha, 70.
 — eziyeh cistern, 128, 129.
 — Hajileh, 13.
 — Jîneh, should be Umm Jîneh, 204.
 — Kariûn, buildings over the, at Nâblus, 315.
 — Leiyet es Safer (En-hakkore, Judges xv, 19), 463.
 AinMahtûsh, 59.
 — N'wêmeh, tomb at, 22.
 — Nini at Amwas, 483.
 — Safer, see Ain Leiyet er Safer.
 — Seîlûn, tombs at, 300.
 — Shemes (Beth Shemesh), 59, 63, 204, 205.
 — Siniâ, 284-294.
 — Yardeh, 7, 234, 249.
 Ajalon, 56, 67.
 'Ajlân, 438.
 Akâs, king, 124.
 Aker (Ekron), 194.
 Akrabâ, inscription at, 302, 303.
 Aldioma, 435.
 Alale 'l Benât, 220.
 Alexander Jannæus, 45, 247 ; the Deacon, in inscription at Gaza, 405.
 Alexandrion, fortress, 45, 299.
 Alkios, 227 *sq.* : and 265, 267, 272, 345.
 'Allar el Büsl, see 'Ellâr el Fôkâ.
 Alphabets, 260, 286.
 'Aly Sido, 3.
 'Ammûr (El Ė'mûr), 57.
 Amorites, Joshua's victory over the, 25-27 ; the six confederate kings of, 240.

- Amphora, handle of an, 3; stamped handles at Jaffa, 148, 149.
 Amsâb'ra, 195.
 'Amwâs (Emmaus), 8, 94, 226, 244, 255.
 'Amûriâ, 252.
 Anastasia, epitaph on, at Gaza, 413.
 'Anâta, 276.
 Anna, daughter of Eilasios, epitaph of, at Jaffa, 146.
 'Annabeh, 480, 481.
 Anne, St., of Jerusalem (Es Salâhiyeh), 490.
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 247-250, 262, 263.
 Antiquities at Gaza, 430-433, at Hamâmeh, 188; at Lydda, 470, 471; at Nablûs, 320; at Ramleh, 469, 470.
 Aphek, 213.
 Apollonius, Seleucid General, 262.
 Aqueduct, 70; at Thul, 65; on the Plain of Jericho, 37-39.
 Arab inscription at Sarfand, 124; milestone, 35.
 'Arak Abu 'l Kar'a, 34.
 A'râk el Emîr, 261-263.
 Aramaic alphabet, 260; language, 264, 280, 286, 476.
 Arches, Arab and Western, 116.
 Architectural Fragments at Jericho, 17.
 Ardh Dhabîta, 4, 10.
 Ariston, epitaph at Jaffa (?) 150.
 Arnon *in castris Arnonensibus*, 139.
 Arsûf, 79, 339.
 'Artûf, 203.
 'Arûra (*ἀρούρα*), 306.
 'Arzen, 306.
 Asbah (Asba, finger), 10.
 Ascalon, era of, 427, 428; ruins of, 191.
 Ashdod, 186, 215, 247, 248.
 Ashnah, 215.
 'Askar (Sychar), 325.
 Astarte, 7.
 Astho, 199.
 Atarôth, 241.
 Atergatis, 7.
 Athanasia, epitaph on, at Gaza, 409.
 Athenobios, 247.
 'Awertâ, Joshua's tomb at, 329; three sanctuaries at, 309.
 'Ayûn Sarîn, at Nablûs, legend of, 327.
 'Ayûn Kârâ, 125.
 Azekah (el 'Azhik), 456, 458.
 el 'Azeriyeh (Bethany), 20, 53.
 Azotus, 245, 247, 248.
- B**
- Baal, 165.
 Baal Zebub, 464, 465.
 Bâb el Hawâ, 88.
 — Wâd, on the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa, 8, 38.
 Bâb es Sekîneh, in Haram area, Jerusalem, 301.
 Babel, town of, 142.
 Babylon, the Egyptian, 142.
 Bacchides, defeated by the Macabees, 245.
 Baithsura, 246.
 Balakis, 438.
 Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, 387; IV (the leper) 257.
 Balâta, near Nâblus, 324.
 Balys, on epitaph at, Gaza, 401.
 Bar Cocheba, 435; coins of, 260.
 Barada, 90.
 Barbarâ, 378.
 Bas relief, 1; said to exist half-an-hour from Beit Jibrîn, 445.
 Basilica, a Byzantine, 447-449; Eudoxiana, 396.
 Bassa, the, at Jaffa, 158 sq.
 Baths at Nâblus, list of, 327.
 Bauberiyeh Church, 455.
 el Bawâij, 458, 459.
 Be'enna, near Lydda, 79.
 Beersheba, tree at, 351, 352.
 Beibars, Sultan, 40, 112-114, 174, 175, 197; his lions, 113, 490.
 Beit 'Ania, 52.
 — Â'tâb, 217.
 — D'jan, 126.
 Beit Iksâ, 41, 42.
 Beîtin, 275, 284.
 Beit Jabër, 33.
 — el Jemâl, 199, 210.
 — Jerja, 379.
 — Jibrîn, 276, 440-451, 462; E'râk el Kheîl, at 443, 444; E'râk Abu' 'l 'Amed, 444; Imperial Statue at, 441, 442; Jewish capital of column at, 442; Kaser el Benât at, 463; remarkable tomb near, 445, 446; another similar tomb, 446; church of Sandahanna at, 447-451.
 — Likia, 57, 77.
 — Mahsir, 63, 89.
 — Nettîf, 83.
 — Nûba, 69.
 — Nûshef, 57, 77.
 — Rummân, 60.
 — Sira, 57, 77, 481; meaning of, 79.
 — Sûrîk, 64.
 — Thûl, 64-66.
 — Ur (Beth-horon), 76, 275, 377, 471.
 Beiyâra, at Jaffa, 132, 133.
 — at Deir er Ruhban, 236; at Yâlô, 91, 92.
 Belus, river, at Acre, 166.
 Beni Helâl, tombs of the, 55.
 Benjamin of Tudela, 142.
 Benjamin and Judah, frontier of, 12, 275.
 Berchem, Max van, 176.
 Bergheim, Mr., 6.
 Berkâ, 192.
 — el Bemyeh, 235.
 Besas, son of Nonos, epitaph of, at Jaffa, 145.
 Bethany, 20, 52, 53.
 Bethahatap, 217.
 Bethel, 241.
 Beth-hoglah, 13, 14.
 Beth-horon, 25, 240, 275; the nether, 241, 242.
 Bethkar, 213.
 Beth Maacha, 196.
 Bethphage, 53.

Bethshemesh, 59, 206, 207, 218.
 Bettenoble (Beit Nûba), 73.
 Bezek, 239.
 Bezka, 71, 83, 239.
 Bezzor, 5.
 Bilâl, 25.
 Bilingual Inscription at Bezer, 227-230.
 el Birêh, 284; inscription at, 100.
 Bir el 'Asker gate at Ramleh, 29.
 Bir el Jebbâr, near Yâlô, 93.
 Bir er Resâs, at Nâblus, legend of, 326.
 Bir ez Zurrâ', 211.
 Bir Imrâ, near Isâwiyeh, 277.
 Birkeh at Gezer, 7.
 Birket el Kaman, 2.
 — at Kumrân, 14.
 Bir Mar Elyas at Lydda, 99.
 — el Ma'in, 77, 81, 88.
 Boethus Flavius, 29.
 Bohan, the stone, 9-14; meaning of 10.
 Book of Judges, 218; cf. Maccabees, 274; cf. Nehemiah, 261.
 Bossages, 8, 71.
 Boundary, the word, 264, 265; what it was, 267-274.
 Brass, the city of (Jericho), 24.
 B'reir, 438.
 Bridge at Lydd, built out of the stones of St. George's Church, 110-115, 118, 470; at Yebnâ, described by Max van Berchem, 173-181.
 Brother Liévin, 27, 37.
 Budros, 88.
 el Burj, 88, 97.
 Burj Beitîn, 283.
 Burjmus, 283.
 el B'weireh.

C

Cæsarea, bas relief from, 1, 2.
 Cafaruth of Crusaders, Kefer Rût or Lût, Lot's Village, 472.
 Caleb (Temîm ed Dâry), 464.
 Calendar used at Gaza, 421.

Camel drivers, 473.
 Candlestick, the seven-branched, Jewish, 5, 133, 145; on a Corinthian column, 442; on wall of mosque at Gaza, 393.
 Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, 217.
 Caphar Sorech, 198.
 Captain of the Lord's host, the, 44.
 Carved stone at el Birêh, 101.
 Casals, Crusaders', 217.
 Cassius, Mount, 249.
Castellum militum, 35.
 Catharine, St., Priory of, at Mount Gisart, 257.
 Cave of Abu Ziâd, 281; near Beit Jibrîn, 444, opposite Deir el Hawa, 219; at Jaîha, 237; near Jeba', 281; a great, between Keslâ and Deir el Hawa at E'râk Ismâ'in, 88, at Shihâ, 479, 480; cave of Moses's fig-tree, near Jeba', 281.
 Centenarius, 138, 140.
 Chahmûn, 23.
 Chambers, subterranean, at Deir Jubbân, 495.
 Chariton, life of St., in A. S., 21.
 Chephirah, 56.
 Chion, 294.
 Chronicon Paschale, 435; era of Gaza mentioned in, 419.
 Chronology, derived from inscriptions, 259, see Palæography.
 Church at Abu Ghôsh, 60, 61; el Bauberiyeh at 'Ellâr es Sifla, 455; at Beit Nûba, 71, 72; ruins at el Bawâij, 458; at Gaza, small mediæval, 381-383; great church, now Mosque at Gaza, 383-397; of Jeremias, 8, 61; at Sandahanna, Beit Ibrîn, 447-451, at Yebnâ, built by Eudoxia, 490; Crusaders, 168, sq.; at Yâzûr, 5.
Cisterna Rubea, 35.
 Cities of Refuge, 270, 271.
 Clay beds, 56.
 "Club, the Negro's," 33.
 Columns in Gaza mosques, 395-397; in Greek convent at el Birêh 101; at Palmyra, 395.

Commodus, a consul, 28.
 Conder, Lieut., 9, 27, 29, 33.
 Confusion of *nahar* with *har*, 165.
 Convent of Deir el Kelt, 29, 30; of Firminus, near Mukhmâs, 283.
 Cosmiane epitaph at Gaza, 414.
 Crusaders' casals, 76, 217; church at Sandahanna, rebuilt by, 447; churches at Gaza, see "church" inscription at Jaffa, 155; seal, 321; tool marks, 60, 398, &c.; ruins at 'Eid el Miyyeh, 459.
 Culi, 217.
 Cypriot figures, 7.

D

Dabbûs el 'Abêd, or esh Sheitân, 34.
 Dagon, 21.
 Dajûn, 126, 130.
 Dalia, 5.
 Dâmieh, 40.
 Dan, frontier, 275.
 Damiân, Neby, 437, 438, 480.
 Daniel, Abbot, 14, 25, 46.
 Dâr edh dharb, to the S.E. of Karawa, 309.
 Dâr Melek 'Akâs at Sarfand, 124.
 Dawâres, 24.
 Dead Sea, 10.
 Deir Abân, 210-214, 219.
 — Abu Rifa and Wâd Abu Rifa, between Wâdy Jeba, Tell Miriam, and Sammûka, 281.
 — Abu Ziâd, near Jeba', 280.
 — Ayûb, 88, 89.
 — Dubwân, 283.
 — Izhâr, 57.
 — el Kelt, 29.
 — Sellâm, 89.
 — Shebîb, 217.
 — es Sidd, ruin near 'Isâwiyeh, 277.
 — Serûr, 337.
 — et Tâhûneh, 218.
 — er Ruhbân, 236.
 Delilah, 198.
 Derhassen, 217.

Demetrianos, epitaph at Jaffa, 153.
 Dixerib, 217.
 Destûr, 219.
 Dhabia, see Dhabita,
 Dhahrat Buseileh, 124.
 ——— el Huleh, 69.
 ——— eth Thiniyeh, the Kidge of
 the Turning Back, 24.
 ——— imm Asweijeh, between
 Wâdy Jeba' and Wâdy Suweinît,
 281.
 Dhabitâ, ground or mountain of, 4.
 Digountha, epitaph at Gaza, 407.
 Dîmô, 3.
 Dok, near Jericho, 248.
 Domesticus epitaph at Gaza, 407.
 Dometianos epitaph at Gaza, 417.
 Door, stone, 94, 95, 304, 331, 332.
 Dorcas, 4, note.
 Drake, C. T., 9, 22, 33, 285.
 Dubbân, etymology of, 464, 465.
 Dûk or Dagon, fortress of, 21.

E

Ebal and Gerizim, 26.
 Eben Bohan, 9-14.
 ——— the Great, 212.
 ——— ha-ezer, 213.
 el Ēb'îâr, 81.
 Ēb'lâl, 25.
 Edh dh' neib Ē'yêir, 10.
 Edward, Prince, of England (Ed-
 ward I), 114; attempt to assassi-
 nate, 175.
 el Fenîsh, 55, 56.
 'Eîd el Miyeh, 452, 459.
 Eilasios, epitaph at Jaffa, 146.
 Ēk'maik'meh, mound near Yâlô, 93.
 Ekron, 165, 244.
 Elah valley, 216.
 Eleutheropolis (Lucia Septima Se-
 veriana), 441.
 Elias, epitaph of, at Gaza, 411.
 Elisha's spring, 32.
 'Ellâr el Fô-kâ, 456, 457.
 'Ellâr es Sifla, 455.
 Ellîn, 210.

Elpidius, in Life of St. Chariton,
 21.
 'Emâd ed-dîn, near Nâblus, 253,
 323.
 Emmaus, 8, 84, 244, 250, 255, 467.
 el Ē'mûr, 57, 58.
 Engannim, 204, 207, sq.
 England, Prince Edward of (Ed-
 ward I), 114; attempt to assassi-
 nate, 175.
 En-hakkore, Ramath Lehi ('Ain
 Leiyet-es-Safer), Judges xv, 19,
 218, 462.
 Enoch, the patriarch, 470.
 Ephraim, frontier, 275.
 Epitaph of Aalevi (Jaffa) 141;
 Abraamios (Gaza) 401, 408; Ab-
 bomari (Jaffa) 141; Agatharchas,
 and Abounos in *graffito* on tomb
 between Beit Jibrîn and Sanda-
 hanna, 446; Alkios (Lydda)
 343 sq.; Anastasia (Gaza) 413;
 Anna (Jaffa), 145; Ariston (Jaffa?)
 150; Athanasia (Gaza) 409;
 Balys (Gaza), 401; Besas (Jaffa),
 145; candlestick at Jaffa, 145;
 Cosmiane (Gaza), 414; Deme-
 trianus (Jaffa?), 152; Digountha
 (Gaza), 407; Domesticus (Gaza),
 407; Dometianos (Gaza), 417;
 Eilasios (Jaffa), 145, 146; Elias
 (Gaza), 411; Ezechias (Jaffa),
 133-136; fragments of, at Jaffa,
 146, 147; Gerontios (Gaza), 402;
 Gobar (Lydda), 345, sq.;
 Hisidote (Jaffa), 150; Hezekiah
 (Jaffa), phrontistes of Alexandria,
 5; a Judæo-Greek at Jaffa, 131;
 Isakos (Gaza), 415; Juda (Jaffa),
 144; Juvenalis (Gaza), 417, 418;
 Leontios (Gaza), 407; Malthake
 (Lydda), 345, sq.; Megale (Gaza),
 401, 403; Megisteria (Gaza),
 411; Menahem or Manæmos
 (Jaffa), 145; Nonna (Jaffa), 145;
 Ousia (Gaza), 410; Protarchis (at
 Jaffa, but possibly from Cyprus),
 150; Psimithe (Jaffa), 144;
 Pyrinos (Lydda), 345; Reuben

(Jaffa), 144; seven branched
 candlestick at Jaffa, 145; St.
 James (Jerusalem), 260; Sabinus
 (Jaffa?), 152; Stephanos (Gaza),
 404; Strategios (Jaffa?), 152;
 Thanum (Jaffa), 137-140; Theo-
 dora (Gaza), 411; Theodote
 (Gaza), 403; Timotheus (Gaza),
 410; Zachai (Jaffa), 144; Zeno
 (Gaza), 401.
 Era of Eleutheropolis, 441.
 ——— Gaza, 419, 429.
 Ē'râk Abu 'Aûns, between Jeba' and
 Mukhmâs, 282.
 ——— Abu 'l Amed, see Beit Jibrîn.
 ——— Ziâd, between Jeba' and
 Mukhmâs, 281.
 ——— el Fenîsh, near Beit Jibrîn,
 inscription at, 55, 56, 444.
 ——— Ismâîn, 88, 220.
 ——— el Kheîl, see Beit Jibrîn.
 ——— el Munser, between Jeba' and
 Mukhmâs, 281.
 ——— Mûsâ, 281.
 Eriha, 9-53.
 Esdras, legend of, 63.
 Esdûd, 186.
 'Eselîn ('Aslîn), 214.
 Eshtaol, 215.
 Eshû', near 'Ain Shemesh, legend
 at, 209.
 Eshtaol, 198, 199.
 Esthorî ha Parchi, 55.
 Etam, rock, 220.
 Ethnic, 89, 99, 100.
 Eudoxia, Empress, 396, 490.
 Eusebius, 26.
 Euthymius, St., 139, 222, 223.
 Ezechias epitaph at Jaffa, 133-136.

F

Fâr'deh, el, legend of, 90.
 Fardîs, 309.
 Fenîsh, el, 55, 56, 197, 206; legend
 of, 197.
 Fertin, 66.
 Figure, terra-cotta, found at Gezer
 or Abu Shusheh, 6, 242.

Figures, Cypriot, 7.
 Firminus, Abbot, 283.
 Fish, stone pendant, at Gaza, 431.
 Flavius Boethus, 29.
 Flints, worked, found at Bezer, 6.
 Flood, legends and traditions of, 238, 239.
 Folklore, Ascalon, 187.
 Forest of Hareth, 71.
 Forner, Father Emmanuel, Latin Vicar of Bethlehem, 359.
 Frantîs, ancient name of Ramleh, 195.
 Frederick II, Emperor, 155.
 Frère Liévin, 469.
 Funerary remains at Sebaste, 334-336.

G

Gabaon, 26.
 Gabinius, 267.
 Gadara, the capital of Peraea, 241.
 — = Gezer, 267.
 Gadaris, in Strabo = Gezer, not Gadara in Peraea, 250.
 Gamaliel, 4, note.
 Gandeh, Sheikha, 167.
 Gath, 182, 195.
 Gaza, 276 sq., 379-437; sarcophagus lately found on seashore at, 432.
 Gazara = Gezer, 245-249.
 Geba, 295.
 Gendas, casale of, 117.
 Gemara Berakoth, the, 460.
 George, St., legend of, 108.
 Gerizim, Mount, 26, 325.
 Germer-Durand, Father, 31, 400, 401, 408-411.
 Gerontios epitaph at Gaza, 402.
 Geshur, 250.
 Gezer, 6-8, 224-275, 468, 469, 490; inscription at, 55; taken by the Jews, 245-248.
 Ghaur es Selsabân, 40.
 Gherbâwy, name of the building thought to be the tomb of the Maccabees, 359.
 Gibeah, 59.

Gibeat, Kirjath, 59.
 Gilgal, 13, 26, 37.
 Gipsies, Arab, 160.
 Gisart, Mount, site of the battle of, between Saladin and the Franks, 236.
 Gôb, 243.
 Goliath, legend, 186.
 Gold Byzantine coins at Lydda, 101.
 Gomorrah, 9, 14, 440.
 Gorgias, defeated by Judas Macabæus, 244.
 Gournet Sahsûl H'meid, peak near Hajar el Asbah, 11.
Graffito at Abu Ghôsh, 60.
 Greek convent at el Bîreh, columns at, 101.
 — epitaphs (see Epitaphs).
 — inscriptions (see Inscriptions).

H

Habs ed Dam, at Nâblus, 314.
 Hadasha, 76.
 Hadetheh, 76.
 Hadrian, temple at Nâblus, 326.
 Hadriane, or Hadrinium, feast instituted by Hadrian at Gaza, 429, 435.
 Hajar el Asbah, 9, 10, 13, 14, 23.
 — es Sobêh, 12.
 Hamâmeh, 188, 437.
 Hap-parah, 297.
 Harash, 56.
 Hareth, forest of, 71.
 Harîk't el Chahhâleh, near el'Azhek, 458.
 Hasmonean Adasa, 76; coins, 260; dynasty, 263; Hajar el Asba in the days of, 14; Gezer under the, 244-249.
 Hatta, 76.
 Helâh el Fenîsh, 57.
 Helen, Queen of Adiabene, 260, 261.
 Heliodorus, 262.
 Hemerologion, the Florence, 421.
 Hennas, 262.

Heres, Mount, 71.
 Hermon, hill of, 26.
 Herod, Jericho in the time of, 19.
 Hezekiah, *phrontistes* of Alexandria, 5.
 Hibelin (Yebnâ), 181.
 Hierapolis, 238.
 Hilarion, St., 435, 436.
 Hirsha, 69-71.
 Hisidote epitaph at Jaffa, 150.
 Hizmeh, 277; rock-hewn caves and tombs at, 278.
 Hizn Sidnâ Ya'kûb at Nâblus, 314.
 H'meid Sahsûl, 11.
 Holy water stoup in church at Beit Nûba, 73.
 Horeira, Abu, 168.
 House of St. Peter at Jaffa, 2; of Tabitha, 4.
 Hyrcanus, 248, 272; name = Tobias, 261-263.

I

Iakô, 394.
 Iamnia, 245; port of, 164.
 Ibelin, Yebnâ, 181-183.
 Ibn Ferât, 175.
 Îdelmiya, 459.
 Igumen (see Abbot).
 Ik'bâlah, 57.
 Imâm Aly, legend of, 24, 25, 40.
 Imperial statue at Beit Jibrîn, 441.
 Inscribed (Greek) tomb and font near Lydda, 354, 358.
 Inscription on tomb at 'Ain Sinia, 285, 286.
 — (Greek) at Ak'rabâ, 302, 303.
 — said to be at Ascalon, 378.
 — at el Bîreh, 100, 281.
 — (Roman) from Cæsarea, 151.
 — (Greek) at Deir el'Belah, to the S. of Gaza, 418.
 — (Greek and Arabian) at Deir el Kelt, 29; over the door of the convent of Deir el Kelt, 30, 31.

Inscription said to be at Ē'rāk el Kheīl, 443, 462.

— (a few Cufic letters) at Ē'rāk el Fenīsh, near Beit Jibrīn, 444.

— (Greek) discovered at Gaza, 397-418; a Greek and Hebrew in the Mosque at Gaza, 389-395; (Greek) mentioning Alexander the deacon, at Gaza, 405.

— at Gezer, 55; (Greek) at Gezer, 225-231; (bilingual) at Gezer, 227-230; (Hebrew) 257-259.

— (Crusading) at Jaffa, 155; a Greek, at Jaffa, 5; at the ancient Jewish necropolis at Jaffa, 130 *sq.*; (Greek) on a terra-cotta amphora at Jaffa, 3; various, collected at Jaffa, but not belonging to that place, 149 *sq.*

— (Roman) at Jericho, 28, 29.

— (Greek) from Kh. Dabbeh, at the mouth of the River Rûbīn, 163.

— at Kh. Deir es S'aideh, 221.

— (Roman) at Kubâb, 84.

— (Arabic), on bridge at Lydda, 111, 112; (Greek) on Jewish sepulchre at Lydda, 345-349; (Greek) at Lydda, 107.

— the, mentioned in 1 Macc. xiv, 246, 247; (Greek) at Mejd el Yâbâ, 340; (Greek) at Moghar, 193.

— a Nabathæan, from the land of Moab, 317.

— buried in the barracks at Nâblus, 329; a Greek, at Nâblus, 318; a lost Greek, at Nâblus, 319; (Kufic), in the courtyard of Jâme' en Nasër, at Nâblus, 312; (Samaritan) at Nâblus, 314.

— a Greek, said to exist at Ramleh, 122.

Inscription (Arabic) at Sarfand, 124.

— at Tell el Jezer, discovery of the first, 86.

— (Arabic) on Crusaders' church at Yebnâ, now a mosque, 170; at the wely of Abu Horeira at Yebnâ, 174; on wely of Abu Horeira at Yebnâ, described by M. van Berchem, 177-179.

— chronology derived from, 259.

Isakos, epitaph at Gaza, 415.

Isâwiyeh, 276.

Ismâ'il Aghâ, 3.

J

Jab'âs Talî'a, 236.

Jacob, legend of his five daughters, 78-81; well, 325.

Ja'ezzer, 248.

Jaffa, 1-5, 130 *sq.*; agricultural college at, 4; epitaphs at, 130 *sq.*; mediæval sculpture at, 358; Jewish necropolis at, 3 *sq.*, 130 *sq.*; sarcophagus at, 157.

Jâhiliyeh, 16.

Jaiha, 237; cave of, 235.

Jâiet Bâb el Wâd, near Jeba', 282.

— Hassîmeh, near Jeba', 282.

Jâlûd, rock tomb at, 304; tradition at, 305; tomb at, 304.

Jambri, 318.

Jâme' el Arba'in, at Seilûn, 299.

— el Kebîr, the great mosque at Nâblus, 311.

— el Masâkīn, at Nâblus, 312, 313.

— en Nasër, at Nâblus, 312, 313.

— el Yetâim, at Seilûn, 300.

Jamnia, 245; port of, 164; region of, 248.

Jannæus, Alexander, 45.

Jaura, 191.

Jazer, 248.

Jeb'a, 59, 277, 279, 281.

Jebel Abd er Rahman, 64.

— bene Hellel, 55.

Jebel Dhabîta, 4.

— el Kahmûn, 23.

— ed Dûk, Mount Quarentena, 21.

el Jeheiyir, district called, 14.

Jemâl, Beit el, 210.

Jemma'in, 309.

Jeremy, church of St., 8, 61.

Jericho, 9-53.

Jeshana = 'Ain Siniâ, 287, *sq.*

Jezeri Talî'a, 236.

el Jîb, 377.

Jibrîl 'Akkâwy, 3.

Jiljûlieh, 37, 340.

Jimzu, mosque at, 481.

Jindâs, 117, 118.

Jisr Abu Ghabbush, 20.

— Benât Ya'kûb, 78.

Jithlah, 67.

John of Damascus, St., 26.

— Maccabæus, 245, 248.

Joppa, 249.

Josephus's version of the history of Gezer, 243.

Joshua, Book of, 240-242.

— Imâm 'Aly, 24.

— legends of, 23-27.

Joshua's tomb in legend, 491; at 'Awertâ, 329; at Kefer Hâres, 308; at Kifir Nimmâra (*sic*), 328.

Judah, son of Zachai, epitaph, 144.

Judah's frontier, 275.

Judas Maccabæus, 245, 246.

Judges, Book of, 218.

Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, 417, 418.

K

Kabr bint Nûh, 458.

Kâkûn, 114.

el Kal'ah, 92.

Kalkîlia, 339.

Kanât Bint el Kafar, 249.

Kaphar Dagon, 126, 127.

Kapharsalama, 339.

Kârâ, 126.

Kariet Abu Ghôsh, 55.

- Kariet el 'Enab, 8, 55, 63, 128.
 — el Kubâb, 83.
 Kariûn, 'Ain, at Nâblus, 315.
 el Kas'a (Khûrbet Yerdeh) 234.
 Kaser el Beriat, at Beit Jibrîn, 463.
 Kastal, 56, 57.
 Kasteren, Father van, 273, note.
 Katanneh, 74.
 Katra, 250.
 K'bâb, the little church at, 482.
 K'bûr beni Isrûn, tombs near His-
 meh, 277, 278.
 K'bûr el Yahûd, near Khûrbet el
 Hammâm, 475; necropolis near
 el Minieh, 374-376.
 el Kebbârah, 57.
 Kedron (Katrah), 248.
 Kefer Hâres, 307-309.
 — Lût, 472.
 — Rût, 472.
 — Sâbâ, 339.
 — Sellâm, 338.
 Kefertâ, 83.
 Kefil Hâreth, 308.
 Kefîreh, 56.
 Kefr Istûnâ, 298.
 — Nimmâra, Joshua's tomb at,
 328, 329.
 — Sheltâ, the Kefresilta of the
 Crusaders, 472.
 Kendebæos, 248, 253.
 Kephâr Tabi, 472.
 Kenût, 306.
 Kesla, 63.
 Khalâil ez Zummâry, 57.
 Khalîl ibn Sâwîr, governor of Ram-
 leh, who tried to assassinate
 Prince Edward of England, 175.
 Khallet el Arûdh, near Jeba', 281.
 Khall't el Jeb'a, 58.
 el Khammâra, 89.
 Khamîsin wind, 68.
 Khân el Ahmar, 33, 35.
 — el Hathrûr, 35.
 — ez Z'bîb, at Nâblus, 314.
 el Khashmeh, the "back" (dhahrah),
 between the false Wâdy Jeba' and
 Wâdy Suweînit, 281.
 el Khatûleh, 89.
 Khêishûm, 207.
 Khuldâ, 252, 467.
 Khûrbet Abu 'l Êh'weiz, 220.
 — 'Afrîteh, near Yetmâ, 298.
 — 'Aid el Ma, *see* 'Eid el
 Miyeh.
 — 'Ajlân, 438, 439.
 — el 'Akêd, 88.
 — 'Almit, 276.
 — el Asad, 218.
 — el Batâsheh.
 — Barada, 75, 88.
 — biâr Lûkâ, 222.
 — B'ki edhân, near Sheikh
 'Anbar, half-an-hour to the east of
 'Isâwiyeh, 277.
 — bint Nûh, 458.
 — bîr el Moiyeh, 236.
 — Dajûn, 126.
 — Deir es Sa'ideh, 220.
 — el Êb'iâr, 81.
 — el 'Eumdan, 82.
 — Fukîn, 220.
 — el Habûr, 439.
 — Haiyân, near Deir Dubwân,
 283.
 — Harsîs, 8.
 — Hasan, 217.
 — Hîba, 93, 94.
 — Ijwar er Rummân, near
 'Isâwiyeh, 277.
 — I'kbâla, 57.
 — Ism Allah, 218.
 — Jalûs, 130.
 — Jeb'a, 57, 58.
 — el Jezery, 468.
 — el Junjul, 74.
 — Kanbût, 75.
 — Kefr Hatta, 76.
 — Kefr, 'Urie, 218.
 — Khârazeh, near 'Isâwiyeh,
 277.
 — el Khulf, on the way to
 Deir Dubbân, 464.
 — Kîla, 217.
 — Kumrân, 10, 14.
 — Leiyet es Safer (En-hak-
 kore, Judges xv, 19), 463.
 — Lûlieh, 125.
 Khûrbet Mismâr, 67.
 — el Mufjir, 20.
 — Nâkûra, 218.
 — en Neby Ma'in, 97.
 — Rueisûn, 255.
 — es Sâideh, 220, 223.
 — Sallujeh, near Moghâr, 193.
 — Shâwer, 462.
 — Sî', 298.
 — es Seder, 75, 88.
 — el Um'gann'a, 195.
 — el Yarmûk, 199.
 — Yerdeh (el Kas'a), 234.
 — Zakariyeh, near el Midieh,
 354, 478.
 Khurdj, 5.
 Kirjath Arba, old name of Hebron,
 explanation of, 463.
 — jearim, 59, 275.
 el Koka', mountain, 77, 91.
 Kôkîm, 22.
 K'reîn Sartabâ, the, 42-47.
 Kubâb, 8, 71, 83, 226, 227, 236,
 439 (?); ancient sepulchre at, 85.
 Kubûr el Mulûk, 260.
 Kuffâr, 16.
 Kûl'ât Abu Dâmûs, east of Jeba' on
 the edge of Wâdy Suweînit, 281.
 Kûlônîeh, 8.
 Kumrân, 13-15.
 K'zâzeh, 195.
- L
- Landmarks, 351.
 Lashon, 13.
 Latrûn, 234.
 Legatus Augusti, 29.
 Legio XII (Fulminata), 489.
 Legend in course of formation, 230.
 — at 'Ain Shemës, 205.
 — of Abu Meizar, 209.
 — at Beit Sirâ, 481.
 — at 'Eid el Miyeh, 452.
 — of Esdras, at Kariat el
 'Enab, 63.
 — at Eshû, near 'Ain Shemesh,
 209.

Legend of el Fâr'deh, 90.
 — of footprints of the Prophet's mare, 481.
 — of Goliath, 186.
 — of Imâm 'Aly, 40.
 — of Jacob's daughters, 78-81.
 — of the cave at Jaiha, 235.
 — at Jâlûd, 305.
 — at Jeba', 279, 280.
 — of Jericho, the taking of, 24.
 — of Joseph, 306, 307.
 — of Joshua, 23-27; a variant of, 41; of Joshua's tomb, 491.
 — of lion that Sampson slew, 217.
 — of Lokmân, 123.
 — of King Melek el Fenîsh, 463.
 — of Muntar connected with Gaza, 434, 435.
 — at Mughâr, 193.
 — of Muèdhden, Èb'lâl, 21, 25.
 — quoted by Mujîr ed Dîn, 83.
 — of el Muntâr, near Gaza, 434.
 — of Neby Ma'in and his sisters, 78.
 — of Noah and the flood at Gezer, 237.
 — of old woman at Ramleh, 238.
 — of panther, 68.
 — of St. George, 108.
 — of Samson, 217, 218.
 — at Sebaste, 336.
 — of Sheikh İn'jeim, at Beit Thûl, 65, 66.
 — of Sheikh Mûsa Talî'a, 236.
 — of Sitt S'leîmiyeh of Nâblus, 323.
 — Sittnâ Zahra, 78, 90.
 — of spring in Wâd el Kelt, 32.
 — of Susannah, 327.
 — of Tell el Ithleh, 24.
 — of Temîm ed Dâry, 463.
 — at el Ûm'ganna', 195.
 — of Wâd el Kelt, 31.
 Legends of place names, 217.

L-îhi, the spring, 462.
 Leontius, epitaph at Gaza, 407.
 Liévin, Frère, 37, 360, 457.
 Lifta, 54.
 Lion that Samson slew, 217.
 Lions, Beibars's, on the bridge at Lydda and elsewhere, 113, 490.
 Lokman, legend of, 123.
 Loukas, 222.
 Lucius Verus, 29.
 Lukâ, wells of, 222.
 Luke's mountain (Quarentena), 21.
 Lûlieh, 56, 125.
 Luz, 241.
 Lydda, 98, 235, 249, 341-353, 470-472; long Greek epitaph at, 266; mosque and church at, 102-109; St. George's church at, 341; Jewish sepulchre at, 341-344; ossuary, 344; Greek inscription on, 345-349; Neby Danian, tomb-cover at, 349, 350; territory of, 467.

M

Mabug (Hierapolis), 238.
 Maccabees, book of, 244, 262, 274, 339; tomb of the (so called), 358-374, 470; mosaic cross found in the, 367.
 Madeba, 318.
 Mahall Ûlâd Neby Yâkûb, at Nâblus, 314.
 Mahanaim, 139.
 Mahaneh-Dan, 214.
 Mahjarat Rûbîn, 163.
 Mahsîr, etymology of, 64.
 Maiumas (harbour) of Ascalon, 437; of Gaza, 400, 430.
 Makkedah, 167.
 Makrizî, description of a battle at Sukreîr, 184.
 Maledomim (Onomasticon), Maledomim of the Templars, 35.
 Malthake, epitaph at Lydd, 346.
 Mansûrah, 195, 196.
 Mâr Sâba, 51.
 Marcus Aurelius, 28.
 Mardîn, etymology of, 307.
 Marinos, 220, 221.
 Marks on rocks, 233, 234.
 Marnas, the god, 396, 398, 434, 435.
 Masbanet el Ghazzâwy, at Nâblus, 316.
 Mask, tragic, 1, 2.
 Masons' marks, 8, 57, 71, 115, 119; Latin, 60; at Lydda, 102.
 Maspha, 213.
 Mechonah, 196.
 Medînet en nahâs, the city of brass = Jericho, 24.
 Megale, epitaph at Gaza, 403.
 Megisteria, epitaph on, at Gaza, 411.
 el Meiyâseh, 89.
 Meimûn, the legendary horse of Imâm 'Aly, 24.
 el Mejâma, 40.
 Me-jarkon, Danite city, 126.
 Mejdal (Ascalon), 187, 190, 437.
 — Ba'na, 190.
 — Yâbâ, 76; inscription at, 159; Greek inscription at, 340.
 Memnonium, the, 166.
 Menahem, epitaph at Jaffa, 145.
 Menas epitaph at Gaza, 414.
 el Mentâr, at Burjmus, 283.
 Merda, 307.
 Merdj 'Ellîn, 210.
 — fî'l-Munka', at Jeba', 280.
 Meshâhed, near Abu Ghôsh, 64.
 Mesochorion at Nâblus, 319.
 Metopa, 222.
 Metras epitaph at Gaza, 408.
 Mezeîr'a, 341.
 M'ghârt el Battikh, between Jeba' and Mukhmâs, 282.
 — el Hawâ, at Shîhâ, 479, 480.
 — el Huwâr, between Jeba' and Mukhmâs, 282.
 — Imm es Sultân, near 'Isâwiyeh, 277.
 — of Jaiha, 235.
 — Rûbîn at Anâta, 278.
 — Shîhâ, great cavern between el Berriyeh and Neby Dâniân, 472.

M'ghârt esh Shîr, between Jeba' and Mukhmâs, 282.
 M'kelkha, 195.
 ——— Tîn Mûsâ, 281.
 el Midieh, 38, 97, 234, 244, 337, 358 *sq.*, 470, 476, 477.
 Michael, St., church of, at Gilgal, 26.
 Migrash, 270, 271, 274.
 Migration of place-names, possible, 42.
 Mikveh Israel, 4.
 Mile stones, Arab, 35; Roman, 295 296.
 Mizzeah Yahûdy, 225, 226.
 M'lâgis, 438.
 Modin, 89, 219, 244, 358 *sq.*, 470, 476.
 Moghâr, 192.
 Moghrebin, 440.
 Moses, cenotaph of, 47, 48; legend of death of, 49-51.
 Mosque at Gaza, Muedhdhen Ēb'lâl, legend of, 25; once Crusaders' church, 383-392; bilingual inscription in 389-395.
 ——— and church at Lydda, 102-109.
 ——— at Ramleh, 119-122.
 Mount Cassius, 249.
 ——— Gisart, 236, 255, 257.
 ——— Heres, 71.
 ——— Zemaraim, 289.
 Mountain over against Hebron, the, 435.
 Mountains associated with visions, 44.
 Mudawwara, valley near 'Isâwiyeh, 277.
 Mughâr, 193.
 Mufjir, 20.
 Mujâmia, 40.
 Mujr ed Dîn, 51, 83; allusion to Gezer, 251; on the mosque and church at Lydda, 102.
 el Mukater, 283; basilica of, 284.
 Mukhmâs, 279, 280, 283.
 Mukkadasi, 127, 128.
 Muntâr, hill near Gaza (legend of the Minotaur connected with), 434, *sq.*

Mûsa Talî'a, 234, 236.
 Mutesellim, the, of Jericho, 16.
 Mygdonius, river, 165.

N

Nâ'aneh, 129.
 Naarah, 21.
 Nabatean inscription from Moab, 317.
 Nâblus, antiquities at, 320 *sq.*; baths 327; building over the 'Ain Kariûn, 315; environs of, 323-327; miscellaneous observations about, 327-329; ancient Masbaneh at, 316; mosques at, 328; sarcophagi at, 315, 316 329; temple built by Hadrian near 326.
 Nahr el 'Aûjâ, 3.
 ——— Rûbîn, 252.
 Naorath (*Noepón*), 21.
 Nâtûr, headman of a village, 77.
 Neby Danian, near Lydda, tomb cover at, 349, 350, 470; anciently Kufûr Tâb (Kephâr Tabî), 472; sarcophagus at, 480.
 ——— Ithiria, sanctuary at Merdâ, 307.
 ——— Mûsa, 25, 47-50.
 ——— Rûbîn, 163, 164.
 ——— Rûmîn, sanctuary at 'Anâta, 277.
 ——— Sâleh, sanctuary of, at 'Anâta, 277.
 ——— Shamwîl, 41.
 ——— Sh'eîb, 219.
 ——— Y'akûb, saint at Jeba', 219.
 ——— Yûnes, 191.
 Neara, Josephus's name for Naarah, 21.
 Necropolis, ancient Jewish, at Jaffa, 3 *sq.*, 130 *sq.*
 Nehemiah, book of, 261.
 el Neîs, or Kuneîseh near Nâblus, 324.
 Nejmet el 'Ades, between Kubâb and Tell el Jezer, 86.

Netophah, 258.
 Nî'âneh, 129, 252.
 Nicanor, defeated by Judas Macca-bæus, 245, 339.
 Nicopolis (Emmaus), 84, 250, 255.
 Noah, legend of, 235, 237.
 Noah's daughter, 456, 458, 490.
 Noeron (*Noepón*), 21.
 Nonna, on a Jewish epitaph at Jaffa, 145.

O

Old building at Abu Nabbût, 5.
 ——— man of the mountain, 175.
 Onias, 262.
 Onomasticon, Eusebius's, 21, 198, 199, 250, 255, 256.
 Ophrah, 297, 491.
 'Osh Ghurâb, 47.
 Ousia, epitaph of, at Gaza, 410.

P

Palaea, see Hamâmeh.
 Palaeography, 259, 349, 394.
 Parembolê, 139, 140.
 Πεντακωμία, 337.
 Pescennius Niger, 441.
 Peter, St., house of, at Jaffa, 2.
 ——— the Iberian, Syriac life of, 436, 437, 490.
 Petrus Cassinensis, 62.
 Phasaelis, near the Jordan, 340.
 Phrontistes, 134-136.
 Place names, possible migration of, 42.
 Pompey, 267.
 Porphyry, St., Bishop of Gaza, 410, 434, 435.
 Potter's field, a, 56.
 Press, an ancient, between Beit Nettîf and 'Ellâr, 452-454.
 Priory of St. Catharine of Mount Gisart, 257.
 Procopius of Gaza, 26.

Pronunciation, Arab, 32, 33, 41, 59, 68, 167, 281.
 Protarchis, epitaph, possibly from Cyprus, at Jaffa, 150.
 Psimithe, epitaph at Jaffa, 144.
 Pynos, epitaph at Lydda, 345.

Q

Quarantania, Mount, 21, 24.
 Quaresmuis, 4, note.
 Queen of Adiabene, the, 260, 261.
 Quiriacus, St., 340.

R

Râfât, 202.
 Rakkon, 126.
 Ramath Lehi, 218.
 Ramleh, 6, 77, 119, 235, 249, 251, 469; its eight gates, 128; its governor, who tried to assassinate Prince Edward of England, 175, 176; the mosque of Jâm'e el Abiadh at, 238; a mosque and ancient church at, 98; tower at, 350.
 Râs el Ekra' 94.
 ——— Jeb'a, 58.
 ——— Kharrûb, near 'Isâwiyeh, 277.
 Raymond, Count, 142.
 Red Tower, 35.
 Refuge, cities of, 270, 271.
 Reservoir at Khûrbet Jeb'a, 58.
 ——— of 'Ain eziyet Hirsha, 70.
 Reuben, the son of Jacob, of Pentapolis, epitaph (Greek) at Jaffa, 144.
 Reucheûb el Lôzeh, in Wâdy Suweinît, 282.
 Rey, M., 9.
 Rhodian pottery in Palestine, 149.
 Richard Cœur de Lion, 253.
 er Riha, Jericho, 16, 37, 40, 47.
 Rijâl el 'Amûd, near Nâblus, 324.
 de Rochechouart, Journal de Voyage de Louis, 5.

Rock of Etam, 220.
 ——— near Hajar el Asbah, 10, 11.
 ——— at Bethany, 53.
 ——— hewn dwellings at Tell el Jezery, 7.
 ——— tombs at 'Ain N'wê'meh, 22; near Amwas, 94-97; caves. at Hizmeh, 278; tomb at el Jib (Beth horon), 377; at K'bûr el Yahûd, 374; half-an-hour east of Lydda, 474; at Midieh, 476, 477; at Senîr, 337; in Wâd Abu Leben, on the left of the road from Beit Jibrîn to Sandhanna, 445; in Wâdy Shihâ, 479.
 Rocks, marks on, 233, 234.
 Roman inscription at Jericho, 28, 29; at Kubâb, 84; milestone, 295; road, 461, 464, 475.
 Rûbîn, 164, 166.
 Russian Archimandrite at Jaffa, his collection of antiquities, 149; his garden, 131, 133.
 Russians, excavations at Tell el M'gheifer, 40; garden at Jaffa bought by, 4; ground at er Riha belonging to, 17.

S

Sâba, Mâr, 51.
 Sabbatical boundary, 272-274.
 Sabinus, son of Strategios, epitaph at Jaffa (?), 152.
 Sacred Tree, 352, 466.
 Saddam, 261.
 Sahsûl H'meid, 11.
 Saint Anne's at Jerusalem (es Salâhiyeh), 490.
 ——— Catharine's priory of Mount Gisart, 257.
 ——— Chariton, life of, 21.
 ——— Cyriac, 340.
 ——— Euthymius, 139, 222, 223.
 ——— George, church of, at Lydda, 102 sq., 341; legend of, 108.

Saint Hilarion 435, 436.
 ——— Irenæus, 416.
 ——— James epitaph, 260.
 ——— Jeremy, church of, 61.
 ——— John of Damascus, 26.
 ——— Kerykos, 340.
 ——— Luke's mount, 21.
 ——— Mary, church at Yâzûr (perhaps "St. Mary of the Three Shades"), 5.
 ——— Michael, church and convent at Gilgal, 26.
 ——— Peter, house of, 2.
 ——— Porphyry, bishop of Gaza, 410, 434, 435.
 ——— Sabas, 283.
 ——— Zeno, residence near Gaza, 437.
 Sa'ireh, 246.
 Sakhrâh traditions, 238.
 es Sakkariyeh, 439.
 Saknet el Abîd, 4.
 ——— Abu K'bîr, 3, 4.
 Saladin, 236, 253, 257, 387.
 es Salâhiyeh (St. Anne's at Jerusalem), 490.
 Salt, the town of, 40.
 Samaritans, 26.
 Samson's country, 197 sq.; legend of, 209; tradition of, at Gaza, 380; well, 463.
 Sandahanna, see Beit Jibrîn.
 Sanhedrims, Gabinius divided the Jews into five, 267.
 Sar'a (Zoreah), 202, 215, 217.
 Sar Saba of Jehovah, 26, 44, 45.
 Sarafend, see Sarfand.
 Sarfand el Kharâb, 100, 123, 124; Arabic inscription at, 146.
 Sarîn, 327.
 Sartaba Krein, 40, 42-47.
 de Saulcy, 9, 14.
 Seal, a Crusaders', 321 sq.
 Se'artâ, near Gaza, 437.
 Sebaste, Crusaders' church at, 331; stone door at, 331, 332; sarcophagi at, 332; colossal statue at, 333; funerary remains at, 334-336.

Sebil Abu Nabbût, 3, 4.
 Seilûn, 299-306.
 Seir, Mount, 63.
 Seisamakh, 439.
 Sekineh (Shechinah), 300.
 Selemeh, 160.
 Seleucids, 244.
 Seleucus IV, 263.
 Selmeh, 130.
 Selwân, 9, 16.
 Septimius Severus, 441.
 Serâr, Wâd es, 337, 466, 467.
 Seurhân, 20.
 Severus, the Emperor, 441.
 Shaalabbin, Shaalbim, 67, 218.
 Shaaraim, 216.
 Shawâhed, 25.
 Shechinah, 300.
 Shefa 'Amr, 273.
 Sheikh Nedhîr, 218.
 ——— In'jeim, at Beit Thûl, 65;
 legend of, 65, 66.
 ——— Ja'bâs, or Jo'bâs, tomb and
 sanctuary near Gezer, 236, 269.
 ——— Mûsa Tal'â, legend of, 236.
 Shephelahs, the, 164.
 Shepherd of Moses, the, 43.
 Shîhâ, view from and cavern at, 479.
 Shikaf Abu Ziâd, 281.
 ——— ed Dôra, between Jeb'a and
 Mukhmâs, 282.
 ——— Tîn Mûsa, 281.
 Shikron, 185.
 Shiôn, 294.
 Shishak, 287.
 Shûfeh, 56.
 S'khûr el Arûdh, 282.
 Sîdo, 'Aly, 3.
 Simon Maccabæus, 245-249.
 Simsakh, 439.
 Simsim, 437, 438.
 Sitt S'leimiyeh, near Nâblus, 323;
 legend of, 325.
 Sittna Zahra (Jacob's daughter), 78,
 90.
 Slab from tomb of a Crusading
 Bishop, 152.
 Sobâ, 57.
 Sorek, 198 sq.

Sosuz, 337, 338.
 Staircase between Beit Nettif and
 'Ellâr, 451.
 Statue, arm of a colossal, at Sebaste,
 333; Græco-Roman, at Ē'râk
 Hâlâ, on road to Dhikrîn, 464;
 head of a black stone, at Sebaste,
 328; an imperial, at Beit Jibrîn,
 441; a mutilated, at Jaffa, 156.
 Stephanos, epitaph at Gaza, 404.
 Strategios, epitaph at Jaffa (?), 152.
 Stone of Bohan, 9; of the pregnant
 woman, 69; of succour (Eben-
 ezer), 215; inscribed, from Moab,
 317.
 Stoup, holy water, in the church at
 Beit Nûba, 73.
 Strabo, 241, 249-250.
 Sucro (Xucar) river in Spain, 186.
 Sukreir, near Yebnâ, 184.
 Sukriyeh, 439, 440.
 Sultan Beibars, 40, 112-114, 174,
 175, 197; his lions, 113, 490.
 Summeil el Mughâr, 193.
 Surik, 198 sq.
 Suweinît, Wâdy, 281, 282.

T

Tabitha, 4.
 Tâhûnet el Hawâ at Nâblus, 326.
 Taiyibeh (Ophrah), 280; (Ephron),
 293, 295-298, 490.
 Tannûr (of the flood), 235, 237, 480,
 490; bint Nûh, 456.
 ——— Eiyûb, 238.
 Tantûra, 211.
 Tappuah, 203.
 Tarik es Seisaneh, 350.
 Tawâhîn el Mufjir, 20.
 ——— es Sukkur, 13, 16, 37.
 Tayibeh, see Taiyibeh.
 Tell el 'Ain, at Jericho, 9, 27.
 — 'Ain es Sultân, 13.
 — el Asker, a little north of
 Mukhmâs, 281.
 — Asmar, 33.
 — el Bureikeh, 20.
 — Hareth, 308.

Tell el Jezer, 6, 7, 86, 224 (Medinat
 Sidna Nûh), 235-239, 249, 251-
 257, 275, 468, 469, 482.
 — el Kôs, 27.
 — el Kursy (? Gilgal), 40.
 — el Matlab, said to be the
 ancient site of Jericho, 17-23.
 — el M'gheifer (Gilgal), 40.
 — el Midbesch, near 'Isâwiyeh,
 277.
 — Miriam, near Jeba', 280, 281.
 — el Mufjir, 27.
 — es Sâfy, 440.
 — es Samarât, 33.
 — es Sultân, 32.
 — Temim ed Dâry, legend of, 463,
 464.
 Templars, 387.
 Terra cotta figure found at Gezer
 or Abu Shûsheh, 6, 242.
 ——— handle of an amphora
 at Jaffa, 3, 148, 149.
 Thebez, 294.
 Thabatha, 435, 436.
 Thanum, epitaph at Jaffa, 137-140.
 Theodora, epitaph at Gaza, 411.
 Theodosius, 32.
 Theodote and Megale, epitaph at
 Gaza, 403.
 Thimnah (? Timnath), 68.
 "Three Shades, St. Mary of the," 5.
 Threshing floors, 58.
 Tiben, 23.
 Tibneh, 214.
 Timnah, 214, 217.
 Timotheus, epitaph at Gaza, 144.
 Titulus, see Epitaph.
 Tobias (Hyrcanus), 261-263.
 Tomb of St. James, epitaph on, 260.
 Tombs at 'Ain N'wê'meh, 22.
 — 'Ain Seilûn, 300.
 — near Amwâs, 94-97.
 — of Beni Helâl, 55.
 — of a Crusading bishop, in-
 cised slab from, 152, 153.
 — of St. Hilarion, 436.
 — of Joshua, 308, 328, 329,
 491.
 — at Kumrân, 15.

Tombs at Lydda, 478.
 — of Maccabees (so-called), 475.
 — at el Midieh, 476, 477.
 — of Noah's daughter, 456.
 — at mouth of river Rûbîn, 161, *sq.*
 — rock-hewn; see Rock Tombs.
 — of St. James at Jerusalem, epitaph on, 260.
 — of the sons of Israel, near Hizmeh, 278.
 Toparchies, eleven, 268.
 Topography of Gezer inscriptions, 268-274.
 Tower of the Forty Martyrs at Ramleh, 350; of the mulberry tree, 436; of Ramleh, 350.
 Traditions at Akraba, 303; Arab, about Gezer, 251; of Bedriyeh, 65, 66; at 'Eid el Miyeh, 452, 460; at Jâlûd, 305; of Moses, 49, 51; of a Persian saint, 474; at Seilûn, 305; see Legend.
 Tree, Sacred, 352, 466.
 Tubâs (Thebez), 294.
 Tudela, Benjamin of, 142.
 Tûl, 65, 67.
 Tuleil, 440.

U

el Ūm'ganna', 195.
 Umm Burj, 451, 452, 462.
 — el 'Elâ, another name for Beit Iksâ, 42.
 — el 'Eumdân, 83.

Umm er Resâs in Moab, inscription from, 317.
 — Jineh, 204.
 — Tôba, 222.

V

Vadum Jacobi, 80.
 Vastina Leonis, 217.
 Verus, Lucius, 29.

W

Wâd Abu Rif'a, near Mukhmâs, 281, 283; see Deir Abu Rif'a,
 — el Asâlâ, 10.
 — Bâb esh Sha'b, 289.
 — Daber, 10.
 — el Dilëb, 57.
 — 'Elleik, 234.
 — 'Ellîn, 210.
 — Hûteh, 68.
 Wâdy Jeba', 280.
 — Katra, 252.
 — el Kelt, 10, 30, 32.
 — Kubbeh, 91.
 — — Meisa, the false Wâdy Jeba', 281.
 — Mufjir, 20.
 — en Nettif, near Jeba', 280.
 — N'wë'meh, 20-22.
 — Râs el Fârâ, near Hizmeh, 278.
 — Sâfieh, 68.
 — es Serâr 202, 206, 236, 252, 467.

Wâdy Sherk, 211.
 — esh Sh'îr, near Nâblus, 330.
 — Suwetnît, 281, 282.
 — Z'reik, near Hizmeh, 278.
 Wâkef, 23.
 Wasps in the legend of Jericho, 25-27.
 Well, Jacob's, 325.

Y

Yabrûd, 294, 295.
 Yâkût, Arab geographer, 127, 253,
 Yâlô (Ajalon), 56, 67, 91-93; bei-yâra at, 91, 92.
 Yâsûr, 5, 254, 489; anciently called Adâlia, 5; church of St. Mary of the three Shades at, 5.
 Yebnâ, 124, 126, 127, 167 *sq.*, 248, 253.

Z

Zachai, epitaph at Jaffa, 144.
 Zawâta, near Nâblus, objects found at, 330, 331.
 Zakkûms of Seurhân, 20.
 Zenaraim, Mount, 289.
 Zeno epitaph at Gaza, 401.
 St. Zeno's residence near Gaza, 487.
 Zeus Marnas of Gaza, 435.
 Zor, 14.
 Zoreah, 215.
 Zschokke, 37, 45; his monograph on Tell el Ithleh, 27.
 Zunukleh, 64.

